THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

HERRNHUT: FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER'S SPIRITUAL HOMELAND

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PREFACE

Although a great deal has been done of late in recognition of the pivotal position of Friedrich Schleiermacher in the development of modern Protestant theology, the part played in his thought by the events of his life has been to a large degree ignored among scholars writing in English. This is particularly the case with regard to the religious development of the young Schleiermacher. It has been the effort of this study to bring into sharp focus one of the most important factors in the religious life of this theologian, to show its full scope, and its necessary impact. However, beyond any consideration of Schleiermacher's intellectual biography there has been produced in this dissertation a very full and circumstantial representation of a movement which had a profound impact upon Protestant church life and history far beyond any proportion to the number of persons who at any time were directly affiliated with it. I refer, of course, to the so-called Herrnhuters, known better in America as Moravians.

English has been used as exclusively as possible in the text of this dissertation, chiefly because the almost completely Germanic character of the sources would otherwise have made the work nearly useless to anyone not well versed in both languages, and also because what literature there is in the field is almost entirely in the German language, and thus is already open to those who read it well.

There are several rather technical word usages which require some explanation:

1. Except in quotations from English works or English translations, the word
   a. "Brethren" always refers to the whole movement or the Brüdergemeine.
   b. "brethren" is used for the German word Geschwister rather than "brothers and sisters."
   c. "brother(s)" refers to male members of the Brethren.
   d. "Choir" always refers to the various sub-divisions of a Brethren congregation.
   e. "choir" refers to a musical chorus.

2. The term Gemeine, as will be observed, has because of the nature of this movement been a difficult one. Due both to the history of the terms themselves and the setting and intention of this movement, neither "church" nor "congregation" is really adequate. Actually these have been used alternately, and a good deal of liberty has been taken in the parenthetical use of the German term itself so as to remind the reader that reference is to a single idea and term.

It is with the deepest gratitude that I acknowledge the assistance of many persons in the preparation and writing of this dissertation. First, I extend an offering of gratitude to the committee to which it was submitted--my advisor, Professor James H. Nichols, and my readers, Professors Jaroslav J. Pelikan and Joseph Sittler. Second, I extend thanks to those who facilitated the research which went into it--to the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, for the many documents and difficult to find books which made this work possible, and to Rev. Vernon Nelson, Archivist; and to the Library of Moravian College and Theological Seminary, and Rev. Henry Williams, Librarian. Third, I extend my gratitude to the person who bore that final responsibility for the typing of the completed dissertation, Mrs. Maxine Royds. And finally, my most complete thanks is given to my most creative and charitable critic, Elizabeth, my wife.

The photographs of a number of copper-plate engravings which were used to illustrate this dissertation were made by Mr. Thomas Haupert and incorporated in this work by courtesy of the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

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INTRODUCTION

In Passiontide of 1802 the young Reformed cleric who had recently published anonymously a work which was to revolutionize the science of theology wrote a letter from Gnadenfrey, a settlement of Herrnhuters in Silesia, where he had paused on his way into ecclesiastical exile in Pomerania to spend the festive season with his elder sister. In this missive to his friend and future publisher, written at a point in his life which might be seen as the end of youth, he expressed himself thus about the religious brotherhood in which he had been so long ago a part and was now visiting:

> Here it was that that mystic tendency developed itself, which has been of so much importance to me, and has supported and carried me through all the storms of scepticism. Then it was only germinating, now it has attained its full development, and I may say, that after all I have passed through, I have become a Herrnhuter again, only of a higher order.[1]

With these now famous words, written almost exactly three years after the completion of the Reden über Religion,[2] did Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher summarize the effects of a relationship which had begun when his father had been stationed near this same settlement of the Brethren during the brief War of the Bavarian

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[1] To George Reimer, April 20, 1802; Ludwig Jonas and Wilhelm Dilthey (eds.), Aus Schleiermacher's Leben in Briefen (4 vols; Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1858-1863), I, 294-95 [I, 282-83]. Citations made from the first two volumes will be accompanied in brackets by citations from Friedrica Rowan (trans.), The Life of Schleiermacher (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1860). This work will be cited hereafter as Briefe with no indication of editor or author.

[2] Schleiermacher completed this work at 9:30 A.M., April 15, 1799, in Potsdam; ibid., p. 224.

Succession in 1778 when Friedrich was only ten and which reached its full significance when five years later he with his brother and sister became Herrnhuters themselves, and after four more years ended when in his nineteenth year young Schleiermacher was expelled from the congregations of the Herrnhuters and from their theological seminary at Barby.

Merely to note the facts and to accept these pungent words, however, can in no way discharge the duty of the scholar who would understand and appreciate the probable effects of that relationship and those youthful years in the life of that one who has been called the father of modern theology.[1] If one is to gain a true perspective of this dimension in the life of Schleiermacher it is first of all necessary to come to a knowledge of the Herrnhuter that he had been--the brother of what he considered the "lower order." For only against the background of such a thorough understanding could one conceive what it might have meant for Schleiermacher to "become a Herrnhuter again." Thus we must turn to an examination of this religious order of Protestants and reconstruct as thoroughly as possible the entire life then lived within the congregations of the Brethren, and only on the basis of this reconstruction may we then examine the experience of the future theological genius therein.

In coming to such an understanding of the Herrnhuters of Schleiermacher's experience it is first of all necessary to recognize its historical background and situation. The movement had come into being in the third decade of the eighteenth century under the protection and finally under the full-time guidance of the Saxon count,

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[1] W.B. Selbie, "Schleiermacher," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. James Hastings (4 vols.), XI (1921), 236-39.

Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-1760). The "mother house" of the movement, Herrnhut, was located on the Upper Lusatian estates of that nobleman and was first settled by exiles from Moravia who claimed the heritage of a Hussite body, the Unitas Fratrum, which had been suppressed during the Thirty Years' War in the Hapsburg lands.[1] Under the guidance of Zinzendorf the group which gathered at Herrnhut and was composed of members from several religious parties in Germany as well as the exiled Bohemian and Moravian Brethren came to identify itself as a "renewal" of that brotherhood in 1727,[2] and even went so far as to obtain the episcopal orders of the Unitas Fratrum in the 1730's.[3] Partly as a result of the unsettled theological and political times which were far from favorable in a body which attempted to participate, as this one did, in the religious life of the various German state churches without becoming either a party therein or becoming a denomination in its own right, and partly because of the unbridled religious excesses which reached a climax in the so-called Sifting Time in the late 1740's,[4] the history of the Renewed Unitas Fratrum during the first generation of its existence was far from peaceful or smooth. The German churches had for some time been troubled by the separatism that was an offshoot of Pietism, and they declined to look upon the Herrnhuters ultimately in any other light.[1] Zinzendorf himself spent a decade in exile from Saxony, and much in the behavior of the Brethren led rather to substantiate the unfavorable judgment that was made of them rather than to refute it.

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[1] The best critical history of this movement is Joseph Müller, Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder (3 vols.; Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1922-31). Hereafter cited as Geschichte.

[2] See John R. Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), pp. 65-82.

[3] J. Taylor Hamilton, A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church (Bethlehem, Pa.: Times Publishing Co., 1900), pp. 67-71.

[4] Otto Uttendorfer and Walther E. Schmidt, Die Brüder: Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenward der Brüdergemeine (2d ed.; Gnadau: Verlag des Vereins fur Brüdergeschichte, 1914), pp. 136-47.

The actual intention of the Herrnhuters as it developed in the mind of their founder during the first decades of their existence was completely misjudged by his opponents. In reality, though Zinzendorf himself was strongly influenced by Pietism and particularly by its patriarchs Spener and Francke,[2] this movement may not be identified with that German religious movement in its classic form. The cultural and religious contexts of the two were profoundly different. Classic German Pietism had acted with relation to what it considered the deadly combination of scholastic Orthodoxy and a church dominated by rulers who were rapidly losing their religious interests therein and were thus tempted to use the structures thereof for political ends.[3] The Herrnhuters, however, coming a generation or more later, reacted to a situation to which classical Pietism itself had substantially contributed, the rise of the Aufklärung in German and general European religious and cultural life. It was to this that the Herrnhuters, actually a second wave of Pietism, addressed themselves, and it was with relation to the threat which the Brethren saw therein that they sought to muster the sundered Orthodox and Pietist supporters of traditional Christianity into a single united front of resistance to the impact of modern humanistic rationalism on theology and church life.[1]

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[1] According to Emanuel Hirsch, Geschichte der Neuern evangelischen Theologie (Gutersloh: Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1960), II, 404, this attitude toward the Brethren is probably to be traced to S.J. Baumgarten, Gutachten über Herrnhut (Halle, 1741), and was perpetuated because of the great authority of its originator.

[2] Jacob Spener was a family friend, and young Zinzendorf was trained under Francke at the Paedagogium at Halle; Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf, pp. 13-20.

[3] This judgment is based primarily upon Albrecht Ritschl's treatment of Spener in his Geschichte des Pietismus (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1880-1886), II, 97-162.

During the life of their founder the Herrnhuters for the most part enjoyed the thorough mistrust of churches and nobility alike. They were encouraged by the more enlightened princes because of their industry and thrift, but were at the same time regarded with misgivings as a possible threat to the ecclesiastical balance in a Germany which was extremely conscious of such matters.[2] Surrounding the death of Zinzendorf, however, may be observed a combination of coincidences which led to a profound change in this attitude. First of all there was the matter of his death itself, and the position he had held with relation to the movement. It is noted that Zinzendorf, although widely read in the field of theology, was not in the university sense a trained theologian, and thus had not in his youthful years been thoroughly grounded in the traditions and methods of theological scholarship as it was then known in Germany.[3] In the sense that the creativity of his thought benefitted thereby, this was fortunate, but at the same time it caused him to be mistrusted by the initiated and further led him to make statements from time to time which tended rather to stimulate than to allay this mistrust. Beside this must be recognized the almost monarchial authority which the Count possessed with relation to the movement. There were indeed a number of men in the Unity who could have enjoyed the confidence of all orthodox and pious German churchmen but they were not in a position to bring their theological judgment to bear in a fellowship dominated by the personality of its founder. Thus it may be seen how the disappearance of this figure from the scene of active participation would contribute to the possibility of a changed attitude toward the Herrnhuters.

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[1] See August Gottlieb Spangenberg, Idea fidei fratrum, trans. Benjamin LaTrobe (Winston Salem, N.C.: Board of Christian Education of the Southern Provence of the Moravian Church, 1959), pp. iii-iv. Hereafter cited as Idea.

[2] They were particularly welcomed in the lands of Friedrich the Great because of this character, and appear to have also enjoyed a certain mixed favor in Saxon lands where they were encouraged to establish new settlements while at the same time their leader was in formal exile; see Hamilton, pp. 111-27.

[3] Although he desired to pursue theological studies, such were regarded unsuitable to his station and he was required to take up the law; see Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf, pp. 31-40.

A second point closely related to the above was the fact that Zinzendorf left no male heir with the personal authority or the legal right to succeed him in his office. The figure who might have been able to perpetuate a dynasty in this spiritual monarchy and whose views were even more distrusted than his father's, Christian Renatus von Zinzendorf, had died of consumption eight years before his father,[1] and although a son-in-law of the Count, Johannes von Wattewille, may have had some ideas along that line, no one remained who was capable of "carrying it off."[2] Thus the scene was left free free for the activities of those who might best be expected to inspire the confidence of orthodox German churchmen, particularly for the influence of the classic figure for whom the second generation period in the history of the Herrnhuters was denominated--August Gottlieb Spangenberg, affectionately called "Brother Joseph."[1]

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[1] Zinzendorf's son died on May 28, 1752; see Uttendörfer and Schmidt, pp. 139-42, for his part in the excesses of the Sifting Time.

[2] This possibility is intimated in E.W. Cröger, Geschichte der erneuerten Brüderkirche (3 vols.; Gnadau: H.L. Menz, 1854), III, 1-7.

Yet a third factor in the changing attitude toward the Brethren may be seen in the accident of history wherein at the particular time when the above changes were brought to bear, the parts of Germany where the Herrnhuters were most active were the scene for a series of military campaigns in which the Hohenzollern fought for their continued existence and won for the first time a place in the first rank of European monarchs--the Seven Years' War (1757-1763).[2] The major states of Europe all became involved in one way or another, and this meant, in a time when the nobility were still to some degree fulfilling their military function, that a great number of persons from every estate in life for the first time gained a personal and first-hand acquaintance with the life and work of the Brethren. It was likely the use of their settlements as supply centers, quartering facilities, and hospitals during those years, more than any other factor, which led during the period that followed to the increasing acceptance and popularity of the Brethren in all of Protestant Europe.[3]

The question of their public image was far from the only one which led to profound changes among the Brethren during the years that followed Zinzendorf's death. In fact, as we shall ultimately see, their increased popularity had its own problems, particularly with relation to the maintenance of congregational discipline. At the death of their founder the Brotherhood had just "by the skin of its teeth" survived a financial crisis which threatened its very existence.[1] The debts that had been accumulated in the time of rapid expansion during the 1740's seemed fantastic when faced by a period of greater numerical stability and a saner financial viewpoint.[2] The shadow of these debts was to profoundly influence the movement during the coming period and did much to control the debilitating effects of increasing acceptance by the world--in short, to keep the Brethren working together in a disciplined manner.

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[1] This designation reflects Spangenberg's membership in an inner circle which surrounded Zinzendorf; see Gerhard Reichel, August Gottlieb Spangenberg: Bischof der Brüderkirche (Tübingen: Verlag von J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1906), pp. 170-71.

[2] The experience of the Saxon congregations in this war are recorded in Christian Gottlieb Frohberger, Briefe über Herrnhut und die evangelische Brüdergemeine (Budissin: George Gotthold Monse, 1796), pp. 192-205.

[3] Ibid., pp. 192-93.

The matter of their continued unity brings us to the particular crisis precipitated by the loss of their monarchial head, Count Zinzendorf. It was necessary for the Herrnhuters to develop a central polity to replace the function of the "Blessed Disciple" as he was consistently called during this period. It was impossible to take action immediately in 1760 because of the unsettled situation in which most of the congregations existed due to the war, so an interim directory committee was drawn together to attend to the immediate problems, and soon after the close of the war a General Synod was called at Marienborn--the Synod of 1764.[3] The proceedings of this synod seem to have been far from peaceful, as different elements vied for dominance, but schism does not seem ever to have been a serious consideration and the structure of the polity which was to replace the Count's authority began to develop.[1] The General Synod itself emerged as the ultimate earthly authority over the entire Brotherhood. It was to be made up of all bishops and ministers plus duly elected congregational deputies.[2] In their deliberations the final authority lay, however, not in majority rule, nor even in unanimity, but in all points where the clear Scriptural or rational decision was not apparent the Saviour was to be allowed to make his wishes known by means of a practice which will be discussed later--the Lot.[3] It was felt by the Herrnhuters that Christ had an especial authority over them and that this was the manner in which his wishes were to be made known.

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[1] Hamilton, pp. 150-53.

[2] The debt at the time of the 1764 Synod was $773,162; _ibid._, p. 204.

[3] The account here is based on the extremely revealing letter which served as preface to the compendium of synodical decrees entitled "Verlass der vier Synoden der evangelischen Brüder-Unität, von den Jahren 1764, 1769, 1775, und 1782," a German manuscript in four volumes and divided into 1262 paragraphs hereafter cited as "Verlass." Two copies of this collection are to be found in the Bethlehem Archives.

The Synod of 1764 appointed what was called the Direction to act in the administration of the affairs of the Unity between synods. The synods themselves were not called according to any set pattern of dates, but rather at the indication of the Lot, either as utilized in the Direction or in the synod itself.[4] The Direction, made up of three boards--one for over-all management, another for external affairs, and a third for the treasury--was replaced at the following synod (held again at Marienborn four years later) by the body known as the Unity Elders' Conference which remained the administrative structure of the Brethren for almost a century. The members of this group were appointed by the synod and it was subdivided into a College of Overseers, a College of Helpers, and a College of Ministers.[1] The function of these various subdivisions was not deliberative, but administrative and consultative. All questions of policy and basic decisions of any kind were made in the Elders' Conference as a whole. It was the responsibility of the "colleges," however, to maintain contact with their counterparts in the local congregations and to keep all members of the conference informed about them. For example, it was the duty of the spiritual pastors of the local congregations and their various units, the Choirs, to keep the College of Helpers informed of the spiritual condition of those in their charge. This was to be done at least each six months in a full written report.[2] Under this "conferential" system a good deal more local autonomy was allowed than in the days of Zinzendorf, but this liberty was strictly circumscribed by the powers of the Unity Elders' Conference which at the next synod (held at Barby in 1775) were increased as the central administration was given control over the financial functions of the local congregations.[3] Further, to this body fell the responsibility to train and control the calling and ordination of Preachers for the congregations.[4] Finally, it was the task of the Unity Elders' Conference to hold visitations from time to time wherein a local congregation would receive a thorough inspection and investigation of its material and spiritual affairs. Such visits by members of the conference always included a personal confessional interview called a Speaking (Sprechen) with each individual member of the congregation under scrutiny to ascertain his spiritual condition and to guide in its development.[1] The Provincial Helpers, whose responsibility it was to supervise the work of the Brethren in the various areas of the world, particularly in England and America, were looked upon as agents of this board.[2] The Synod of 1782 at Berthelsdorf did not appreciably alter this structure but maintained it in substantially the same order as it was to remain until the revolution which was brought at the Synod of 1857 when the central authority was largely abrogated, and the Brotherhood, at least in England and America, was allowed to take on more of a denominational development.[3] From this it may be seen that the time immediately following the Seven Years' War was separated from that which preceded it both in its external and its internal condition. It thus remains for us to show how the period of this study of the Herrnhuters is to be defined at its conclusion.

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[1] "Verlass," "preface letter."

[2] August Gottlieb Spangenberg, Kurzgefasste historische Nachricht von der gegenwärtigen Verfassung der evangelischen Brüderunität augspurgischer Confession (Frankfort: 1774), pp. 55-57. Hereafter cited as Nachricht. See also "Verlass," par. 1241.

[3] Ibid., par. 1242.

[4] Actually it was decided by the Lot at each synod whether the Saviour desired that a date then be designated for the next synod or whether it might be left to the Unity Elders' Conference to make that decision. In 1764 and 1769 it was left to the Unity Elders' Conference; in 1775 and 1782 it was decided by the Lot at the synod. The place of the meeting was left to the Unity Elders' Conference. Ibid., par. 1258.

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[1] Aufseher Collegium, Helfer Collegium, and Diener Collegium; Hamilton, p. 218.

[2] "Verlass," par. 689. [3] Hamilton, p. 219. [4] Ibid.

Their mission of mediation between the various religious parties and churches which divided orthodox Christianity in Germany has already been noted, but actually the chief intention of the Herrnhuters went far beyond that, for they looked upon themselves as the instrument in the hand of the Saviour by which the message of the cross would be brought to bear in the eighteenth century. The Brethren of Zinzendorf's time and the generation which followed his death not only professed but lived a faith in the efficacy of their message and in the validity of their calling. This faith is symbolized by a notice in the cover letter from the Unity Elders' Conference which accompanied the compendium of the synodical decrees of this period, issued in 1786, concerning an occurrence at the Synod of 1775 in which a deep experience of the reaffirmation of their calling took place. It was at this conference that particular attention was given to the problems of maintaining the discipline and orthodoxy in the Brotherhood and the stated principles of the congregation and Choirs were given a major revision. It was with relation to this work that the letter states:

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[1] See infra, pp. 122-133 for the results of such a Speaking.

[2] Hamilton, p. 219.

[3] Ibid., pp. 434-36.

> Everything through his [the Lord Jesus Christ] gracious assistance was so clearly laid down that our dear and now departed Brother Lieberkühn threw up his hands and filled with joy and with thankful heart cried out: "O God! What you have entrusted to the poor Brethren-Folk! Of it we are accustomed to sing and to say: 'So long as Jesus remains the Lord, each day becomes more splendid.'"[1]

This was the positive spirit of confidence and optimism which continued to dominate the Brethren during this period. Christ was Lord and his cause could not fail. If only the Brotherhood would by his grace be true to him and be his holy church he would not nor could not fail it in the world.

On the other side of this positive spirit of faith, however, were the pressures which were just then being exerted by the rising forces of the modern mind which to a large extent dominated the cultural renaissance in Germany and reached their brightest day in the events identified in the history of the West with the French

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[1] "Verlass," "preface letter."

Revolution. As the last quarter of the eighteenth century began, the victory of this spirit of doubt seemed assured in the German churches and universities.[1] Although the optimism of the Herrnhuters at the Synod of 1775 remained, as we have seen, a deep anxiety is also to be traced which found its expression in measures of theological discipline which went far to cut off the Brethren from the developing classical German culture. Financial retrenchment had been necessary at the beginning of the period; cultural retrenchment, an infinitely more dangerous thing to the continuing vitality of this movement, took place at its end. The factors which surrounded the expulsion of Schleiermacher and others like him are symbolic of a loss of confidence among the Herrnhuters in the face of secular rationalism. The ultimate dominance of this negative spirit was then classically illustrated by the removal of the theological seminary from which young Friedrich was expelled two years before from the dangerous vicinity of Halle--from Barby--to the back country of Upper Lusatia in the quiet and "safe" countryside which surrounded that youthful theologian's beloved Niesky. This action took place at the synod held in that year marked by the beginning of the Enlightenment's magnificent practical experiment--the French Revolution--in 1789.[2] Thus we define this era in Brethren history at the one end by the Seven Years' War and at the other by the French Revolution, and entitle it with the name of the man who did more than any other to typify its mission and spirit, Brother Joseph--the Era of Spangenberg.

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[1] Karl Barth, Die protestantische Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert (3d ed.; Zurich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1960), pp. 142-52.

[2] The actual crisis came in November of 1787, only a few months after the expulsion of Schleiermacher, when a conference was held at Herrnhut at which time major changes took place in the educational system of the Brethren, and doctrinal discipline was considerably tightened; "Gemein Nachrichten" (1788), I. Theil, 20. Woche, 1. This document is a weekly report issued by the Unity Elders' Conference in three parts: Theil I, Theil II, and Beilage; it was issued completely in MS during this period and is to be found in the Bethlehem Archives. Although it contains much material of

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great historical interest, its primary intention was as devotional material for reading in meetings of the congregations or segments thereof. See also Cröger, III, 417.

PART I

PRACTICAL PIETY AMONG THE HERRNHUTERS

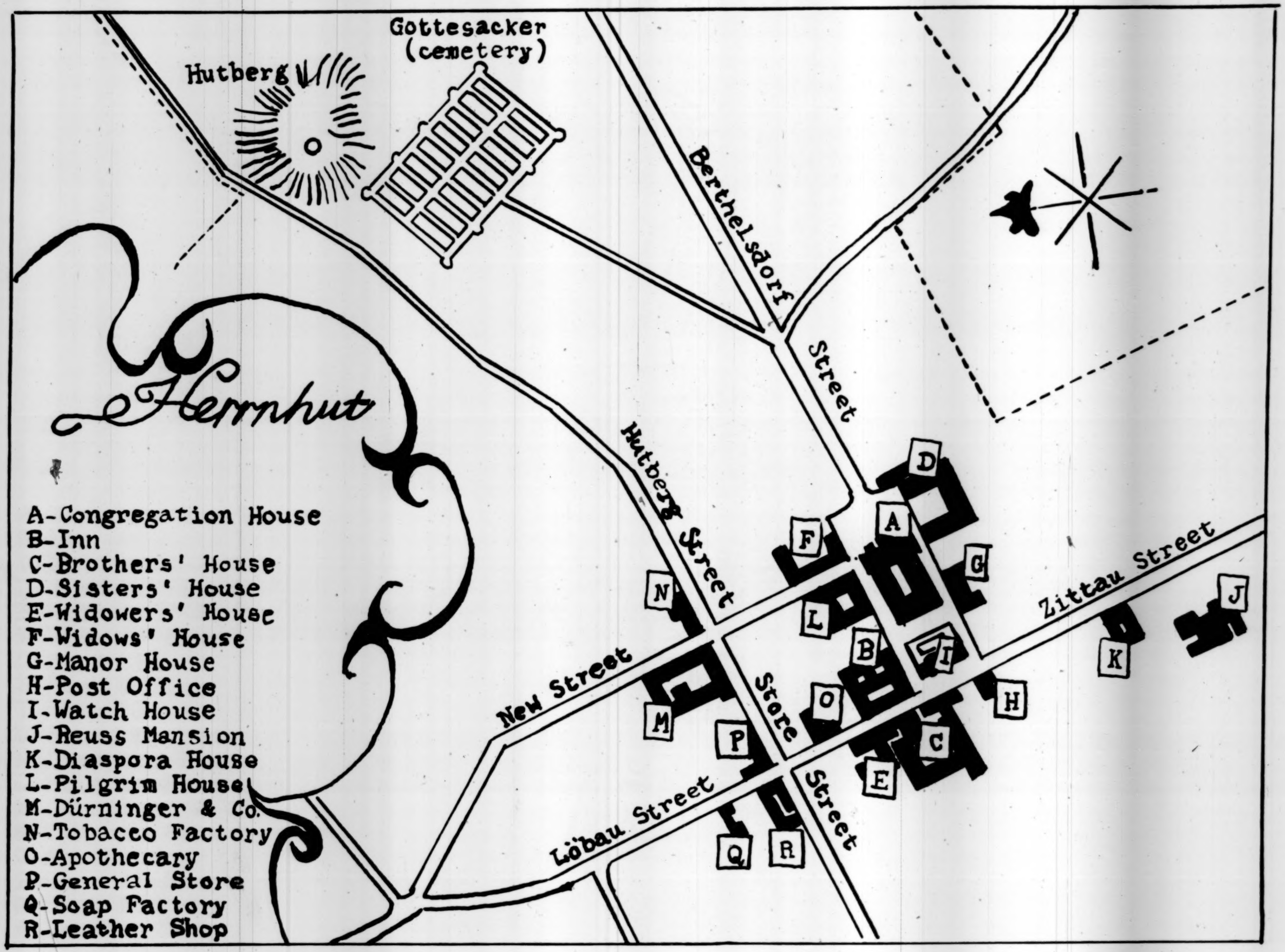
Gottesacker (cemetery)
Hutberg
Berthelsdorf Street
Hutberg Street
New Street
Store Street
Löbau Street
Zittau Street
Herrnhut
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
J
K
L
M
N
O
P
Q
R
A-Congregation House
B-Inn
C-Brothers' House
D-Sisters' House
E-Widowers' House
F-Widows' House
G-Manor House
H-Post Office
I-Watch House
J-Reuss Mansion
K-Diaspora House
L-Pilgrim House
M-Dürninger & Co.
N-Tobacco Factory
O-Apothecary
P-General Store
Q-Soap Factory
R-Leather Shop

Fig. 1.--Map of Herrnhut

CHAPTER I

HERRNHUT: A SETTLEMENT OF THE BRETHREN

If the religious communities of the Herrnhuters and the functions thereof are to be understood with any degree of accuracy it is essential that we first establish a proper view of the physical setting within which the religious vocation of the Herrnhuter was carried out. The settlements of the Brethren were designed and constructed with especial attention to the demands peculiar to the life and cultus to be practiced therein. Being thus designed, they contributed and to a degree shaped that by which they were shaped, i.e., their form and structure tended to influence, as well as to be influenced by, those purposes for which they were built. There are available to us numerous and rather detailed pictorial illustrations of the appearance of the various settlements and of the individual buildings therein, as well as detailed maps of a number of these villages.[1] It is only natural that such artifacts should have been created and remain to us, considering the nature and function of the "Gemein Nachrichten" and the exchange of the "Diaria" of the various settlements and their use in "reading services" as devotional material feeding the strong communal piety of the Herrnhuters.[1] Naturally most complete of all, however, is our picture of the "mother house" of this remarkable "order"--Herrnhut itself.[2] For the sake of realism, but not for the sake of dramatic effect as such, this description will be thrown into a rather immediate form and shall proceed as if it were the account of a typical visit to Herrnhut made in the mid-1780's by a person with similar interests to our own. Such an approach may be best conceived to avoid an involvement with insignificant and certainly confusing topographical and architectural details and yet to accomplish an orientation of the reader in the native habitat of the life and cultus which it is the purpose of this work to describe and evaluate.

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[1] At the Bethlehem Archives there are several large scrapbooks filled with such materials as well as several large drawers containing maps, designs, engravings, etc. The map of Herrnhut incorporated in this chapter was traced from one such scrapbook and includes only a small part of the excellent detail which shows the horticultural as well as topographical and architectural layout of this settlement and includes an elevation of the whole as seen from the Hutberg on the northwest side, all in copper plate engraving.

In the most eastward region of Electorial-Saxony, sandwiched between Silesia and Bohemia, lies a district known as Upper Lusatia. In this tiny and from modern standards somewhat backward province one may hardly ever be out of sight of at least one and generally of several of the picturesque little villages of medieval vintage which dot the rolling countryside.[1] An ancient country highway, known in the nineteenth century as the "Chaussée,"[2] reaches north and slightly westward from Zittau--a small, fortified castle town on the Neisse about twenty English miles above Görlitz and a scant two miles from the Bohemian border--for about ten miles to Löbau, another walled town of the province. For more than a hundred years now this road has been paralleled by a railway, but in the last quarter of the eighteenth century more primitive means of transportation were necessary.[3] Let us say that one had set out from Dresden on the morning before, and taking a leisurely drive by light carriage, had had a late mid-day meal in Lobau on this second day of his journey, and then set out in mid-afternoon on the highroad to Zittau for the four to five mile drive which yet remained to the famous and infamous Herrnhut. For the impression of this drive let us turn to the description of a Philadelphia traveler in mid-nineteenth century.

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[1] The use of this material will be observed in the description of the weekly and monthly cycle of services in chapters vii and viii of this thesis. Suffice it here to say that much detail was furnished in such accounts concerning the daily life in the various settlements, thus naturally leading to a curiosity about their actual appearance.

[2] Besides a more extensive supply of maps, and illustrations of Herrnhut dating from the eighteenth century and later, we have a rather full description of this settlement in Frohberger, pp. 223-95, which reflects its economic and physical condition in the last decade of the eighteenth century on the basis of a quarter century of close acquaintance and study. Also G. Korschelt, Geschichte von Herrnhut (Berthelsdorf: by the author, 1853), is especially valuable in its description of the factual data in the history of each building of Herrnhut, although unfortunately he appears to be highly dependent upon Frohberger in the furnishing of details about the dimensions and design of the buildings themselves. Hereafter cited as Herrnhut.

> Looking toward the south, the semicircular range of the Bohemian Mountains appears in view, rising here and there into those peculiar peaks which characterize the geology of this portion of the earth in contrast with our own. These form the boundary between Bohemia and Saxony. . . . To such a quiet and extremely aged picture as the landscape here furnishes, these mountains afford a most appropriate inclosure, and heighten, in a marked degree, the whole beauty of Lusatia. Scattered all around throughout this region are still to be found the vestiges of

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[1] A clear picture of this countryside can be gained from the scrutiny of the very detailed maps in an extremely valuable eighteenth century world atlas produced in Leipzig and held in the Bethlehem Archives. See also G. Korschelt, Geschichte von Berthelsdorf (Berthelsdorf: by the author, 1852), for the history of one such village.

[2] The title "Chaussée" actually reflects a complete renovation and modernization of the highway in the years 1823 to 1825; see Korschelt, Herrnhut, p. 18.

[3] The railway mentioned was constructed between Zittau and Löbau in 1846; ibid., p. 166.

> feudalism, and, occasionally, a cloister or a chapel. . . .
>
> But what most strikes the American tourist, in these portions of central Europe, is the "Dorf" and its gray cottages. Many of these lowly structures may be centuries old, and are but in the earliest stage of their annals when our buildings reach their usual time of demolition. A dense thatch is seen to cover them, and the dark color and patches of moss that adorn it bespeak the degree of age that bears upon it. The homestead is comprised of a single building, the stable and dwelling being under one and the same roof. Aside of the low and narrow doorway is seen a small window, sufficient to afford a scanty supply of light, but pierced through walls of masonry that seem designed to last for ages.[1]

As the carriage bumps along this sometimes more, sometimes less, primitive highway out among these wee villages with their squatty cottages surrounding onion-domed little churches and perhaps the country residence of a nobleman, a lesser peak separates itself as it rises up ahead from the more distant Bohemian Mountains described above. This small mountain has through the centuries afforded a chief landmark for the Löbau to Zittau highway. Lying as it does amidst relatively flat countryside, its name reveals its primitive function; it is the Hutberg--the "watch-mountain"[2]--which looms up ever higher. Well before the carriage has come opposite the small, round mountain it is possible to distinguish to the left on its northern slope the bright, new-quarried stone of the recently rebuilt and enlarged manor or "Schloss" at Berthelsdorf, the house originally built in the twenties by Count Zinzendorf, and not far from it the thin onion-shaped tower of the parish church which had played such an important role in the renewal of the "Ancient Unity of the Brethren."[3] The broad expanse of new-cut stone in the Schloss was to be but a token of the sight which greeted the eye as the carriage rounds the foot of the Hutberg on the southwest, and the full expanse of Herrnhut itself comes to view. Here among a veritable welter of villages comprised of old, and moldering cottages with their low, age-encrusted walls emerges on the south side of the "watch-mountain" a budding little city completely without fortification[1] but with very large buildings, virtually new, handsomely built of quarried rather than field stone and roofed with tiles or shingles, instead of the common thatch. At close range the large three and four story buildings are seen to be surrounded by a goodly number of smaller dwellings and out-buildings of various sizes and shapes, but all brand-new, at least by eighteenth century Lusatian standards. As the traveler's carriage enters Herrnhut from the north[2] on the highway the wheels rattle over neat paving stones where only sixty years ago had been located the most notorious mud hole in the district,[3] and the traveler might look to either side at the lines of well trimmed trees that here form an avenue and remember that this place, where buildings, gardens, and industries now stand, a few short decades ago was known as the domicile of owls, and was fit only for the grazing of cattle.[4] If indeed the so-called "Age of Revolution" was dawning in those last years of the eighteenth century, one would hardly seek for any sign of rapid change as that here represented, in the back-country of Upper Lusatia. At the head of the street from Löbau, which forms the main thoroughfare of the settlement, is a fork to the left leading to the New Street which runs parallel to the Löbau Street down to the main square of the village.[1] The high hedges of trimmed tree-tops soon end, to be replaced by the flat fronts of the houses and business buildings set directly on the edges of the street.[2] In entering from the north one comes through what would today be called the industrial and commercial section of the village. On the right lie the soap works and, at the first corner just beyond, the leather shops where are sold the famous ladies' gloves which are made here. Just opposite this on the left is the general merchandise store for which the street is named--Store Street (Laden Gasse).[3] Just a few yards beyond this intersection, on the left, stands the most complete apothecary shop in the whole province, an institution greatly admired by all visitors.[4] At this point one is enveloped by the high, long, squarish buildings of the congregation, with their hipped roofs and close-set rows of shining windows. Directly to the right is the house of the Widowers' Choir and beyond that on the street are two relatively low buildings behind which and connected to which stands the massive "U"-shaped three and four story expanse of the Brothers' House.

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[1] James Henry, Sketches of Moravian Life and Character (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott and Co., 1859), pp. 30-31.

[2] David Cranz, The Ancient and Modern History of the Brethren, trans. Benjamin LaTrobe (London: W. and A. Strahan, 1780), p. 101.

[3] Hamilton, pp. 38-39.

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[1] Frohberger, p. 228.

[2] Consultation of the map on p. 16 will reveal that this highway does not run straight from north to south but from about 20 points west of north to about the same divergence to the east of south. The streets thus are neither straight north and south nor east and west, but these designations have been made as if they were, so as to simplify description.

[3] Korschelt, Herrnhut, p. 5.

[4] Frohberger, p. 226.

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[1] For a discussion of the streets see ibid., pp. 228-29, and Korschelt, Herrnhut, pp. 18-19.

[2] See photograph of Löbau Street in Uttendörfer and Schmidt, p. 244. These streets were furnished with curbs and gutters at a time when most towns and cities in that part of Europe did not yet have them.

[3] Frohberger, p. 229.

[4] Ibid., p. 234.

At this point the carriage is on the verge of entering the square or Platz[1] which stretches off to the left, but instead enters a wide gate through the wall of the corner building on the left and the traveler alights in the courtyard of the Inn (Gemein-Logis), owned and operated by the congregation especially for those who come here on business or to see this place in curiosity or devotion, as well as for any incidental traveler who might find his way to this back country.[2] The carriages and horses of those who are to remain for some time at the Inn are directly taken around and enter another courtyard whose gate opens on the square. The accommodations at this hostelry are found to be a good cut above those at village inns in general, and compare favorably with the best hotels in Europe.[3] The rooms are spacious and clean; the food, although not cheap, reasonable and good. Those who stay at the Inn are not expected to eat in the common room where casual visitors and travelers passing through are served, but dine in their rooms and are able to choose their diet with a good deal of freedom. Here also is available a wide selection of the best foreign and domestic wines for their refreshment.[4] By the time the traveler is settled in his quarters and has effaced the dusty ravages of the journey, the afternoon is almost gone, with just about enough time for a turn about the square before supper. As he steps into the street facing on the square he is for the first time struck with the appearance and demeanor of the people, and the general lack of any disorder in the streets of this industrious and populous center of religion and commerce, in marked contrast to other towns of its size and prosperity.[1]

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[1] The square later became known as Zinzendorf Platz.

[2] Due to the heavy tourist traffic and the active commercial life of Herrnhut during these years, this Inn was often completely full; ibid., p. 237.

[3] Reise durch Kursachsen in die Oberlausitz nach den Evangelischen Brüdergemeinorten, Barby, Gnadau, Herrnhut, Niesky und Kleinwelke; nebst einer Schilderusig des brüderlichen, religiösen und sittlichen Zustandes der Evangelischen Brüdergemeine (Neue Ausgabe; Leipzig: J.D. Henrichs, 1807 [1st ed., 1805]), p. 132. This work, published anonymously by an Enlightened Christian, probably a schoolman, gives an interesting and for the most part reliable account of the life and worship in the Unity during the period of our interest. Hereafter cited as Reise.

[4] Frohberger, pp. 235-36.

By the time of Count Zinzendorf's death here in 1760 the population had reached its peak of around 1200 people and was to remain at that level until the end of the century when it began to decline slowly for a complex of economic and religious reasons.[2] At the time of the visit we are describing, however, the settlement had for some years been relatively stable in size, but because of the large numbers of people who went out from here to work in the inner and foreign missions of the Brethren, the community was in a constant state of change and growth in personnel all during this period.[3] The natives of the whole province traditionally distinguished themselves with their friendliness, and in this the inhabitants of Herrnhut are certainly no exception.[4] From the moment of first entry into the town this was apparent. As the traveler now steps into the square from one of the newer portions of the Inn,[5] he finds himself directly opposite the stalls for the butchers and the fruit merchants,[6] these beside a slightly larger structure which stands at the end of the square crossed by the street on which the carriage had entered Herrnhut. This low building we are later to find is the headquarters for the nightwatch and the very advanced fire-fighting equipment which protects this village.[1] Directly to the left side of this guardhouse is a large rectangular, stone-lined pool of water surrounded with a hedge and entered from the far side by a gate and stairway. In the twentieth century it would certainly have been a swimming pool, or at least a baptistry, but this too proved a part of this fire-fighting system--a cistern, only one of a goodly number, containing water to be pumped onto any possible outbreak of fire. To the far left, at the other end of the rectangular square, stands the massive Gemeinhaus atop which perches the small tower which displays the town clock and from which bells mark the hour and quarter-hour, and summon the people to worship. On an open place thereon, a balustrade reveals the spot from whence the trombones are played, bringing their special messages to the inhabitants of the settlement.[2]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 283-84.
[2] Korschelt, Herrnhut, pp. 21-28.

[3] Ibid., p. 21.
[4] Henry, p. 33.

[5] Most of the Inn as it then stood had been built within the last decade; Korschelt, Herrnhut, pp. 49-50.

[6] Frohberger, p. 246.

As the traveler strolls out across the square past the spring which bubbles there[3] he becomes more conscious of the rather peculiar garb of those pleasant inhabitants who move to and fro, scurrying about at the close of the work day and preparing the evening meal. All are clad in rather somber tones of black, brown, grey, and blue. The brighter shades of green, red, and yellow are conspicuous by their absence.[1] The men are not especially distinguished in their dress from the so-called "upright burgher" in any middling to large German city of the time, except that the cut of their clothing was a little more square. A few would be seen in the small, three-cornered hat, country waistcoat, and bobtailed wig which marked the really old-fashioned in dress, and some of the younger ones would reflect the newer styles of pantaloons, cutaway coats, spats, and laced shoes. All would be uniform, however, in the absence of such ornaments by which personal pride and social estate were generally displayed, as for example, braided or bagwigs, braided hair or hair nets, bright buttons, lace, braids, and gold or silver embroidery. Clothing is designed and worn here for warmth and health, and all which does not serve that purpose is dispensed with. The clergymen of the Brethren distinguish themselves in garb only by the complete somberness of its color, wearing brown suits and black linens.[2]

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[1] The modern fire-fighting system which protected Herrnhut, including a fire engine or pumper, leather hose, and a system of cisterns, is described in detail, ibid., pp. 292-94.

[2] Ibid., p. 232; also infra, pp. 188-90.

[3] This was one of eight public outlets for the Herrnhut waterworks by which water was piped into the town; see Frohberger, pp. 290-91.

The dress of the ladies who are moving through the square on this late afternoon is of a much more distinctive nature. Chief among the peculiarities of their manner of dress is the close-fitted hood worn universally by the women. This small white bonnet was imported to Saxony by the exiles from Moravia and has persisted despite efforts to abandon it.[3] Its front comes down close around the edge of the forehead and its sides cover the ears. The whole contains the hair and is tied securely at the chin by a pretty bow which is apparently the one vanity of these simply clad ladies. The color of this ribbon reveals the status of the lady by whom it is worn. Each of their various Choirs has its distinctive color and the changing of the ribbon on the hood or Haube is an important part of the ceremony by which one passes from one estate of life to another.[1] Some who for example may have been working under the hot sun would wear a hat over the hood which would then be held in place by a black or white scarf. It is also customary that they wear a long, collarless bodice, laced entirely down the front with a narrow ribbon generally matching that by which the hood is tied at the chin. In place of a collar is generally worn a white neck cloth, and among the more modish, this cloth tends to be wider. The color of the skirt is not determined by custom, and on Sunday might either be of some bright color or of white, or even of some striped material, while the color for every day and for Holy Communion is a rather neutral brown. A goodly number of the ladies are also seen to wear a full dress or gown after the English fashion. In winter these ladies generally wear a grey cloth overcoat which is usually trimmed with fur; these coats are never of black material.

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[1] The reconstruction of the garb of the Brethren is mainly on the basis of Reise, pp. 245-51; Frohberger, pp. 296-301; and numerous portraits, chiefly by Valentine Haidt, to be found in the Bethlehem Archives.

[2] The only time a distinctively clerical garb was used was for sacramental observances, when a white gown was worn. Reise, p. 248; Spangenberg, Nachricht, p. 75.

[3] Reise, pp. 248-49.

The children in this place resemble in almost every detail their elders, except that their clothes tend to be slightly less somber. The girls, for example, wear bright or even white bodices rather than the dark ones of their mothers.[2] The dress of all reflects their frugality and their rational common sense. Their refusal to follow the more bizarre turns of popular fashion generally found enthusiastic support among the rulers and scholars of a rationalistic orientation who found their way into these settlements.[1] Failure to make any class distinction in dress--the fact that "a serving maid could not be distinguished from her mistress"--was upon occasion criticized by an age still strongly conscious of the social remnants of feudalism.[2]

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[1] Such a ceremony is described as it was practiced in mid-nineteenth century in [Beatrice Stebbing Batty], Moravian Life, or an English Girl's Account of a Moravian Settlement in the Black Forest (New York: Church Book Society, 1860), pp. 79-80. The ribbon for the widows is white; for the married sisters, blue; for the single sisters, rose; for the older girls, dark red; and for the little girls, bright red; Frohberger, p. 298.

[2] This tendency is apparent especially from certain artistic pieces, as for example, the famous "Erstlingsbild" of Haidt.

Closely related to this matter of distinction in dress, our traveler would also become conscious almost immediately of the fact that there was universal familiarity of address among those about him. The singularity of this practice would not, however, become immediately apparent but would tend to become more impressive the wider the experience of the visitor became. The fact that everyone greets his fellow as "brother" or "sister" used in conjunction with either his first or last name is not of itself too startling, but when it becomes apparent that this practice prevails between persons of all classes and stations in life, it becomes much more striking and certainly for some, offensive.[3]

If our traveler walks straight across the square between the water reservoir and the spring, he stands directly in front of the manor-house (Herrschafthaus) with its apartments on the ground floor for the local magistrate and administrators, and above for the local ruler, presently the Countess Benigna, daughter of the old Count Zinzendorf.[4] Turning to the left, away from the highway by which he arrived, the visitor follows the street to the east as it leads along the south side of the square between the back of the meeting hall on the east end of the square and the Single Sisters' Choir House with its two wings connected by a high picket fence with a small gate in the middle through which the front of the main, connecting building is visible behind a formally landscaped courtyard. The building at the east end of the street is also connected with the Sisters' House. As our stroller nears this building the street begins to veer to the left, skirting around a semicircular garden as does the street which borders the north side of the square to join the road which leads off to the east to Berthelsdorf less than a mile away. In the middle of this small garden, set against the wall of the Congregation House, are the low chambers in which the bodies of the dead are kept prior to burial. It is in this small garden that the burial procession gathers after the short funeral service in the Prayer Hall, and it is only a few rods out the road to Berthelsdorf that a narrow avenue of square-trimmed lindens cuts off diagonally to the left, up toward the peak of the Hutberg where lies the burial ground of the settlement. As the traveler walks around the small semicircular garden at the head of the square he finds himself directly opposite another large establishment, a complex of buildings connected by stone and wooden walkways which proves to be the Widows' House, and as he comes completely around to the north side of the square, even with the Congregation House, the whole, rather narrow length of the New Street stretches off to the north, to join with the highway at the end of the village as has already been indicated. Only a block down this street are located the business buildings of the most famous commercial establishment of this settlement, the linen merchants of Abraham Dürninger and Company[1] who had made the name of Herrnhut famous in the marketplaces of the world in just these years at the close of the eighteenth century, and who from an economic point of view did so much to contribute to the financial stability which was gained by the Brethren during this post-Zinzendorfian era.[2] As the leisurely walk around the square of Herrnhut comes full circle, the bell on the Congregation House is just sounding the hour of the early evening service, and as the visitor turns in at the Inn, to find his light supper set out waiting for him in his room, the brothers and sisters stream toward the Prayer Hall for the service of the Congregation Hour.[3] Even as the weary traveler prepares to retire a couple of hours later, at around nine o'clock, having found this Inn--at sharp variance with a great majority of hostelries of the time--very quiet and restful,[4] he hears the bell sounding once more to call the worshipers to the Evening Hour, and lying in the airy sleeping chamber, he can hear the sound of singing from the Prayer Hall, the night breezes carrying bits and snatches of the music of which he had heard so much; the Singing Hour is soon erased by sleep. Within half an hour **after** the end of this service the streets are empty, and the lamps that lighted them are soon extinguished by the night-watch which has been on duty since six o'clock.[1] Throughout the night those assigned to this duty make their rounds. A watchman on his rounds is accompanied by a large police dog leashed at his side, and several hounds whose duty it is to run about and explore doorways and dark corners.[2] No one is abroad after around ten o'clock, and if anyone should be in need of assistance, as for example, the attendance of the physician, it is customary that he should merely place a lamp in the window.[3] The night-watch would come in response to this signal and carry out whatever errand should prove necessary. Between rounds the watchmen would stay in the watch and fire house directly across from the Inn, at the foot of the square, and at each hour of the watch it is their duty to sing out an appropriate stanza written especially for this purpose.[4] These verses are as follows:

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[1] Ibid., pp. 250-51; Frohberger, p. 299.

[2] Reise, p. 250.

[3] Ibid., p. 454.

[4] Henriette Benigna Justine, Freifrau von Wattewille, ruled Berthelsdorf from the death of her mother in 1756 to her own death in 1789; Korschelt, Herrnhut, pp. 40-41.

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[1] The history of this mercantile house and its founder is stated briefly in Frohberger, pp. 261-71.

[2] The period referred to is that of this work--1763-1789--and is marked by a high degree of prosperity combined with an oppressive burden of debt inherited from the preceding era; see Korschelt, Herrnhut, pp. 24-25.

[3] This service at which an address or reading was the custom was held each evening at around 6 or 6:30 o'clock.

[4] Frohberger, p. 236.

> The clock is eight! to Herrnhut all is told,
> How Noah and his seven were saved of old.
>
> Hear, Brethren, hear! the hour of nine is come!
> Keep pure each heart, and chasten every home!
>
> Hear, Brethren, hear! now ten the hour-hand shows;
> They only rest who long for night's repose.
>
> The clock's eleven, and ye have heard it all,
> How in that hour the mighty God did call.
>
> It's midnight now, and at that hour you know,
> With lamp to meet the bridegroom we must go.
>
> The hour is one; through darkness steals the day;
> Shines in your hearts the morning star's first ray?
>
> The clock is two! who comes to meet the day,
> And to the Lord of days his homage pay?
>
> The clock is three! the Three in One above
> Let body, soul and spirit truly love.

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 289. There were four night watchmen at Herrnhut who were employed by the Congregation; see *ibid*., pp. 285-86.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 286. [3] *Ibid*. [4] "Verlass," par. 938.

The clock is four! where'er on earth are three
The Lord has promised He the fourth will be.

The clock is five! while five away were sent,
Five other virgins to the marriage went!

The clock is six, and from the watch I'm free,
And every one may his own watchman be![1]

And thus at six does the day begin for the brethren at Herrnhut, with morning devotions in the homes and in the Choir Houses. Here, as in agrarian areas from time immemoriam, the day begins and ends early. Unlike the surrounding district, however, the daily occupations in this community, at this hour just about to get under way, are not primarily agricultural in nature. In fact, the area available for tillage in most of the settlements of the Brethren was so limited and the population so large that support through the growing of crops was literally impossible.[2] The great bulk of the population at Herrnhut were artisans and almost none was engaged in the most active domestic industry of the area, which supported the economy of the settlement so well commercially, the production of linen cloth. The Dürninger establishment was involved in the operation of the manufacture of tobacco products as well as several types of textile products, including cotton, calicos, and prints, as well as various types of linen. Their commercial interests included the operation of a governmental concession in the wholesale of household goods and the operation of the settlement apothecary and general merchandise stores which we passed on the Löbau Street on the way to the Inn.[3] Besides this large enterprise, however, we find a number of other businesses in Herrnhut which furnish employment, profit, and service to the community. According to Frohberger,[1] there are nine such mercantile establishments: a leather merchant who handles imported as well as domestic leather goods; a hardware merchant who carries a very wide range of products; an oil merchant who also handles cured fish and meat as well as tableware; a shop with dried fruit, wooden household items, and children's toys; a grain and meal store; a glass shop with a very skilled glazer; a linen merchant besides Dürninger, apparently for the sake of competition;[2] a ribbon shop which sells the silk ribbon produced in the Brothers' House and the linen ribbon manufactured in the Sisters' House; and, finally, a business in the brightly colored and painted papers produced by the Sisters' Choir and the printer in the Zittau Street (the name of Löbau Street after it crosses the square going south).[3]

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[1] Joseph E. Hutton, A History of the Moravian Church (2d ed., rev., and enlarged; London: Moravian Publication Office, 1909), pp. 217-18.

[2] Korschelt, Herrnhut, pp. 19-21.

[3] Ibid., pp. 23-26.

Besides the employment afforded by these commercial enterprises we also find a very wide variety of craftsmen at Herrnhut at the close of the eighteenth century. Among these are two clock-makers, three goldsmiths, one seal engraver, one confectioner and pastry cook, and three cabinetmakers--one of whom manufactures fine furniture and woodcarving in the Brothers' House. There are two men's tailors, and one for ladies. Most of the clothing for men is produced in the Brothers' House whereby a large number of apprentices are employed. There are four men's booters, of which one in the Brothers' House employs a number of apprentices; there is only one for the ladies, and one leathersmith who produces leather gloves in the Brothers' House. There are three bakers, one coppersmith who produces various types of fire-fighting equipment in the Brothers' House, two locksmiths, one cutler, one farrier, one wheelwright or wagoner, one saddler who manufactures coaches and wagons, one harnessmaker, two buttonmakers, one hatter, one furrier, one wigmaker, one hosier, two painters, one soapmaker, one glazer, one potter, one carpenter, two tanners, one cooper, two linenweavers, one bookbinder, and one ropemaker.[1] This count naturally includes only full-fledged tradesmen, and not apprentices. From this list the orientation of Herrnhut toward commercial and industrial economy rather than agriculture becomes obvious. It was this orientation which made the settlements of the Brethren so popular with eighteenth century rulers such as Friedrich the Great, and others.[2] And it was this commercial orientation which finally led to the financial decline of the Herrnhuters. They were badly hurt by the "Continental System" of Napoleon and the loss of markets which it brought, and never recovered their former prosperity as the impact of the industrial revolution on the textile industry was felt in the old and new worlds.[3] The factory system and power machinery furnished competition which could not be met by the artisans and domestic weavers of Lusatia. Thus we see in this period under study the last and fullest bloom of this commercial and industrial system.

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[1] That is, in 1796 when the Frohberger account was written.

[2] Ibid., p. 273.

[3] Ibid., pp. 272-73.

Upon leaving the Inn on this new day, the attention of our visitor turns immediately to the spiritual nerve center of the congregation, a complex of buildings connected in the form of a rectangle which, as we have already observed, lies at the head of the square and is known as the Congregation House. This structure is the center of devotional life for the entire congregation and is the site for most of the important cultic observances in Herrnhut. Here also are held the specific Choir functions of the Married and Children's Choirs, they having no specific Choir Houses of their own, as well as the exercises of congregational and public worship. This building was constructed in two main parts, both of which stand parallel to the Zittau-Löbau highway. The older part which is at the very center of the square is now known as the "old congregation house." It was built in 1724 as a boys' school, orphanage, and center of pious education, after the Halle pattern.[1] The upper story of this sixty yard long, twenty-six yard wide, and twelve yard high building is known as "the small prayer hall" and is presently used for the children's special services and for the annual preachers' conferences held at Herrnhut.[2] It was formerly used for all of the meetings of the congregation but became too small in the mid-1750's, thus the "new congregation house" was built. The lower floor of the old structure houses the girls' school of the Unity, in which not only local girls but the daughters of missionaries and workers of the Brethren all over the world are educated up to their twelfth year.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 273-75. For the count better than half a century later see Korschelt, Herrnhut, pp. 27-28.

[2] It was largely this factor which led to the popularity of the Herrnhuters among the rulers of non-Roman Catholic Europe; see Cranz, pp. 279-84 and 609-11.

[3] Korschelt, Herrnhut, p. 27.

The new hall, the side of which is visible from the east as one approaches the square out of the Berthelsdorf Street,[3] is larger than the old one, being sixty-four yards long, thirty-two yards wide, and sixteen yards high. It, like the other major buildings of Herrnhut, is of cut stone and has a hipped, shingled roof. The lower floor contains the larger Prayer Hall and the upper the dormitory for the girls' school. The present congregational Prayer Hall is entered through two side wings which with the two main buildings close the rectangular complex.[1] These wings contain the quarters of the clergy and officials of the congregation, and at the end of each, toward the Prayer Hall, is the vestibule by which this sanctuary is reached, and the stairways to the galleries located at the ends of that hall. The sisters enter from the south side of the square and the brothers from the north. The hall itself is a large rectangular room with a platform elevated at the height of two steps along the west side.[2] At the center this platform is wider, and at this point is placed the small table covered with a dark green cloth behind which the liturgist or preacher sits on a chair.[3] This table takes the place of a pulpit in the Prayer Houses of the Brethren on the Continent. At either side of the table, against the wall, are located benches. On the bench to the left of the liturgist sit the Elders, on that to the right, the Eldresses, and in front of the platform the pews or benches for the congregation are arranged. There are no stalls or rented pews in this church, but only free pews;[1] a few of them are equipped with backrests, but most of them are not. The pews are arranged so that the brothers sit in front of the Elders and the sisters in front of the Eldresses. At either end of the hall stands a balcony. At the brothers' end (north) the balcony contains an excellent two manual pipe organ with twelve registers and arranged so that the organist faces away from the chest and thus has the congregation in full view.[2] The other balcony, at the sisters' end of the hall, has two loges which are reserved for the local rulers, and can be used by visitors and candidates at certain services where attendance is restricted to communicant members, as for example, Holy Communion. These galleries are also extensively used by the musical organizations and groups of the congregation.[3]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 47-49. [2] Frohberger, pp. 111-23.

[3] An illustration of this approach is to be found in S. Baudert and Th. Steinmann, Die Welt der Stillen im Lande (2d ed.; Berlin: Fursche-Verlag, 1925), Bildtafel 11.

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 231.

[2] Uttendörfer and Schmidt, p. 180, shows a sketch of the interior of the hall in 1760.

[3] Frohberger, pp. 230-31. The color of this cloth seems to have had no relation to the seasons of the Christian year but was used in all seasons, to be replaced (or covered) on special feast days and at Communions with an especially decorated cloth, often with flowers, greenery, and colored ribbon binding appropriate to the occasion. In the middle of the nineteenth century the green cloth was still "usual" for the entire year; see Batty, pp. 53, 48, 55, 62, 71, 177, 221. _Infra_, pp. 253-54.

There are four doors by which the Prayer Hall may be entered at the main level. Two of these are located toward either end of the platform and are used respectively by the sisters and the brothers,[4] and the other two are directly opposite on the east wall and lead to small cubicles attached to the east side of the building in which the Elders and Eldresses await the assembling of the congregation and the beginning of the service.[5] This entire building, as shall become quite apparent, forms the religious as well as the topographical center of the Herrnhut Congregation, but as we shall also see, such a prayer hall--only in miniature--is to be found in each one of the four Choir Houses of Herrnhut, that of the single brothers, the widowers, the single sisters, and the widows.

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[1] Frohberger, p. 230.

[2] Ibid., p. 232; Korschelt, Herrnhut, pp. 58-59.

[3] Ibid., p. 58. [4] Frohberger, p. 231.

[5] [Heinrich Casimir Gottlieb Lynar (Graf)], Nachricht von dem Ursprung und hauptsächlich von der gegenwärtigen Verfassung der Brüder-Unität (zweyte stark vergesserte Auflage mit einer Vorrede von D. Anton Friedrich Busching; Halle: Johann Jacob Curt, 1781), p. 71. The authenticity of this work is indirectly attested by a decree of the General Synod of 1782. "Der Synodus 1782 fand für nöthig zu erklären, dass die vor einiger Zeit in Halle herausgekommene Nachricht von dem Ursprung u. Fortgange, u. hauptsächlich von der gegenwärtigen Verfassung der Brüder-Unität keinineges also eine Gemeinschrift angusehen, auch nicht als eine solche in unsern Gemeinorten Verkauft werden soll"; "Verlass," par. 1005. Count Lynar

The whole sanctuary is lighted by day from more than a dozen high windows[1] which are equipped with white cotton draw drapes as well as green linen roller blinds to control the direct sunlight.[2] In the evening it is illuminated by eight chandeliers as well as other lights located along the walls and particularly around the liturgist's table.[3]

If we suppose that our visitor to Herrnhut knows something about the distinctive structure of a Brethren settlement, he will certainly be interested to explore so much as is possible the residences of the various Choirs, and to have described to him those which he may not enter. Because of the sharp segregation of the sexes at Herrnhut, it is naturally impossible for him to make anything like a thorough inspection of the Sisters' and Widows' Houses.[4]

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was a long time friend and defender of the Brethren, and although his anonymously published work was violently attacked by Johann Konrad Hegner, in *Verbesserungen der von ungenannten geschriebenen und herausgegebenen und in dem dreyzehnten Theil des Büschingischen Magazins für die neue Historie und Geographie befindlichen Nachricht von dem Ursprung und Fortgang und hauptsächlich von der gegenwartigen Verfassung der Brüder-Unität* (Halle: Johann Jacob Curt, 1780; attached to the first edition of Lynar's work), the complaints were about relatively minor matters which have been corrected in the second edition.

[1] Korschelt, *Herrnhut*, p. 58, indicates that there are eighteen windows, while Frohberger, p. 231, records only fourteen. It is likely that the former is correct and that the latter failed to count windows almost completely obscured by the balconies.

[2] Frohberger, p. 231.

[3] *Ibid*.

[4] *Reise*, p. 134.

From this distance, of course, this is no particular problem, for our sources are very nearly as adequate for one house as another.[1] As has already been indicated, the Inn at which the traveler is stopping lies at the northwest corner of the square, where the Löbau Street enters it. Directly across Löbau Street from the Inn are both the Brothers' and the Widowers' Houses. The Brothers' House is on the left and faces the street with a solid front. This front is composed on the left by the residence built by Brother Prokop on the site of the original building at Herrnhut, and on the right by the former apothecary shop. These are relatively low buildings, in one of which is presently found the sick-room for the Brothers' House, and the other houses the bakery of Herrnhut. The two are connected by a wooden covered walkway, topped by a small tower with a bell. Below this tower opens the wide door behind which lies the large enclosed courtyard of the Brothers' House.[2] Once inside the courtyard the chief buildings of the house become visible in all their mass. The main portion of the "U"-shaped structure is directly opposite the entrance from the Löbau Street, or actually here, the foot of the square. This portion, built in the 1750's, is eighty yards long, and twenty-five broad, but unlike the two wings which are eighteen yards high, it is only fifteen high. In this section are to be found downstairs the workshops of the cabinetmakers and the shoemakers, and upstairs, under the roof, the dormitory of the brothers. The wing to the right, like that on the left, is four stories high and is seventy-five yards long and twenty-one broad. In it are found the dining room and kitchen in which the brothers and apprentices eat, and above are a variety of dwelling rooms for the use of the brothers and their officials. The wing to the left is a good deal smaller, only fifty yards long and nineteen wide. In its first story are found more living rooms along with the workshops for the artisans in gold and silver. Above these stands the prayer hall (Betsaal) of the single brothers, complete with a table for the liturgist and benches for the Elders and the brothers. Also in this place is located a small pipe organ for use in worship.[1] This is actually a copy of the great Prayer Hall located in the Congregation House at the head of the square. Above this Choir Hall, under the roof, is the dormitory where the apprentices sleep. Behind the Brothers' House lies a large kitchen garden equipped with a number of small niches and park benches to facilitate the use of this quiet spot for the devotion and recreation of the brothers. Also here we find a collection of buildings used in the trades practiced by the single brothers, and at the far rear the tannery, and the slaughterhouse which provides meat for Choir Houses only.[2]

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[1] The chief sources used are Korschelt, Herrnhut; and Frohberger.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 238; Korschelt, *Herrnhut*, pp. 83-84; also see photograph in Uttendörfer and Schmidt, p. 204.

Our most distinct idea of the impression which might be made by such a Choir House upon our traveler may be drawn from an account given of the structure and staff of a Brothers' House made by one whose knowledge of that institution at Herrnhut in precisely this period is beyond question. We therefore turn to Count Lynar, who proceeds with his account thus:

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[1] Korschelt, Herrnhut, p. 84.

[2] The meat for the private houses was provided by private butchers from surrounding villages and sold on set days at the stall on the square; see Frohberger, p. 275.

> The house where the single brothers all live together is called the Choir House of the Single Brothers or merely the Brothers' House. The Brothers' Houses are generally handsome, large, bright, squarely built, and sometimes house several hundred persons. In each such Brothers' House are constructed three large chambers. The first is referred to as the prayer hall, wherein the whole Choir gathers for worship services, called Choir Meetings. The second is called the dining hall, where the brothers eat, and the third, the dormitory, where they sleep. There is also a kitchen with a cellar nearby and behind all this is a garden where the residents of the Choir House stroll. The Choir Overseer and Choir Helper, who are the wardens of the Choir, have their own rooms. There are also other rooms in which only one person lives, and yet others with two, three, or more brothers. Indeed there are some very large rooms where ten to twenty brothers live together. The House Steward, whose duty it is to keep the house clean, tend the lights, wait on tables, and the like, lives in a room called the steward's room. In the passage-ways hang crystal lanterns, and the Choir House is lighted throughout the night. Also in the Choir House are cooks; kitchen and cellar servants; a gardener; a porter; a couple of house- and night-watchmen; a baker for the house; and launderers, because the laundry is done only by men who wash, however, only for the residents of the house. Finally there are also special sick-rooms with sick-nurses who attend them.[1]

Just to the north on the Löbau Street and next to the Brothers' House stands the Widowers' House, a much less pretentious establishment. The main building is only fifty-two yards long, twenty wide, and twelve high. It, like the Brothers' House during this period, is covered by a shingled rather than a tile roof.[2] Therein we find a combination of rooms, the dormitory, and the prayer hall of the widowers. Also for a number of years the Boys' School of the Unity, then that of the settlement, along with its sleeping quarters was found in this house.[3] Already by the 1780's the population of the

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[1] Pp. 104-105.

[2] Frohberger, pp. 239-40; the Brothers' House was not tiled until 1792.

[3] From 1754 until 1763 the Unity boys' school was here, and from 1778 to 1780 the local boys' school. In the mid-1780's, however, it was located in the so-called Pilgrim House on the north side of the square between the Inn and the Widows' House; Korschelt, Herrnhut, p. 77.

Widowers' Choir at Herrnhut was dwindling; it was soon to amount to only a handful.[1]

In order now to reach the other Choir Houses it is necessary to go from the western end of the square where the Inn and the men's houses are located at the foot of the square to the easterly end, or head of the square, where on either side of the Congregation House stand the Widows' House on the north and the Single Sisters' House on the south. The latter of these is the more elegant of the two, incorporating several large connected buildings as well as the main structure, and housing at this time around three hundred women and girls.[2] The main complex was seen on last night's walk and is in the form of the letter "U" open toward the street. The two wings are closed by a high picket fence with masonry pillars. A flagstone walkway leads from a small gate in the middle of this fence to the main entrance at the middle of the principal building.[3] At either side of the walk are formally arranged flower beds and shrubs. This courtyard is closely guarded, as is the whole establishment, from the intrusion of masculine visitors whose presence is not absolutely necessary.[4] This is the most cleanly built of the Choir Houses at Herrnhut.[5] Its main or connection section is seventy-three yards long, twenty-seven broad, and sixteen high, while both wings are fifty yards long, sixteen broad, and fourteen high. The whole is of almost the same age and is massively constructed of well-matched quarried stone throughout. The wing to the left contains the kitchen downstairs and the dining room upstairs; in the right wing, under the hipped roof, is the prayer hall for the morning and evening Choir benedictions and other Choir functions. In the connecting section the dormitories are located, under the roof.[1] The rest of the space is taken up by the work and living rooms required by the sisters in their daily life and industry. Close by and attached by a walkway at the second floor level is the sick-room for the Single Sisters' Choir,[2] and another connected building on the square is used for the accommodation of ladies who come to visit this place and naturally cannot be allowed to remain at the Inn unattended.[3] Behind this house and extending to the edge of the village are the very extensive gardens of the sisters. Here they grow the produce necessary to their support, and here they are in the custom of walking about during their devotions and at leisure hours. At the very rear of these gardens is a small grove, one of the only remnants of the famous Forest of the Owls which once covered this whole area. This wood is reserved for the exclusive use of the single sisters and is maintained by them as a further place of relaxation and devotion.[4]

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 85.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 87.

[3] See Uttendörfer and Schmidt, p. 337, for a photograph of the building as it appeared about a century later.

[4] _Reise_, p. 134.

[5] This judgment is based upon the symmetry and proportion found lacking in the other Choir Houses at Herrnhut.

The symmetry marked in the Sisters' House is completely lacking in the Widows' House. Although it lies in general in the form of a modified "C," the sources do not describe it with relation to wings of a principal building. It stands at the extreme northeast corner of the perimeter of the square and just opposite at the head of the New Street is the so-called Pilgrim House which during these years furnishes the quarters for the boys' school.[1] One wing of the "C" which is formed by the Widows' House lies on the square and is thirty-five yards long, twenty-two broad, and twelve high. The so-called "side" building constitutes the back of the "C" and lies along New Street. It is forty-three yards long, seventeen broad, and twelve high. The bottom of the "C," called the "rear" building, is parallel with the "chief" building but larger than the two other wings, being forty-eight yards long, twenty-three broad, and sixteen high. In this rear building is located the kitchen downstairs and the prayer hall upstairs. Unlike the single sisters, who live in dormitories of from ten to twenty women, each widow is given a private room and appears to have eaten alone, as well.[2] We may also contrast the size and significance of this group with that of the widowers. The latter Choir, as was already indicated, was constantly diminishing in number, but just the opposite was the case with the Widows' Choir which continued to grow and flourish throughout the period, and constantly to gain in importance and productivity of material and spiritual wealth.[3] Behind their establishment is also found a cluster of buildings and of highly cultivated gardens for growing the produce for the use of their Choir.

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[1] Frohberger, p. 241.

[2] _Ibid_.

[3] _Ibid_.

[4] _Ibid_.

Immediately between the Sisters' and the Widows' Houses and behind the Congregation House begins the Berthelsdorf Street which stretches to the east between rows of quite impressive private residences, and finally becomes the country lane leading between avenues of ornamental trees to the village of Berthelsdorf. In order to reach one of the most significant centers of Herrnhut's devotional life, as well as one of its most unique tourist attractions, it is necessary that we follow this street a few yards beyond the edge of the settlement, where, according to the most complete description of the period from Frohberger,

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[1] See Uttendörfer and Schmidt, p. 247, for a photograph of the building, and Korschelt, _Herrnhut_, p. 51, for its history.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 88.

[3] _Ibid_., pp. 87-88.

> a beautiful avenue of lindens leads out of the village diagonally (left) from Berthelsdorf Street. The entrance is though a gateway of green painted wood,[1] on the outward side of which are inscribed in gilt letters, the words "Christ is risen from the dead," then on the inside, "He has become the first fruit among those who sleep." These inscriptions inform one of its purpose as he walks into what would certainly be taken for a garden. In entering here one finds himself in the Gottesacker (cemetery) of the Brethren. But it is difficult to believe oneself among the dead. Nothing is seen of all that which makes the graves of the dead in other places so sad and unpleasant for the brothers and sisters left behind, but this whole place seems more one for enjoyment and strolling than for burial. So one walks with pleasure among those who sleep, forgetting that corpses lie moldering here, thinking rather of the dead under the pleasant picture of a sleep from which they will be awakened to eternal life by the voice of the Reconciler and Judge of the world.[2]
>
> The whole place is divided into two equal parts and through the middle of each of these runs a principal pathway.
>
> On the left side of the entrance are the graves of the brothers and on the right side those of the sisters.
>
> Each of these two chief divisions is again transected regularly by a number of larger or smaller lateral paths, and these pathways, like the outer boundaries, are lined with linden trees. These lindens, as well as the birch hedges on the front and rear boundaries, and the fir hedges on the side boundaries, are trimmed each year.[3] Also located here and there in the hedges are niches in which one may rest and reflect quietly upon matters of the spirit.
>
> The graves are arranged in straight lines beside one another. From the beginning they have allowed between each grave equal distances adequate for the future addition of a new grave between each two of the old ones. --The intermediate plots have all been filled before the use of the part added for expansion was begun.
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[1] See photograph of such a gateway at the Gottesacker of Gnadenfrey in Uttendörfer and Schmidt, p. 116.

[2] For an interesting sidelight on this interpretation of the significance of this place see the description of the Easter Morning Litany, infra, pp. 376-81.

[3] These lindens were trimmed square so as to form a high hedge elevated about ten feet off the ground.

The graves are not evidenced as in other churchyards and cemeteries, by mounds, but they are leveled flat. Upon each lies a stone whose inscription shows the name, the birth date, and the death date of the deceased.[1] On only a few is the office or the estate of the person indicated.

Also there are still gravestones present from the earliest period, which bear nothing but the number under which the deceased stands listed in the church registry.

All gravestones are of about the same size. Only the following six graves--that of the Count of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf; his two wives; the Countess Reuss, widow of the 29th reigning count of Ebersdorf; the Freyherrn Friedrich von Wattewille; and the Freyfrau Henriette Benigna Justina von Wattewille, born Countess of Zinzendorf, the most recently deceased ruler of the place;[2]--are distinguished by larger stones and extensive inscriptions. Neither do they lie in the rows with the rest, but form a separate row where the principal pathways of the cemetery intersect.[3]

Otherwise the bodies are all buried one after another in rows according to the order in which their deaths occur, and people of noble birth, bishops, or clergy have no special place. In the four corners and at the upper edge in the middle are niches equipped with benches.

The pleasant arrangement and beautiful view cause this spot to be much frequented by native and visitor alike, and the uniform and brief epitaphs, as well as the names of the deceased stemming from most of the kingdoms of Europe, from Greenland, North and South America, and also from Asia, furnish for the strollers and visitors a pleasant occupation.[4]

Beyond the cemetery only a few steps by two convenient paths lies the peak of the Hutberg on the side of which the graves of the Brethren lie. Here from a balcony provided for observation may be seen the whole panorama of the surrounding countryside.[5] On the north side lies the village of Berthelsdorf with its handsome palace and quaint church, but more to our interest on the south side immediately below are to be seen the square-trimmed hedges and tree-tops of the Gottesacker which we have just left, looking for all the world like a great green grating, and leading from there the avenue of squared lindens which merges below with the street into Herrnhut. This is a favorite view of the settlement, and from here we can pick out the various buildings and commercial establishments of the village. The small tower of the Congregation House is clearly visible in the foreground, and in the background is seen a splendid building which has not yet been noted. This would be the very impressive palace of the Count Reuss which lies at the south edge of the village on the west side of the Zittau Street,[1] the continuation of Löbau Street south of the square and the Löbau-Zittau highway. Behind this house is another but smaller hill, which is a part of the formal gardens that surround this residence, and on the top of which is seen another observatory like the one on which we are standing. Nearby this palace, on the north along Zittau Street, is to be found the much less pretentious building which furnishes housing for the members of the so-called Diaspora--actually those connected with the inner missions of the Herrnhuters--when they come to the settlement to take part in the cultus there, especially during the Holy Week and at other festivals of the church.[2] Directly across Zittau Street from these buildings we should note the very extensive gardens which stretch out behind the almost new residence of the ruler. These gardens are significant at this point because they are open to the public, since the ruler is seldom in residence, and thus furnish a quiet spot in which is carried on much the same type of meditation and strolling as is exercised in the cemetery and in the gardens of the Choir Houses.[1] A number of other buildings may be seen from this platform high atop the Hutberg, and an examination of them would no doubt be of some benefit in understanding the inner workings of this community, as well as its economic and social structure. However, the chief and characteristic buildings have been opened to us as nearly as is practicable from the sources at hand, and it is to be hoped so adequately as to give the reader some feeling and vision of them, in short, so as to assist in the visualization and comprehension of what is to follow--a rather complete and minute description of the life and cultus in this the spiritual homeland of Friedrich Schleiermacher.

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[1] A complete list of these inscriptions is to be found in Der Gottes-Acker zu Herrnhut (Hirschberg, Silesia: C.W.I. Krahn, 1822), from which we learn that it was generally the custom also to indicate the place of birth and death in each inscription.

[2] At the time of the visit we describe, she was not yet dead, but died only in 1789.

[3] This line of graves was actually along the entering pathway, as may be seen from a large detailed chart of the cemetery to be found in the Bethlehem Archives.

[4] Pp. 250-54. We have the impression of Friedrich Schleiermacher on his visit to the Gottesacker in Gnadenfrey in 1802, infra, p. 589.

[5] The famous Altan which was built here by Hrn. Beunings from Holland was not erected until 1790; Frohberger, pp. 255-56.

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[1] Called the "Vogtshof," it at one time housed the single sisters; Korschelt, Herrnhut, pp. 45-46.

[2] Frohberger, p. 237.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

CHAPTER II

THE STRUCTURE OF A BRETHREN SETTLEMENT

To the student of religions and particularly of Christian history the inarticulate testimonies of streets and buildings are the beginning rather than the end. Enough has been seen, heard, and felt here to fill the mind of an observer possessing a knowledge of the somewhat less than immaculate history of Utopian and monastic schemes throughout the centuries with a veritable myriad of questions burning to be answered. The trained observer would want to know everything about the life lived in such a place, bearing always in mind the general form of certain perennial problems which face a community like this--the very personal problem of continually living together and knowing each other a little too well; the problem of avoiding the economic extremes which tend to bring enervating leisure or debilitation through the necessity of overwork; and most critical of all, the central emotional-religious problem of maintaining an exhaustive devotional life without the exhaustion which would naturally accompany it, and the barrenness and sometimes even violent revulsion which can so easily mark an existence where the vision of God is always haunted by the dark night of the soul. In this particular movement, however, because of its rejection of the norm of celibacy which has characterized so many similar movements, an extremely vexing complex of problems is to be looked for relating to the control of relations between the sexes and perhaps most difficult of all, the questions which must arise concerning the children born within such a community: What is to be their position? How are they to be brought to a whole-hearted acceptance of the calling into which they are born?

It shall be the task of the following chapters to answer within the scope of this reconstruction of the spiritual environment of Schleiermacher's youth as many as possible of the questions which might present themselves to the mind of a trained observer of religion and in particular to the historian of Christian piety. In so doing, the answers rather than the questions will furnish the organization, for we will attempt to allow the phenomena themselves to control the movement of their description so that when the process has reached completion we will indeed have a reconstruction. The phenomena of Brethren piety will be dealt with under the two main heads which form Parts I and II of this work. The first of these is that of "Practical Piety" and the second that of "Devotional Piety."[1] The treatment of the former has already been begun in our examination of Herrnhut as a paradigm settlement of the Brethren, both as an expression of that piety and as the setting within which their religious actions took place. It is now for us yet to examine the principles and practices which marked the life there--first in the practical affairs of organization, discipline, and mission to the outside world by means of which they sought to identify with the will of God; then with relation to the acts of worship and devotion by which they celebrated the gracious favors of salvation and profession which it had been their privilege to receive from God.

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[1] The idea for this approach was obtained from a somewhat similar distinction made by Joachim Wach, The Comparative Study of Religions, ed. J.M. Kitagawa (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), pp. 97-120, between "the two principal forms of the practical expression of religious experience . . . devotion and service" (p. 98). It will be noted that for the sake of avoiding certain problems in terminology, especially with regard to the word "service," I have here substituted the term "piety" for "practical expression of religious experience"; "devotional piety" for "devotion"; and "practical piety" for "service"; and under this rubric several factors have been dealt with which Professor Wach would have classified under "Expression in Fellowship."

Although there were two basic types of congregations which made up the Unity of the Brethren at the end of the eighteenth century the classic expression of the movement was not to be found in the so-called town and country congregations which were much like ordinary denominational congregations in our own day, but that ultimate expression of Herrnhut was in the "settlement congregation" (Ortsgemeine).[1] It is thus this phenomenon which will be the primary object of our interest. The matters of the central organization of the Brethren as well as their monumental evangelistic and missionary efforts are here side issues and will be dealt with only as they illuminate that complex expression of Christian piety--the Brethren settlement congregation.

It is vital at the outset of our discussion of this religious expression that we seek a basic understanding of certain principles and relationships which reveal most clearly who the people in such a settlement conceived that they were and what they felt they were trying to do. In so doing, it is only fair that we should turn to the Herrnhuters' own official position concerning their movement and its significance. At the General Synod of 1775 the following statement was issued concerning the church and the place of the Brethren within it.

> To the church of Jesus Christ on earth belong all men in all places and from every nation, who possess the gospel of

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[1] This distinction is clearly outlined in "Verlass," par. 63.

> Jesus Christ and are obedient unto it.
>
> The Brethren Church or Evangelical Brethren Unity is a part of this church of Jesus, a people of the Lord which has the gracious calling to be an assembly of living members in the body of Jesus Christ, gathered by the Holy Spirit, among whom the Saviour himself reigns, ordains, and installs ministers, and where everything is arranged so that each member may be prepared to serve his will here in time and with joy to pass over into his arms and bosom.[1]

But even more significant than this churchly statement are several paragraphs from a list of thirty-five fundamental theses or principles devised by the Synod of 1769--later revised and enlarged by the Synods of 1775 and 1782--and which were to be read from time to time before the members of the settlement congregations for their inspiration and guidance, thus fulfilling several of the functions of a formal rule in a monastic order. These theses claim collectively to "present in a thorough and clear manner the chief calling of the Brethren congregations and in particular the organization and institutions of the same."[2] Among these theses we find several statements which may be quite helpful, thus they are quoted here.

> 1. The Brethren church is a house of God, which our dear Saviour himself has built. He has therein demonstrated his sovereign will and has brought the congregation into existence despite satan and the whole world. Therefore his holy will must joyfully be done in the congregation even if it is not done in the world.[3]
>
> 2. In each congregation the doctrine of Jesus and his Apostles must be the basis both of teaching and of practice. There must be no other basic thought than the principle of Jesus' heart, and in its institutions nothing must appear which is contrary to the doctrine and practice of the Saviour and of his Apostles.[4]
>
> 3. The congregations must be composed entirely of such souls which have found grace in Jesus' blood. However, they are presently also an asylum or a city of refuge for those who can no longer hold out and continue their existence in their places

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[1] Ibid., par. 61.

[2] Ibid., par. 65.

[3] Ibid., par. 65,1.

[4] Ibid., par. 65,2.

against the ascending godlessness in the world, and thus gather themselves under the wings of the congregation.[1]

4. We must never forget that all our congregations make up a tent-dwelling people, the Rechabites of the Saviour, who may of themselves say, "We have here no abiding place, but we seek that which is to come. . . ."[2]

5. It would be the ruination of a congregation's constitution if it should seek so to institute itself as to be thoroughly approved and to please others, or even so as not to displease. Whether something is or is not suitable for a congregation must be judged entirely and alone from that body's own calling and inner character.[3]

7. The congregation must so preserve the treasure so that neither time, nor circumstances, nor persons, nor anything else except the will of the Saviour alone might alter its design.[4]

24. The congregational order is a constitution composed from the fundamental ideas of the Saviour and from experience, a practical scheme which has been found trustworthy.[5]

Finally, these principles along with others which are more specific in their bearing upon the institutions and officials of a Brethren congregation were combined with an outline of the structures and relationships of a particular congregation to form a "Brotherly Understanding" or "Agreement" which was then in a very complete sense the "rule" of a congregation of the Herrnhuters. It was this document which the convert who came into such a settlement was asked to accept and to which if he finally were allowed to remain he would be required to subscribe with his oath or signature;[6] obedience to its provisions would be the key to his acceptability as a continuing member of the community. From such a document, actually that of Niesky[7] where young Friedrich Schleiermacher first became a member of the Brethren, a few significant lines are here quoted. "This settlement has had but one purpose; under the sole Head of the Church, Jesus Christ, and the gracious guidance of the Holy Spirit, in true fellowship of faith, brotherly love, and simplicity of heart, to follow the last will of our Saviour; John 17. . . ."[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, par. 65,3.
[2] *Ibid.*, par. 65,4.
[3] *Ibid.*, par. 65,5.
[4] *Ibid.*, par. 65,7.
[5] *Ibid.*, par. 65,24.
[6] Spangenberg, *Nachricht*, p. 79.

[7] *Der Evangelischen Brüder-Gemeine zu Niesky brüderliches Einverständnis über derselben Ordnungen und ihrer Mitglieder und*

> In order to reach this goal the first inhabitants of Niesky have formed and organized themselves according to the confession to the Evangelical doctrine coupled with the ancient apostolic discipline and order, also in the beginning according to the example of the congregation at Herrnhut.
>
> . . . .
>
> To the essential character of a congregation of Christ belongs the childlike imitation of Jesus and his Apostles in the form of humility and poverty. Thus we would plead for this character as a special grace, that pains should be taken that it constantly be commended no less in all our institutions and undertakings, regardless of how good an object they might otherwise have, that it should be the continual aim in our whole manner of life and that all things great and small should be carried out in accordance with it. For the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour is not of this world; also he can bring us into a position to fulfill our calling much more quickly in that way than if we were ever so highly regarded but should lose the indomitable strength which lies in blessed poverty and humility.[2]

Against the background of this rather random selection of principles and policies the basic outline of the image which the Herrnhuters had of themselves should become increasingly clear. First of all, the attitude of this movement toward the church is, at least at the official level, definitely not of a sectarian nature. The broad views of this people regarding the "great church" and various movements inside and outside it are almost reminiscent of those presently held by "denominations" in free-church societies. This movement does not, however, maintain the position vis-à-vis the world which is generally expected of a "denomination," either on the theoretical or on the practical plane. As a matter of

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Einwohner verhalten nach Christi Sinn (Barby: Heinrich Detlef Ebers, 1771); hereafter cited as Niesky Einverständnis.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

fact, what we have depicted here is an almost classic effort to reconstruct the vita apostolica, the apostolic life, within the confines of a completely Christian community and in accordance with a more or less established order and rule--in short, a monastic movement. The writers who defended and described the Herrnhuters in this period never seemed to tire of denying that this group was monastic in character, yet aside from the differences pertaining to the practice of celibacy, this was always done with regard to factors not primarily related to the central ideals of the great monastic movements of Christian history but to such really incidental or even sometimes corrupt expressions as perpetual vows, coercion of members, and general worthlessness with relation to the whole society.[1] The failure of these observers to "see the forest for the trees" may be traced to the partisan tendency to compare the worst which others do and think with one's own best intentions, and ultimately to the necessity that these settlements in a world hardly cordial to such institutions not be looked upon as cloisters or monasteries. At this distance we can hardly claim any such justification for blindness to the obvious. As the description continues the similarity will become even more apparent, and at points it will reach such a high degree that the conclusion will be almost impossible to avoid that such parallels in structure and activities were hardly accidental but were rather the result of conscious imitation and adaptation of features found in the great monastic rules and orders of Christian history.

The Herrnhuters conceived that they possessed a particular calling as a pure expression of the body of Christ, that as such they were to be made up only of those who believed and lived in a close relationship with him and followed his words and ways, and finally that they had a special calling to propagate the gospel before both the church and the world--to be the body of Christ and the instrument of God's continued revelation before all mankind. To be in the fullest sense possible a representation of the Saviour both among themselves and before the world was deemed the sole consideration in the life and structure of such a settlement, thus certain ideals were necessarily maintained with relation to the individual members thereof. The life of each member was to be governed by this common goal and motivated by the vision of the crucified Saviour. The sequence of spiritual interaction in this relationship between Saviour and individual soul was clearly defined and established.[1] The first action was, of course, the love of the Saviour which ultimately led him to make the sacrifice of the cross for a suffering and deformed race. It was in constant view of the cross that the religious actions of the Herrnhuter were to be played out. The first response is that of self-knowledge; the sinner condemns himself before the suffering which his own sin and corruption have caused the Saviour. The second response is that of recognition; he then goes beyond his responsibility for the cross to the meaning of that sacrifice--he grasps his own election accomplished in and through the cross. The final response is one of thanksgiving.[2] A central theme in the thought of Bishop Spangenberg, the classic figure in this period of Brethren history, was drawn from the account in the seventh chapter of Luke of the sinful woman who washed and anointed Jesus' feet in Simon's house. There can be absolutely no doubt of the identification which the sainted churchman made between himself and this woman of questionable reputation about whom he loved to quote, "Therefore I tell you, her sins, which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much; but he who is forgiven little, loves little" (Luke 7:47).[1] A brother was first to recognize his complete sinfulness and unworthiness, then when he experienced his forgiveness he could not fail to spend the whole of his existence, as well as his substance, in a joyous expression of his gratitude--in an humble and loving walk with the Saviour (Umgang mit dem Heiland).[2] The name, "the Unity," which was claimed by this movement reflects not merely the fact that the congregations were united in a single central authority, but also that in it were united peoples from the various churches in testimony of the catholicity of the church;[3] that all members thereof were one as members in the body of

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[1] See Lynar, p. 112; also Hegner, p. 21.

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[1] Hermann Plitt, Das theologische Seminarium der evangelischen Brüder-Unität in seinem Anfang und Fortgang (Gnadau: Verlag der Unitats-Buchhandlung, 1854), p. 233.

[2] The ultimate liturgical expression of this response was in Brethren music. *Infra*, chapter v.

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[1] The Bishop even went so far on one occasion as to sign a letter:

"der arme Sunder, dem viel vergeben ist und darum
viel liebt,
A.G. Spangenberg."

Jeremias Risler, Leben August Gottlieb Spangenbergs (Barby, 1794), p. 423.

[2] This expression is often made into English as "intercourse with the Saviour," and is so typical of the Brethren as to defy fair documentation. See "Verlass," par. 450.

[3] Reference is here made to the system introduced among the Brethren in 1744 by Zinzendorf and known as the Tropen (tropoi piedeias) or "manners of teaching" of which there were three: Lutheran, Reformed, and Moravian, over each of which an Administrator was appointed. The system was introduced to forestall a tendency of this movement to become sectarian in character and thus to insure its mission with relation to the state churches of Germany. See Spangenberg, Nachricht, pp. 38-42.

Christ without any barrier of a special clerical order; that all had but one interest--to be the congregation and body of Christ; and, central to them all, that in their will and intention the Unity should be a unity with that Saviour who had called them and continued to direct them.

> The congregation and its workers and ministers are one body, and belong together of necessity. They have also only one interest, that everything (upon which the body of Christ is constructed) be done honorably and in good order, and occur in love for self-improvement. All appearance of a different interest, indeed everything which could disturb the trust of the congregation and its workers and ministers toward one another is carefully to be avoided and removed far from the congregation.[1]

Thus was expressed this "unity" in the rule of the Niesky congregation as it was applied to the matter to which we now come--the structure of such a settlement congregation.

Although in our investigation an effort has been made to avoid being bound by traditional theological categories in an approach aiming to be governed by the actual empirical character of the movement itself, there are certain questions and categories which have become so ingrained in the institutions of Christian ecclesiastical practice and structure that merely to ignore them would be a bold invitation to distortion, and to note their absence or alteration has become an absolute necessity. In speaking of the structure of a Christian church or religious order we are confronted with just such a question regarding the status and function of clerical orders in such a movement. A good deal has been written on this subject with relation to the Herrnhuters, and far too much of it with more regard for present day problems than for the actual place of ordination and the function of clerical orders among the

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[1] Niesky Einverständnis, p. 30.

Brethren in this crucial formative period.[1] Actually a very strong laic tendency is to be observed among the followers of this movement in the eighteenth century which may not be altogether unrelated with their efforts to recapture the primitive institutions of the church.[2] On the other hand, the Herrnhuters do not seem to have been in any organized sense anti-clerical. They did not abandon clerical orders, nor did they fail to go to considerable pains to assure what they looked upon as the "Apostolic Succession."[3] A discussion of the validity of Moravian episcopal orders or even the manner in which they came into the possession of the Herrnhuters is of no real interest to us here. It is, however, significant to state that it was with relation to the validity of clerical orders that they took most seriously the heritage of the so-called ancient Bohemian-Moravian Brethren.[4] The important issue is that they themselves assumed the validity of these episcopal orders, not whether we also may do so. To this should be added that they also assumed and practiced the orders of other churches as being valid, accepting the sacramental exercises of Lutheran and Reformed clergymen among them without any apparent distinction as to whether these orders were or were not episcopal in their succession.[5]

The matter of sacramental function brings us directly to recognition of the position of clerical orders among the Brethren. The function of the ordained clergyman in the congregations of the Brethren was not in any sense administrative or even disciplinary. His task was rather almost completely doctrinal and sacramental, whereas the peculiar function of a bishop among the Herrnhuters was completely sacramental.[1] The clergyman was not assumed to have received personally any indelible character by dint of his ordination, nor did he gain thereby any status in a special estate which thus set him apart as a priest over against laymen, nor yet did he receive any claim to ecclesiastical office or tenure.[2] Ordination was looked upon as a useful but not as a divine institution. It was brought into use by the church in an effort to preserve pure doctrine and so as to insure the maintenance of a seemly order in the administration of the Sacraments. At the same time, we shall soon enough see just how limited these two prerogatives of the ordained clergy were to become. Only four sacramental or semi-sacramental actions were preserved to the clergy as such, if indeed we can speak of clergy here in the usual sense. The first of these was naturally that of ordination which was practiced by the bishops in those cases when the Moravian orders were being transmitted;[3] the second was Baptism which was only to be administered by such a person; the third was the consecration at the Lord's Supper; and finally, where it was allowed by law, the ordained clergyman was to preside at weddings.[4] In the matter of preaching and teaching, the clergyman, as we shall directly see, had a primary responsibility but certainly no monopoly. In fact, a single congregation might well have several ordained men, and in such cases they were strongly encouraged to use them even beyond that level absolutely required for ritual and doctrinal functions, but whether they did so or not was primarily up to those chief officials of the congregation who often were not ordained. Indeed, the clergy as a whole, and the bishops in particular--without diocese or administrative authority, or even any official right of any kind merely by dint of their consecration[1]--were in a position almost completely parallel with those bishops who served in the Celtic monasteries of Ireland during the early Middle Ages.[2] From this general survey of the question of clerical orders let us move directly to an examination of the structure of the congregation itself, first by looking to the various officials thereof, then coming to the discussion of the several boards and deliberative institutions of the Brethren, and finally concluding with a view of the internal and external structures involved in the Choir system which divided each congregation into devotional and in some cases residential units according to age, sex, and marital status--all of which marked the Brethren settlements.

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[1] A crisis was reached in such discussions surrounding the Lambeth Conference of 1908 when the Church of England concluded that the Moravian succession was not validly episcopal. See W.N. Schwarze, "The Moravian Church and the Proposals of the Lambeth Conference," The Church Quarterly, LXIX (October, 1909), 1-25. The whole question is competently dealt with in Müller, Geschichte, I 111-48, which basically agrees with the Church of England.

[2] Spangenberg, Idea, p. 429. [3] Hamilton, pp. 69-77.

[4] "Verlass," par. 812.

[5] Spangenberg, Nachricht, p. 43.

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[1] Johannes Loretz, Ratio Disciplinae Unitas Fratrum A.C. Oder Grund und Verfassung der evangelischen Brüder-Unität Augsburgischer Confession (Barby: 1789), pp. 220-21.

[2] Ibid., p. 222.

[3] "Verlass," par. 817.

[4] Ibid., par. 815.

As should be expected from the above statements the two chief officials of a Brethren settlement were of an essentially laic character. The Congregation Helper (Gemeinhelfer)[3] was the "first citizen" in each such community and his duties, like all those who bore this title of "Helper," were primarily of a pastoral nature. It was he who had the spiritual oversight of the whole settlement and all of its inhabitants; the Congregation Overseer (Gemeindiener),[1] however, had final responsibility for all material and physical matters. The particular responsibilities of the Congregation Helper related to individual persons, each of whom was to be under his spiritual care and was supposed to be the object of his specific knowledge.[2] He was meant to be the final mediator in the whole community, above all prejudice or partiality whether related to individuals or groups.[3] His duties were also with relation to the various Choirs and especially to their spiritual guides, the Choir Helpers, to whom he acted as confessor.[4] He was supposed to be well acquainted with the spiritual tone in these separate units of the congregation and to take an active hand in the accomplishment of the goals of the Brethren through the Choirs.[5] This participation took the form of cooperation with and supervision of the Choir Helpers, and from time to time he held personal confessional interviews with the individual members of the various Choirs--interviews of the type practiced by the Choir Helpers before each Holy Communion and which we will come to know as Speakings (Sprechen).[6] Finally, the Congregation Helper had particular responsibilities with relation to the congregation as a whole. It was this official who presided over the chief deliberative body of the congregation, the

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[1] Loretz, p. 223.

[2] Eleanor S. Duckett, The Gateway to the Middle Ages: Monasticism (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961), p. 68.

[3] Called Oeconomus, Oeconomot, or Gemeinpfleger before the Synod of 1769; "Verlass," par. 221.

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[1] The consistent use of "Overseer" rather than "minister" for the administrative offices of Congregational and Choir Diener is an effort to avoid confusion in the mind of the reader and to keep clear the relationship which these officers, formerly called Vorstehern or Administrators, had with the function and composition of the College of Overseers (Aufseher Collegium).

[2] Ibid., par. 223.

[3] Ibid., par. 225.

[4] Ibid., par. 229.

[5] Ibid., par. 224.

[6] Ibid.

Elders' Conference,[1] and it was he, along with the Preacher, who had chief responsibility in providing for the various cultic events and devotional exercises which involved the entire congregation.[2]

The Congregation Overseer, on the other hand, had primary responsibility for such matters as the distribution and care of property; the training of children in trades; the carrying on of trade and business, especially those enterprises which were operated by the congregation--as in Herrnhut, the Apothecary and the Inn. His also was the first charge with relation to the care of widows and orphans; the maintenance of the buildings; the upkeep, cleanliness, and lighting of all streets; the protection against fire; and the watch over the town by night and day.[3] The final responsibility for all of these affairs lay, however, with the College of Overseers of which the Congregation Overseer was president; the composition and manner of function of this body will be discussed shortly.[4]

The second spiritual official of each congregation was the Preacher,[5] the only person who by nature of his office was of necessity an ordained clergyman.[6] His duties were chiefly concerned with the worship of the congregation rather than with individual spiritual nurture.[1] In consultation with the Congregation Helper he arranged for the very numerous services which took place in a Brethren settlement throughout the year,[2] and his was the primary responsibility to provide liturgists and speakers at these meetings, of course with the assistance of the Elders' Conference of which he was an important member.[3] It was the Preacher who regularly celebrated the sacraments and performed marriages; it was he who generally delivered the sermons on Sundays and other Christian festivals as well as many of the almost innumerable addresses which were in the course of a single year delivered in the Prayer Hall of such a settlement.[4] He was not, however, to monopolize the preaching of the gospel, but was encouraged to utilize those of his brothers who had an especial talent and calling to preach and deliver exhortations.[5] Just a few observations should here be made concerning the nature of Brethren preaching.

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[1] Ibid., par. 220.

[2] Ibid., par. 232,3.

[3] Frohberger, pp. 283-84.

[4] Ibid.; "Verlass," par. 372.

[5] The English translation, "Preacher," has here been chosen for "Prediger" rather than the English term "minister" authorized at the Synod of 1775 because of the closer suggestion of function in that term; "Verlass," par. 232. The term "Lehrer" is also sometimes used to denote this office in accounts of the Brethren cultus.

[6] Loretz, pp. 220-21; Spangenberg, Nachricht, p. 65.

Preaching among the Herrnhuters distinguished itself first of all by its brevity.[6] In its direct treatment of Biblical themes of salvation it was much like the preaching among earlier Pietists.[7] It avoided the themes of controversy and the forms and jargon of the professional theologians. In the cases when their sermons reached what may be called true homiletical art, its real beauty lay in the grace of simplicity and directness rather than in the thriving art of eloquence and pulpit oratory. Unfortunately, in many cases the deadly jargon of dogmatics and polemics was replaced by a great mass of misused poetic figures in the form of what all too often became clichés. The new jargon which they created thereby tended to become just as lethal as the old and ultimately to become almost meaningless.[1] Judging from some of the addresses which were considered worthy of preservation and distribution in the "Gemein Nachrichten," we may suppose that a great deal of the material presented at public meetings in the form of sermons or speeches was far from exemplary in purity and clarity of expression. At the same time, the truly creative minds among the Herrnhuters--notably Jean Baptiste Albertini, dear friend and schoolmate of Schleiermacher--made of this simple and direct manner of sermonizing a polished art in which the form truly adhered to the function.[2] For a contemporary judgment of Brethren preaching in the last decades of the eighteenth century we turn to Pastor Frohberger who knew quite well both the preaching habits and styles of the times and the type of presentations made at Herrnhut. He speaks thus to the hypothetical recipient of his "letters":

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[1] "Verlass," par. 232,1. [2] Ibid., par. 232,3.

[3] Ibid., par. 306. [4] Lynar, pp. 76-77. [5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., p. 70; Reise, pp. 352. [7] "Verlass," par. 38.

> First I must tell you that in the Brethren congregations so-called spiritual addresses--works of art and of eloquence--are not held; but their sermons and speeches are more homilies (Homilien), artless heartfelt conversations of the teacher with his audience about important truths of Scripture through whose simple presentation he does not so much seek to please as to capture his hearers for it, and to awaken faith, love, and obedience toward Jesus and his teaching, to nourish and uphold them. For although many of their teachers and preachers personally possess all the knowledge and skills which would make it easy for them to present before their hearers the art of human eloquence, they decline to do so, but rather pursue those principles accepted in the Brethren congregations which also Paul himself made his law in the preaching of the gospel: "not to proclaim the testimony of God in lofty words or wisdom" (I Cor. 2:1).[3]

Beside the duties of preaching and administering the sacraments the Preacher had specific responsibilities with relation to the rearing of children. He was in most cases the dean of the village school system with particular accountability for the religious instruction of children,[1] for which they were divided into grades and taught according to their ability to understand. In most settlements there was also a Schoolmaster whose duty was to educate the children according to the principles and methods which will be discussed below with relation to the training and discipline of the congregation. It should be noted that the Preacher's duties pertaining to the theological training of children were directly related to the traditional position of the ordained clergy as guardian of orthodoxy and pure doctrine.[2]

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[1] Reise, pp. 329-336.

[2] Joh. Baptist v. Albertini, Dreissig Predigten, dritte Auflage (Gnadau, 1829); Sechs und dreissig Reden, in den Jahren von 1818 bis 1824 (Gnadau, 1832); Sechs und dreissig Reden in den Jahren von 1825 bis 1831 (Gnadau, 1833).

[3] P. 322.

Although there are several minor officials who might engage our interest, there is one more functionary whose duties should be helpful as we try to picture how a settlement congregation operated. We have already observed the use which was made of the night watchmen who patrolled the streets of Herrnhut during the hours of the evening and night. During the day, however, the College of Overseers and the Congregation Overseer had yet another representative in the insurance of good order about the community. This person, known as the "Overseer of the Square,"[3] actually had a gigantic task at almost every level to "oil the wheels" of this well ordered community. Again quoting Frohberger, this official,

> according to the circumstances, is assisted by one or two brethren. He has to keep a watchful eye on the going and coming of foreigners, with special attention to the regulations of the government. He is also to restrict the activities of beggars from outside, at the same time seeing that persons in

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[1] "Verlass," par. 232,1.

[2] *Ibid.*, par. 232,4-5.

[3] *Platzaufseher*.

> actual need and traveling apprentices are not sent away hungry but are given decent alms for which a monthly collection was made among the inhabitants. Whoever refuses to accept his directions or otherwise acts in an excessive manner is brought by him before the local magistrate [also a congregational official] for punishment. He must also see to other matters relating to the maintenance of well-being. He must see that the streets and public squares are kept clean and that nothing harmful or improper remains on the road, that in the winter when there is much snow a way is opened by each householder in front of his house, and at times when the streets are icy that they are strewn with sand. --Since no inhabitant of the settlement is allowed to let dogs run about in the streets, he also must keep order in this matter, seeing that no stray dogs run the streets. Further, he must see to the correctness of weights and measures as well as to the fairness of prices, and hold those who bring in and sell fruit and other food-stuffs to them.[1]

It is easy enough to see that this position, though not a glorious one, was extremely important, and that the Overseer of the Square who could perform his duties well and tactfully could very well contribute more than any other person to the peace and success of a settlement congregation.

There is yet one matter with relation to the Brethren which should be treated here, since the General Synods deal with it at this point. I refer to the policy of the Herrnhuters with regard to the newly emerging practice of scientific medicine. Actually, more space was given to the physician and surgeon in the synodical decrees than to any other "official."[2] The attitudes there reflected can be looked upon as nothing less than enlightened and progressive. The Brethren saw medicine as a gift of God and were leaders in its use in many areas, as the village apothecary in Herrnhut demonstrates. Their support of smallpox innoculation in an age when the process thereof was far from the safe thing it is today was positive and strong, though vaccination was not made mandatory.[1] Also, their struggle against various types of faith healers and witchcraft practitioners was as active and well thought out as were any efforts put forward by the rationalists of the time.[2] In their settlements they had university trained surgeons, midwives, and sick nurses. Also, it should be noted that medical care therein was provided for all. In some cases it was at the expense of the community for those who could not afford to pay, and in others, care of the poor was provided for by charging persons of means enough to support the physician--who himself was generally a full member of the religious community and a resident of the settlement.[3]

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[1] Pp. 284-85. The goods sold by the tradesmen in a congregation were offered at a set and standard price which could not be altered in bargaining; Reise, p. 432.

[2] "Verlass," pars. 267-92.

Passing over all other congregational officials, we turn now to what were generally called the Congregational Conferences (Gemein Conferenzen) where lay the real deliberative power in these communities. It is necessary here to discuss, respectively: the Elders' Conference, the Choir Helpers' Conference, the College of Overseers, and the Congregation Council.[4] These are by no means all of the functioning boards of a settlement congregation, but have been selected as those which are most vital to an understanding of the Brethren settlement and its life as a devotional and practical religious expression.

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[1] Lynar, p. 148; "Verlass," par. 287.

[2] "Extract aus den Protocollen, der in Herrnhuth vom 1ten bis 9ten Juli 1785 von der Unitaets Aeltsten-Conferenz mit den Arbeitern unter unser auswärtigen Geschwister und Freunden gehalten Conferenz," in "Gemein Nachrichten" (1785), Beilage, 7. Woche, B. IV. Hereafter cited as "Extract."

[3] Frohberger, p. 287.

[4] Respectively: the Aeltesten Conferenz, Chorhelfer Conferenz, Aufseher Collegium, and Gemeinrat.

The chief among these bodies, the Elders' Conference, was required to meet at least once each week, but actually often convened almost every day.[1] As has already been noted, this group was presided over by the Congregation Helper, actually the "chief Elder" of the whole settlement. It had best be understood from the outset that being in the Elders' Conference had no relationship with having received ordination as an elder or presbyter. The term "elder" as used among the Herrnhuters had no connection whatever to ecclesiastical orders. The term "presbyter" was consistently used to denote that clerical grade which stood between the diaconate and the episcopacy in the view of the Brethren.[2] Membership of the Elders' Conference--besides the Congregation Helper--was made up of the Preacher, the Congregation Overseer, the Choir Helpers, the Choir Overseers, the Associate Congregation and Choir Helpers and Overseers, as well as the directors of any school or institution of the Unity which happened to be located in the settlement.[3] Besides the above men and women, the wives of the more important officials also found a place there, as for example, the Congregation Helper's wife and the wife of the Preacher, because of their necessary assistance of their husbands in the cure of souls where women were concerned.[4]

All other conferences were subordinate to this one and thus were under its supervision. The primary duty of the Elders' Conference was, however, the assurance that all things were done that the congregation might fulfill the spiritual goal for which it was established, i.e., to facilitate and supervise the task of gathering and disciplining this congregation of true believers and to assist its members individually in their efforts to gain a close walk with the Saviour and worthy participation in the living body of Christ.[1] The fact will become abundantly clear long before this work is completed that each one of these people who made up the Elders' Conference was a well qualified expert in the matters of personal attitudes and relationships as well as in what might be called individual and group religious psychology in general. But on the particular level they knew a great deal more about the individual lives and personalities of each person, young or old, within the congregation than we today would judge that anyone had any right to know. It was this knowledge when used properly which made possible the efficient operation of the Brethren system of discipline and devotion, and when misused in the form of tale-bearing it was almost certainly one of the most serious threats to the common life of the Herrnhuters. In the Elders' Conference this combination of general understanding and particular knowledge was brought to bear upon the entire life of the community, both inner and outer. All problems of discipline and nurture were finally brought into discussion and decision here, and this conference had the final responsibility for the cultic and devotional functions within the congregation. Perhaps most important were the spiritual inventories which were made in the Elders' Conference. It fell to this body to ascertain the spiritual condition of the individual members and their readiness to pass from one estate to another in the economy of grace and discipline which characterized Brethren settlements. All changes in Choir or communicant status were ultimately approved or disapproved by the Elders'

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[1] "Verlass," par. 317.

[2] Spangenberg, Nachricht, p. 52.

[3] "Verlass," par. 306. [4] Ibid., par. 307.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pars. 308-309; Spangenberg, *Nachricht*, p. 65.

Conference, and great as was the knowledge of its members concerning the members of the congregation, just as great was their power over them.[1] That this power was so seldom allowed to become arbitrary in its exercise was partly due, of course, to the devotion of the people who wielded it to the well-being of those over whom it was held, but ultimately its abuse was avoided by the fact that the final decision in personal matters, as well as in questions of general policy where neither a Scriptural nor a solid rational case could be made, was reached not by these expert but often all too human Elders but by Him who had consented to be the Chief Elder of the Unity, the Saviour himself, through the Lot.[2] It was to this institution and its function in the synods of the Brethren, the Unity Elders' Conference, and at the local level only in any official sense in the Elders' Conference, that we may trace the conception among the Herrnhuters that their church order was actually a theocracy,[3] and thus justifying the language that they were fain to use relative to their special calling and direction by the Saviour.

Precisely when, how, and with what idea the use of the Lot was first introduced into Brethren practice is not of primary concern to us here. Suffice it to note that it came into use within the first decade of the Renewed Unity, that a similar practice was not unknown in the Ancient Unity, that the Scriptural precedent in Acts was appealed to, and that its presence here was not altogether unique in German pietistic circles.[4] We know that it was in extensive use before the assumption by the Saviour of the office of Chief

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[1] "Verlass," pars. 309; 325,3.

[2] _Ibid._, par. 576. [3] _Ibid._, par. 574.

[4] See discussion in Spangenberg, _Idea_, pp. 453-54.

Elder in the Unity in September, 1741, but at the same time there was a very close involvement of the Lot with the faith which surrounded that event and its annual commemorations.[1] In fact, the concept of the Chief Eldership may be seen both as the final conscious crystallization of the practice which preceded it and at the same time, during this period, as its underlying rationale. By the time of Zinzendorf's death the matter of historical priority had become in effect meaningless. Of central significance now was the Herrnhuter's view of the Saviour as in a particular manner the guide and ruler of the Unity. Their highly developed practice of the Lot was accordingly looked upon as the means by which his Lordship was expressed.[2] That the Lot was the source of much misunderstanding and criticism of the Unity both in its own day and in ours should only be expected. Perhaps the most characteristic feature of the age in which this movement was born and in which we still live is its consistent effort to eliminate all elements of what might be called "the arbitrary," whether this should find its expression in governmental authority, social and economic structure, religion, or in natural accidents. All must be reduced to reason and equity. The whole idea of an overt and positive expression of the divine will is repulsive to the spirit of such an age. The Herrnhuter's faith in the Lot was a slap in the face, perhaps even an intentional one, to the aims of the modern age, most particularly so to its most virile expression--the Enlightenment.

The uses of the Lot during this period were both numerous and various, and in almost every kind of situation it was handled in a slightly different manner. The operation of the Lot in a purely physical sense was quite simple. It merely involved the writing of the alternatives in the question on a slip of paper in the general form that "the Saviour approves" or "the Saviour does not approve," in each case going on to state precisely what was or was not approved.[1] These statements were then rolled up and placed in small wooden cylinders and from among them was drawn the one favored by the Lord.[2] This is in general very much the way the affair is usually imagined. It is not, however, the whole story. First of all, in most questions these two alternatives were for the sake of the Saviour's liberty of will accompanied by another cylinder which was empty.[3] If the "Yes" was drawn the decision was of course affirmative; if the "No" was drawn it was at least for the time being and under the present circumstances disapproved.[4] When the empty lot was drawn, however, it was the responsibility of the Elders' Conference to conduct a thorough inquiry into what this might mean. For their help in this the General Synod of 1769 presented a list of possibilities which, though not by any means considered exhaustive, could serve as a guide in this work. The decree states that "if from the positive, the negative, and the empty lots, the empty one is drawn, this can indicate (1) that the matter is yet to be postponed; or (2) that the matter has not yet been properly approached; or (3) that the proposed questions were not properly formulated; or (4) that there is some reservation with relation to the persons concerning whom inquiry is being made; or (5) that there is still something which is to be discussed with relation to the circumstances; or (6) that the conference is at present not able to express the mind of the Saviour, and more of the like."[1] The manner in which the door could be opened to completely fresh lines of discussion with relation to the problem at issue by the drawing of an empty lot should be adequately clear from these suggestions.

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[1] "Verlass," pars. 574-81.

[2] Ibid.

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[1] Ibid., par. 593.

[2] Such "Lots" are preserved and may be seen at the Bethlehem Archives.

[3] Ibid., pars. 615 and 620.

[4] The terms "ja," "nein," and "leer" accompanied by an asterisk are regularly used to denote the result of a Lot; the asterisk alone in Brethren documents meant that the action or doctrine thus indicated had been put to the Lot. See "Aeltesten Conferenz Protocoll von Bethlehem," an extremely valuable collection of minutes from the central ruling body of the Bethlehem settlement. It is especially helpful in the detailed reconstruction of service schedules, etc. MS to be found in Bethlehem Archives; hereafter cited as "Elders' Conference Protocol."

Certainly as important as this is the means by which a question was formulated in the first place. It must not be supposed that any member of the Elders' Conference could bring whatever question or idea he might harbor directly to this test before that body. In truth, almost any matter which could be discussed in this conference could also be brought to the decision of the Saviour, and the same applied to the use of the Lot in the synods of this period.[2] The Lot was not, however, consulted upon the insistence of only a few, nor was it resorted to until a question had been thoroughly discussed.[3] The ideal was that it should be consulted only in situations where a purely arbitrary decision must be made and in which neither the Scriptures nor right reason gave clear guidance.[4] Further, it was hopefully to be utilized only after the entire body using it had agreed upon the question which was to be put.[1] If such unanimous agreement could not be reached it was permissible to draw a "preliminary" Lot which would make the decision whether the question itself could be put or not.[2] It should further be pointed out that in any question put to the Saviour concerning persons, but not directly requested by that individual, the result was binding only upon those who utilized the Lot and never upon that person.[3] The acceptance or rejection of such a decision was left to the conviction of the individual involved. The matter was well put by the Synod of 1775 in this way: "Because it is a first principle among us that the conviction of one's own heart should be the basis of all our actions, thus even with a positive directive the determination would be made chiefly on the basis of the joy (Freudigkeit) of one's own heart.[4] The individual brother was encouraged, if he lacked this "direction in the heart," to decline the indication of the Lot,[5] being at the same time admonished to distinguish between the "joy of the heart" and the "inclination of nature,"[6]--the former being the testimony of the Saviour and the latter the demonstration of corrupt human nature.

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[1] "Verlass," par. 618.

[2] It should be noted that at Synods such matters as doctrines, liturgical practices, and the appointment of the Unity Elders' Conference were regularly put to the Lot.

[3] *Ibid.*, par. 608. [4] Spangenberg, *Idea*, pp. 453-54.

Even though the use of the Lot undoubtedly delivered many from the adverse prejudices of members of the Elders' Conference, it must not be supposed that this means furnished a cure-all for personal inequities, for like any other system it was from time to time subjected to the abuse and human frailties of those to whose hands it was entrusted. That it was indeed misused by some is apparent both from our positive knowledge and from judgments based upon the safeguards which were instituted by the General Synods against certain abuses.[1]

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[1] "Verlass," par. 606.

[2] Ibid., par. 610.

[3] Ibid., par. 593.

[4] Ibid., par. 593,3-4.

[5] Ibid., par. 594.

[6] Ibid., par. 593,4.

Directly subordinate to the Elders' Conference but with authority over the other side of the congregation's life--the external and physical concerns thereof--stood the College of Overseers. Actually this conference emerged during the period in question, at the General Synod of 1769, and was instituted for the purpose of giving assistance to the Congregation Overseer in his multitudinous duties.[2] The College of Overseers was, of course, presided over by the Congregation Overseer, and was made up of the Choir Overseers of the Single Brothers' and the Widowers' Choirs and the Curators who acted as business representatives for the Single Sisters' and Widows' Choirs. Finally, the judicial official of the settlement was in some cases also a member of this conference.[3] The power of the Overseers was indeed great. It was to them that one must apply if he desired to take up residence in a settlement or to enter a particular trade. They had almost absolute power to police the congregation and provide for the safety and welfare of its inhabitants, and it was finally by their decision that one could be dismissed from such a community.[4] As a result of this material authority exercised in the College of Overseers all persons charged directly with the cure of souls were excluded from serving in it.[1] It was apparently felt that should a Congregation or Choir Helper wield so much power of the present world the intimate relationship with those in his charge might in some way be damaged. This conference, like the Elders' Conference, was to meet at least once each week and it was to turn over the minutes of each of its meetings to the up-coming meeting of the superior conference for its information and action.[2]

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[1] The most tempting abuse seems to have been its use as a means to the moral compulsion of others; see ibid., par. 593.

[2] "Instruction fur das Aufseher Collegium der Gemeine in Bethlehem," a manuscript located in the Bethlehem Archives, outlines the duties of the College of Overseers.

[3] "Verlass," par. 372.

[4] Ibid., pars. 367-68.

Even closer to the Elders' Conference in its function and concerns is yet another group of a subordinate nature. The Choir Helpers' Conference is spiritual counterpart to the College of Overseers. As that conference was made up of those in charge of material or external affairs in the congregation, the Choir Helpers' Conference was composed of those in charge of spiritual or internal matters--the Congregation Helper, and the Helpers of the various Choirs.[3] This conference was the "court of first instance" in all matters touching upon nurture, care, and discipline in the congregation. It was decided in the meetings of this group of spiritual guides whether the transgression of a member was of such a nature as to require the attention and action of the Elders' Conference,[4] and it would also be decided therein if one was spiritually ready to become a member of the congregation or whether he was ready to be admitted to the Holy Communion or to be married.[5] Only the Elders' Conference had the right to grant such advancement or to take actual disciplinary action, but in such cases they depended upon the Choir Helpers' Conference to bring recommendations and to make nominations.[1] The deliberations of this group were inclined to be of the most intimate nature and thus they were more carefully guarded against the curiosity of non-members than those of any other conference.[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, par. 370.

[2] "Elders' Conference Protocol" regularly indicates the reading of these minutes.

[3] Actually this conference could meet as a whole or separately according to sexes. This latter type of meeting was generally held when a disciplinary case was to be heard. "Verlass," par. 325,1-2.

[4] *Ibid.*, par. 328.

[5] *Ibid.*, par. 325,3.

The final deliberative institution which we will examine here was also the largest and the least used. The Congregation Council (Gemeinrat) was a much more broadly based representative body at one time during this period, including in its membership all of the communicant members of the congregation who had reached adulthood.[3] This body was too unwieldy for efficiency and was too large to be the place for a full debate of all the facts and issues in a case. The institution was presided over by the Congregation Helper and met every four weeks or at the discretion of the Elders' Conference.[4] In it were decided matters concerning major projects requiring concerted community effort and expense, such as the construction of buildings and establishment of businesses in the name of the congregations or one of its constituent Choirs.[5] Also, as we shall observe in the next chapter, the Congregation Council served as the setting for the final stages of chronic disciplinary problems and also as the setting for certain solemn rites of absolution for those being restored to the congregation.[6] In a very real sense a meeting of the Congregation Council served as the forum for the advertising and publicizing of certain official acts and their motivation. In actual practice it seems to have been more of an opportunity for public expression of confidence in the Elders' Conference than a body with real deliberative function.

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid., par. 325,5.

[3] Ibid., pars. 337-40. It should be noted that the membership of this body varied from time to time but was always broad in its basis.

[4] Ibid., par. 333. [5] Ibid., par. 331.

[6] Spangenberg, Nachricht, pp. 81, 83.

With the mission and structure of the congregation as a whole well in mind it is necessary now that we go on to an examination of the Choirs which made up each such settlement. At the outset a certain very natural misconception should be completely allayed. The Choirs of a Brethren settlement were not choirs. In short, aside from the fact which we will observe in due course that everyone in such a settlement spent a goodly part of his life in musical expressions of devotion or recreation, or both, the Choirs were not in any particular sense musical, but were actually monastic organizations. The Choirs were defined according to age, sex, and marital status. Each Choir was a devotional institution, and except for the Children's and Married Choirs, they were residential units as well. There were generally nine actively organized Choirs in each settlement congregation: the Small Boys' and Small Girls' Choirs for those under ten or twelve years of age, occasionally being taken together as the Children's Choir; the Older Boys' and Older Girls' Choirs, including in general the years between ten and twenty, of which those who had been admitted to Holy Communion were looked upon as youths without any separate Choir organization; the Single Brothers' and Single Sisters' Choirs, including all who had attained adulthood and had not yet married; the Married Choir; and finally the Choirs of the Widowers and the Widows.[1] It should be noted that each of these groups had its own special collection of "Choir Principles" even as the congregation had such a list, and these were to act as a constant guide to the Choir in its struggle to make itself a part of the true body of Christ.[1] An attempt to represent these principles in any complete form here would hardly be worth the price, so we rather turn to the most universal devotional manual of the Herrnhuter, his hymnal, and draw from the collection of "Choir Hymns" found there an unconnected series of verses which illustrate the peculiar emphases of the various Choirs. Unfortunately, some of these verses leave a great deal to be desired as poetry, but at least some of the blame can be laid to the harrows of hymn translation.

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[1] Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht von der, unter dem Namen der

The Children's Choir (Small Boys' and Small Girls' Choirs):
O Jesus Christ, thou only holy child,
How canst thou show such love to sinners spoil'd?
But since thou thus lovest, we now adore thee,
We children praise thy name and kneel before thee,
Hallelujah.[2]

Böhmisch-Mährischen Brüder bekanten, Kirche Unitas Fratrum Herkommen, Lehr-Begrif, äussern und innern Kirchen-Verfassung und Gebrauchen, aus richtigen Urkunden und Erzählungen von einen Ihrer Christlich unpartheiischen Freunde heraus gegeben (1757), pp. 48-49. Hereafter cited as *Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht*. This work was published in German (1757) and in French (1758). A collection of sixteen copper plate engravings were incorporated in the work, eleven of which have been incorporated in this thesis by photographic reproduction. From Spangenberg we learn that this work was written by "eines Freundes in der Schweiz" on the basis of statements submitted by Zinzendorf himself. Of the work, Spangenberg states: "Man findet in derselben ihrer Kurze unglachtet, über die auf dem Titel angezeigten Materien mehr Auskunft, als in vielen Andern von den Brüder handelnden Schriften. Weil aber die Brüder die Gewohnheit haben, das sie von Zut zu Zeit, nachden sich entweder die Umstande verändern, oder sie mehr Einsicht bekommen, immer ändern und bessern: so kan man aus diesem Büchlein den Gegenwärtigen Zustand der Brüderunität nicht beurtheilen; denn seitdem es herausgegeben worden, hat sich wirklich viel geändert." A.G. Spangenberg, *Leben des Herrn Nicholaus Ludwig Grafen und Herrn von Zinzendorf und Potterdorf* (Zu finden in den Brudergemeinen, 1774), Sechster Theil, pp. 1939-40.

[1] "Verlass," pars. 90-181, incorporates these principles for each of the Choirs.

[2] [John Swertner] (ed.), *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren* (London, 1789), No. 603, vs. 4, p. 185 (Tune 59).

The Older Boys' Choir:
O might our youth Christ's name confess
In all their conversation,
And each one, through our Saviour's grace,
Be faithful in his station;
Might in their very looks be seen,
That they through Jesu's merit
Are humble, steady, chaste and clean,
And guided by his spirit.[1]

The Older Girls' Choir:
Bless'd are they, who're ever ready
Him to follow cheerfully,
Who took, in a virgin's body,
For our sake, humanity.

Bless'd are then our maiden's classes,
Truly happy is their lot,
If they live alone to Jesus,
And to him their hearts devote.[2]

The Single Brothers' Choir:
Ye brethren, sav'd by Jesu's blood!
Be soon prepar'd to serve your God,
Remember your Redeemer's toil,
Supply your lamps of faith with oil;
To him devote yourselves each day anew
With soul and body, for they are his due.

And then arise and serve the Lord,
Go when he calls, proclaims the word
Of his atonement far and near,
Count not your lives for him too dear;
Go, tell the negros, savages and slaves,
That Jesu's blood the vilest sinners saves.[3]

The Single Sisters' Choir:
Would you know the grace and peace enjoyed
By a child of God, through faith,
See a virgin, who, alone employed
With her Saviour and his death,
Vanity and worldly ways despiseth,
Whilst the converse with her Lord she prizeth,
And thus on this side the grave,
Foretaste sweet of heav'n may have.[4]

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[1] _Ibid_., No. 633, p. 194 (Tune 166).

[2] _Ibid_., No. 651, vss. 4 and 5; p. 198 (Tune 16).

[3] _Ibid_., No. 646, p. 197 (Tune 97).

[4] _Ibid_., No. 656, vs. 1, p. 197 (Tune 185). This is the only one of these verses which was originally written in German.

The Married Choir:
The love which Jesus Christ displays (Eph. 5:25)
Towards the church, his bride,
None can describe, it far outweighs
All other love beside;
Believing husbands are to prove,
By holy and unfeigned love
Towards their wives, that they indeed
Resemble Christ our Head.

The Church submits to Christ her Lord: (Eph. 5:22)
"Thy will be done," we pray:
This teacheth wives, who love God's word,
With meekness to obey.
Adorned with humility
They aid their husbands willingly;
Are clothed with the beauteous dress
Of Jesu's righteousness.[1]

The Widowers' and Widows' Choirs:
Ye who for true consolation,
Like old Simeon, humbly wait,
Shall behold the Lord's salvation,
Then your joy will be complete.
Who makes Anna her example,
Trusting in God's promises,
Waits for Jesus in his temple
Shall behold him as he is.[2]

The life which was led in a Brethren Choir in pursuance of these principles was one which involved the whole person all of the time. The Choir House has already been described and some of its functions are reflected therein, and we have especially observed the economic and industrial importance of these units. Yet in each of these Choirs was also lived a full devotional life involving regular services, in most cases held several times each day, and for all Choirs at least once each week. The nature of such services and their schedules will be dealt with in due time, but their presence and their place within the Choir system must always be borne in mind as we go on to look at the structure of the Choir and its function as a practical expression of Herrnhut piety.[1]

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[1] Ibid., No. 622, p. 201 (Tune 159).

[2] Ibid., No. 674, p. 204 (Tune 167).

Actually we have already met the chief officials of the Choir with relation to their duties as members of the various congregational conferences. As with the whole congregation the highest officials of the Choir were known as Helper and Overseer (Choraufsteher or Chordiener), and their division of labor seems pretty largely to parallel that of their congregational counterparts, with the one bearing chief responsibility for the spiritual welfare and the other for the physical well-being of the members. Caution should, however, be observed in making this distinction, because in the Choir even more than in the congregation the duties of these two officials tended to overlap in consideration of the specific needs of particular members.[2]

The key person in this entire structure and its proper operation was the Choir Helper. It was ultimately he who had to make the judgments and decisions which are necessary to the application of principles and methods of religious observance to the lives of real human beings. If the Choir Helper failed in his role it is safe to say that the whole edifice would have to fail. The voice of the Choir Helper was almost invariably heeded in matters which concerned the spiritual condition of his Choir and its members.[3] His position with relation to that personal knowledge and judgment which was spoken of above in connection with the Elders' Conference was the key to that body's success in directing the lives of the members and societies within a settlement. As we shall presently see, a very important matter in the establishment and maintenance of this intimate knowledge and its application in the discipline and nurture of the individual and community were the informal confessional conversations held each month in preparation for Holy Communion--the Speakings (Sprechen).[1] But at the same time these were only the more formal exercise of a warm and intimate spiritual friendship which was to exist between the individual member and his Choir Helper.[2] Thus the ultimate legitimation of a Choir Helper lay not in any rite of ordination, though a large number of them appear to have been in clerical orders,[3] but in the talent and skill which he possessed to gain such a relationship with his fellows, and the judgment concerning human nature and the function of religion within the human spirit which would make him not merely a "soul mate" but truly a physician of souls. Among the decrees of the General Synod of 1775 we find several which epitomize the role and task of the Choir Helper so insightfully that they deserve to be included here. Therein is specified that

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[1] Infra, Part II.

[2] "Verlass," par. 243.

[3] Ibid., par. 308.

> The Choir Helper . . . should be held by all those entrusted to his care as their most trusted and dependable friend. He should possess a motherly heart toward his whole Choir but must especially watch over and care for those miserable ones. He must with patience and equanimity allow himself to be plagued by those oppressed spirits who repeat again and again the selfsame concerns, and be the last to give up hope for misguided persons.[4]
>
> A Choir Helper will gain the trust of his Choir when he sets himself on equal footing with his brethren and does not merely

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[1] *Infra*, pp. 124-33. [2] *Reise*, pp. 225-30.

[3] The Helper of the Single Brothers' Choir in Bethlehem in 1783, Jacob van Vleck, was an ordained minister; "Chor Diarium der ledige Brüder in Bethlehem," August 29, 1783; MS to be found in Bethlehem Archives and hereafter cited as "Brothers' Diarium." In cases where Choir Helpers were not in major orders because of scruples, sex, or lack of aptitude, they were generally granted the minor order of Acolyte, then utilized among the Brethren to recognize the special calling of leading laymen; Lynar, pp. 129-30.

[4] "Verlass," par. 233.

> listen to them when they speak with him concerning their hearts but also speaks with them of his heart; when he not only allows them to visit him, but also visits them and seeks to come into a friendly relationship with them. In this way he will more easily and certainly attain to the knowledge of his brethren which is so necessary to him than merely through the usual Speaking at which the brethren maintain a certain composure which falls away in the relationship of friends.
>
> This trust can be very much advanced if the Choir Helper is a general friend of the Choir and does not limit his friendship to a few favorites, who moreover can easily abuse the trust placed in them and receive more harm than good from this particular love.[1]
>
> It is a completely false method if a Choir Helper would hold the attention and respect of those entrusted to his care by maintaining a certain withdrawn attitude. A much more solid legitimation may be accomplished by working side by side, meeting them half way as their fellow in infirmity and in learning.[2]
>
> If a Choir Helper stands in a tender connection with the Saviour so that he desires only what the Saviour wills, then the Saviour will confess him, legitimate him, and reveal it in the hearts of his brethren.
>
> This is the matter which is vital. If a Helper lacks this legitimation in his Choir his first thought must not be to seek the blame in the Choir. He must seek it much more certainly in himself and if he seeks it there he will soon find his heart, the heart of the dear Saviour, and the heart of his Choir.[3]
>
> The task of a Choir Helper actually consists in attention to the work of the Saviour and of his Spirit in hearts. . . . Above all the workers must not bind themselves to individual rules, but in all things heed the voice of the Holy Spirit. Then he may neither fear that he will be too hasty nor that he will spoil something, but can act with a free mind.[4]

The responsibilities of the Choir Helper were indeed very great, but it should be noted that he was not alone in them. In the case of a large Choir there was at least one Associate Choir Helper to share in the work, but even if there was no such provision the whole staff of the Choir House was oriented toward his task and its fulfillment.[5] The Choir Overseer, although bearing the major burden of providing for the physical ordering and maintenance of the House and its inhabitants, also bore a responsibility as an aide to the Choir Helper in the work of nurture and discipline. Together they were accountable for the preservation of peace and order among the brothers or sisters of the Choir.[1] In the Single Sisters' and Widows' Choirs the spiritual activities of the Choir Overseer were apparently facilitated by the fact that all of their external commercial affairs were handled by an agent who was nominated by them and appointed by the Elders' Conference. These business agents known as Curators were generally outstanding businessmen of the congregation who served the sisters gratis as their official business representatives.[2] Besides the Overseer, however, the Helper was greatly assisted by other officials of the House. In each of the large dormitory rooms of the Choir House a special Room Overseer (Stubenaufseher) was appointed, whose responsibilities paralleled those of both the Choir Helper and the Overseer in that he attended to both the physical and the spiritual needs of the residents of such a room. He was required to keep both material and spiritual account of their charges, seeing that they neither fell into debt in their monetary standing nor slipped into negligent habits with regard to their devotional lives.[3] In the dormitories of the boarding schools of the Brethren there were generally two Overseers: one--a person with a scholarly training--was to attend to their intellectual and spiritual needs; and the other--generally a person with only a minimal educational background--was primarily concerned with their physical requirements, but also aided in their spiritual nurture.[4] More must be said about these institutions in the final chapters of this work when we will deal directly with the experience of young Friedrich Schleiermacher, but it is well to note at this point that the setting of the Choir House was that within which the educational processes of the Brethren schools must be seen.[1] From time to time all of these officials of a Choir were called into consultation as the House Conference before which the various material and spiritual problems which might have arisen were discussed and their solutions were sought. In the structure of the Choir this conference served much the same function as the Elders' Conference in that of the whole congregation.[2] We have already met the other functionaries of the Choir in our discussion of the Choir House itself,[3] and little need be added concerning their duties. In summary, it may be said that, taken as a whole, the Choir Houses were extremely self-sufficient, religious establishments containing within their walls almost everything necessary to a full physical and devotional life and provided with all of the institutions necessary to their material and spiritual government and support. Yet within each Choir there was a body of still smaller structures which contributed to the life of the individual and of the community and which appear to have played an important part in fulfilling the task of the Choir Helper. I refer to the small cell groups called Bands or Societies.[4]

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[1] *Ibid.*, par. 234. [2] *Ibid.*, par. 235. [3] *Ibid.*, par. 236.

[4] *Ibid.*, par. 237. [5] *Ibid.*, par. 260.

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[1] Ibid., par. 245. [2] Ibid., pars. 263-65.

[3] Ibid., par. 89, outlines seven points which should be observed by the Room Overseer in the care of his charges.

[4] Loretz, p. 316, n.

The Societies into which each Choir was divided were to contain not more than ten persons,[5] and their personnel was not constant.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Such a conference was held every other Wednesday in the Single Brothers' Choir at Bethlehem; see "Brothers' Diarium," January 17, January 31, 1783, etc.

[3] Supra, p. 41.

[4] Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 50. [5] "Verlass," par. 85,4.

The arrangement of the members of a Choir into these groups was to be altered generally once each quarter.[1] The Choir Helper himself was responsible for this task and through it was to seek to assist in the complete integration of the Choir.[2] Although the Societies appear to have been more active during the winter months,[3] it was the ideal that they should gather almost every day at the time and place established by the convener or so-called Society Holder.[4] Their meetings apparently consisted of song and prayer together, but most important, they were to be **an** occasion for the mutual confession of its members.[5] The Brethren had never heard of group therapy, nor even of group dynamics, but through this means they most certainly practiced and utilized both. Although he himself would be a Society Holder, the Choir Helper was expected to make occasional visits in each of the Societies of his Choir, and the Holders also had special conferences which were aimed at facilitating the process by which it was hoped to make each member of a Choir House a brother or sister of each fellow member.[6] Here at the grass roots we see practiced in its purest form the concept that each man is to his brother a priest--a concept which pervaded the entire structure of a settlement congregation of the Brethren from the Congregation Helper and the Elders' Conference down to this little circle of brothers or sisters gathered in one of the small chambers or perhaps in one of the long, low-ceilinged garret-dormitories to pour out the joys and burdens of their days and lives. In the body of concentric circles which made up such a congregation, each was as responsible as his brother. Within this structure there was really no such thing as informing in the sense of interfering in the business of others. Actually, to ignore the offenses or failure of others in this kind of system was not toleration, and admonishing one's brother concerning his lapses was not intolerant meddling. The system required the responsible interaction of all if the high personal and communal aims of the Herrnhuter were to be reached. This is the practical context within which the Brethren experienced their religion, and through which they expressed that experience. It is the framework and the motivation for the system of nurture and discipline which we must now consider.

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[1] Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 51; Lynar, p. 108.

[2] It should be noted that in the case of the Married Choir the Bands were separated according to sex; Ibid., pp. 119-20.

[3] Meyer, p. 139.

[4] Gesellschaftshalter; Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 51.

[5] "Verlass," par. 85,2.

[6] This was also looked upon as a training ground for future Choir Helpers. Ibid., par. 85,3; Lynar, pp. 107-108.

CHAPTER III

DISCIPLINE IN A SETTLEMENT CONGREGATION

Despite the oppressive presence of an almost overwhelming financial debt constantly hanging over the Herrnhuters during this formative "second generation,"[1] the time between the Seven Years' War and the French Revolution was one of unprecedented popularity and prosperity for the Brethren. During Prussia's struggle for a "place in the sun," the charm and orderliness of their settlements had been exposed first hand to the eyes of large numbers of the ruling class, who, by the way, were ideally oriented toward Pietism and the Enlightenment to fully appreciate both the religious and ethical excellence of these communities.[2] One can hardly imagine a more radical change of opinion than that which took place with regard to the Herrnhuters during these years. The onus of fanaticism and downright vice was traded for the halo of an idyllic Christian society. The Enlightenment was willing to ignore a great deal that was downright hostile to its ideals and approach in return for what was conceived to be a working moral Utopia.[1] Such a second generation acceptance of a radical religious movement which was detested and scorned, often deservedly so, in its earlier existence has the ring of an old refrain to anyone at all acquainted with such monastic and semi-monastic movements. And in the mind of such an observer the question almost automatically springs to mind, "What did they do about the crisis of internal discipline precipitated by the disappearance of external pressures?" It seems one of the hard facts of life for such movements that at the very moment of victory when they are delivered from the threat of being crushed by a hostile world, they are faced with a still more destructive menace, that of being swallowed up by a friendly one.

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[1] The debts of the Herrnhuters at the time of Zinzendorf's death and the constant threats which they posed to the continued existence of that movement was one of the great forces which shaped the development in this period. The heroic efforts exerted to expunge this liability were a powerful force both pulling the congregations together and breaking them apart. The Brethren were virtually fighting for their life as a movement, but through it all managed to maintain a religious and theological balance and a moral hardihood which may go far to explain their success in preserving discipline through this formative period. See "Verlass," pars. 1015-1240, the longest "chapter" of the synodical decrees which deals for the most part with these problems.

[2] Frohberger, pp. 192-209.

A unique quality was created in this disciplinary crisis as it was experienced by the Herrnhuters during the last third of the eighteenth century by the rising ascendancy of a movement which was superficially friendly to them but with which the Brethren had an essential and even an intentional disagreement. I refer, of course, to the Enlightenment. Although the enmity of these two movements must be recognized from the beginning, the mounting dominance of the Aufklärung in European life and thought during just this period, combined with the increasing involvement of the Brethren in a now more favorably disposed society, led to a high degree of sophistication in the thought and practice of this religious order with regard to its own internal essence and its relationship with the world and the times. The Herrnhuters became thoroughly conscious of their calling and its implications and brought this consciousness to the light of day especially in the stated principles, organization, and discipline of their congregations. Particularly in the face of the ambiguous approval of the Enlightenment it was necessary for them to make clear the basic theological and anti-humanistic orientation of their ethical position. Even the term "virtue" (Tugend) came to be regarded with suspicion by the Brethren[1] as the condition of human depravity and the preëminence of divine grace were emphasized against the humanistic optimism which was the essence of the Enlightenment.

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[1] This attitude dominates the observations and descriptions made by the anonymous author of Reise who, although certainly no infidel, was a thorough-going son of the Aufklärung.

The defense of the Herrnhuters against the enervating effects of their increased popularity and the corrosive influences of the dynamic spirit of the Aufklärung was through a heightened awareness of their communal and individual calling by means of a life-consuming drive to express that calling through an ethical and spiritual life completely dominated by their experience of God's presence and activity among them and in the world. The recognized and state supported churches or "religions," as they were called in this Post-Westphalian Period, were looked upon by the Brethren as a mixed multitude of saints and sinners, and as such, a corrupt expression of the church.[2] This attitude did not bring a renunciation of these religions on the part of the Herrnhuters, but rather, as we will see in the next chapter, a concerted effort to convert and renew, finally to unite them. It did, however, bring forth an intensified determination to avoid the same condition of impurity--an intention which expressed itself most clearly in the congregational discipline of the Brethren settlements. The internal side of this struggle reached its crisis at the General Synod of 1775 when the following statement was formulated.

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[1] August Gottlieb Spangenberg, Eines alten Dieners Jesu gläubigen Bekenntnis von der Hoffnung des ewigen Lebens (Barby: 1790), p. 17. Hereafter cited as Eines alten Dieners.

[2] Spangenberg, Idea, pp. 432-34.

> This congregational discipline presupposes that we are not a religion but a congregation of Jesus. To a congregation of Jesus, however, only those may belong who have already found grace and forgiveness for sin in the blood of Jesus Christ and remain in that grace, or in any case with their whole heart weep and yearn after that state. Only such brethren can be considered as members in the body of Jesus and as partakers in the Holy Communion. And we must by the grace of the dear Saviour attend thereto and work that our congregations consist of such members, otherwise we will slowly and surely become a religion.[1]

Within the structure of Brethren discipline we should discern both a positive and a negative side. The bulk of the community's disciplinary efforts were exerted in the prevention of an attitude of laxness toward the central mission of the congregation to follow the mind and will of the Saviour and the actions which accompany such an attitude, rather than toward the treatment of those who had actually fallen into hardness of heart and questionable thoughts and practices. At the same time, with their view of fallen human nature and the continued frailty of the converted Christian, the Brethren could not without the gravest reservations hold that all transgressions could be forestalled by means of careful education and nurture. Thus, both the negative and the positive side of Brethren discipline were well thought out and constructed, and taken together give us a clear general view of the practical structure of a Herrnhuter's life as lived in a settlement congregation.

The beginning of the individual life of a true Herrnhuter came with his special calling to be a member of that order. It was not expected by the Brethren that all Christians would be called to be a part of their religious order, nor did they ever hold that persons not thus favored were in some way not truly Christians or members of the true church.[1] They rather conceived that certain men were called to be Herrnhuters who had a particular need of the special care they could receive in a settlement and Choir or because of their ability to assist in the calling of the congregations toward God and the world.[2] The Synod of 1769 decreed that

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[1] "Verlass," par. 400.

> a part, and as a matter of fact by far the greater part of our congregations and Choirs should properly consist of poor sinners who have received the gifts of grace, and another part should consist of such persons who heartily seek after that condition. Beside this, however, they must be convinced of their gracious calling to the congregation.[3]

The fact is thus quite clear that no person should be allowed to become a participant in the Eucharist, to become a member, or even to take up residence in a Brethren settlement who did not enjoy such a peculiar calling. One must be wary in the interpretation of such requirements as they are generally much easier to state in synodical decrees than to enforce in real communities of men and women. In the congregations of the Brethren the usual difficulties encountered by traditional Christian monasticism in assuring the presence of such a calling were complicated by a problem almost as old as the church itself--that of the calling of those born to parents who are members of the community but are themselves naturally not capable of giving the usual adult assurance of their gracious election. It will be our intention here to first deal with this complicating factor and with the position taken toward the native-born Herrnhuter, as well as with the manner of his education, in an effort to assure participation in the covenant of the Brethren; only then will we turn to the evidences which the adult convert was expected to bring of his election and the methods utilized by these congregations to establish and maintain the purity of their membership and the integrity of their calling to be the body of Christ on earth.

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[1] "Von den Christlichen Religionen uberhaupt," in "Gemein Nachrichten" (1785), Beilage, 7 Woche B.

[2] Lynar, pp. 100-101.

[3] "Verlass," par. 408.

The question of the election of the offspring of Herrnhuters to be members of the congregation was still a subject for open debate during this period but finally received an unequivocal definition at the General Synod of 1782 when a basically orthodox position was taken in this decree:

> If God, according to his particular direction, allows children to be born in a congregation of the Brethren then one can also securely believe that they are ordained to belong to the Brethren. As certain as it is that our children are not capable of winning by their own merit the grace which the Saviour has given us, so firmly may we be convinced that they are nevertheless all born for Jesus, and called also to the covenant to which we belong through grace. This must be the aim of parents in the rearing of their children. That must be held before our children and it will make a great and blessed impression upon them. We cannot therefore presuppose that they simply must flourish by dint of a special priority with the Saviour. On the other hand, however, we can faithfully trust it to Him, that He will allow them to flourish. If children who have been born and raised among us afterward of themselves leave the Brethren, then they are certainly untrue to the gracious calling which they had thereto.[1]

Up to and through the first years of this period the entire congregation had taken an almost complete responsibility for the validation of this gracious calling in the individual life of the native-born Herrnhuter, even to the point of training him from a rather tender age in boarding institutions where he was constantly exposed to the devotional and disciplinary context of the Choir House.[1] Largely because of its deep financial problems stemming from indebtedness incurred during earlier decades, this practice was abandoned at the Synod of 1769, and parents, except those who because of their profession could not do so, were required to take primary responsibility for the rearing of their own children.[2] For their guidance in this matter Bishop Layritz was commissioned to compile a manual which would assist parents in the physical, mental, and spiritual care and training of their children from the pre-natal period up to adulthood.[3] At the close of this work we find the suggested text of a document which is designed to be handed over to the child born and reared in a Brethren settlement by his parents at the point when he leaves their home and care as a summary of the purposes and practices utilized in his upbringing. The document is an extremely significant one and of such a nature that it can speak best for itself. Thus it is incorporated here.

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[1] *Ibid*., par. 181,3.

> Dear Son (Dear Daughter):
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> We have, from the first moment when we became aware that the Lord had blessed your dear mother with you as the fruit of her body, never looked upon you otherwise than as a gift of the Lord. Thus we dedicated you as his possession when He had delivered you from your mother's body. Soon after your birth we brought you to Him, that you might be baptized with water and blood into his death, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, so that not you but Christ might live in you. Thereunto has our entire purpose in your upbringing been directed, that you in the life which you now live in the flesh, might live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved you, and gave himself for you.[4] Therefore we did bear all necessary cares for your

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[1] Loretz, p. 316, n.

[2] "Verlass," par. 457.

[3] Paul Eugen Layritz, *Betractungen über eine verständige und Christliche Erziehung der Kinder* (Barby, 1776).

[4] Compare Baptism Liturgy, *infra*, pp. 391-93.

body that you might always have straight and sound members. But our mind has always remained fixed that you should use your members, not to the service of sin, but might use them as the instruments of righteousness. To that end have we since you first came to an adequate use of your understanding utilized every opportunity to fill your soul with knowledge of the Truth which makes one devout. We have in all ways possible depicted to you the crucified figure of our dear Saviour so that from childhood you might learn to know him in the ever beautiful figure of the Redeemer. We have from time to time described to you his meritorious life to the best of our ability, that you might gain an enthusiasm for the mind of the Saviour and allow yourself to be formed according to that mind by his Spirit. Neither have we withheld from you the corruption and misery of nature which inhabits us poor humans, nor how vitally necessary to us is the reconciliation of our gracious Saviour; nor that we must be assured thereof in our hearts by his Spirit, so that we can say, "I know in whom I have believed and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day." We have brought it to your memory often and on many occasions in your childhood years as well as when you became older. You will particularly recall how at your acceptance into the congregation, confirmation, and first participation in Holy Communion we sought to show you how fortunate you were to be in a Christian order (Verfassung) over which the Lord has a unique gracious supervision. Our heartfelt wish was then and is yet now that you might with the people of God enjoy all of the blessings won by Jesus, but also that you in your lifetime might be and remain a true member who is yielded to the Lord and to his church (Gemeine). We have caused you to learn everything which we believed to be useful and necessary to you insofar as we have had opportunity thereto, for we believe that the greatest heritage which you could receive from us is that which we could give in your upbringing.

Now through the grace of God you have so advanced in years that you no longer have need of our parental care, but should go your own way. Actually we will never cease to commend you to the grace of our Lord and Saviour, that he might lead and direct you on a plain path. But we look upon you from now on as the kind of godly man who ought to live his own faith. Thus we plead heartily with you--learn to know yourself ever more thoroughly; never trust to your own insights and powers; but undisturbedly hold yourself to your Redeemer. Then you will learn that he is ever near you to demonstrate his gracious assistance in all your concerns. Recognize your good fortune, that your Creator has allowed you to be born and raised in the kind of congregation (Gemeine) where God's word is taught in a pure and undefiled manner and we also take pains to live in accordance thereto in sanctity as the children of God. If he deems you worthy to serve him, then do so from the heart, applying spirit, soul, and members with a will so as to give joy to Jesus, because to that purpose we have consecrated you to him from your infancy. Thereto have we sought to bring you up. If we have done anything amiss, for we are poor, sinful and transgressing men, then from his grace and for his blood's sake may he forgive us and avert all damage which might arise there-

> from. Will you also forgive us, my dear son (my dear daughter), and be assured that we have not neglected anything which we considered necessary or useful in your upbringing from lack of love, but perhaps because we lacked the insight to see it.
>
> And now we look to your future life with anticipation, and hope that you will, "giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge; and to knowledge temperance; and to temperance patience; and to patience godliness; and to godliness brotherly love; and to brotherly love general love (gemeine Liebe). For neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ" (II Pet. 1:5-8). "Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness and all these things will be yours as well" (Matt. 6:33). And we will see in you a true servant of Jesus (a true handmaid of the Lord), a fruitful and blessed inhabitant of this settlement, a beloved fellow citizen, and after the completion of the course, a person redeemed of the Lord with whom we may present ourselves before the Saviour on that day and say, "See, Lord, here are we and the son (the daughter) whom thou hast given us." We at the end, at the conclusion of your upbringing lay the benediction of the Lord upon you:
>
> The Lord bless thee and keep thee!
> The Lord make his face to shine upon thee and be
> gracious unto thee!
> The Lord lift up his countenance unto thee and
> give thee peace!
>
> Amen.[1]

The aims and general structure of the educational system among the Herrnhuters are very clearly laid down in this revealing document and it goes far to clarify the whole approach to life and to religion which was typical of this movement. So far as possible the individual was to be protected from evil and exposed to good. The entire life was to be a response of obedience and gratitude to the Saviour for his saving act and continued guidance. This singleness and simplicity (Einfaltigkeit) was the one aim of the whole structure of education and discipline which is outlined here, as well as of the massive devotional structure which will be the interest of Part II of this work.[2] The practical expression of these aims has already been outlined in the Choir system but it remains for us here to demonstrate how this system, its institutions, and its officials functioned in the individual life of a Herrnhuter as he related himself to the community and its objectives.

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[1] Layritz, pp. 196-200.

[2] See "Verlass," pars. 392, 452.

The actual educational foundations began to be laid down for a particular child well in advance of his birth. There was a regular program of instruction for expectant mothers in a Brethren settlement. The main responsibility for guidance of ladies thus blessed was assumed by the Co-Helper of the Married Choir, actually the Choir Helper's wife, who attended the pregnancy and confinement with practical and spiritual counsel aimed at the physical and spiritual health of the mother, and especially at the preparation of the mother to receive and train her child in the manner that has been described above.[1] This regular process of guidance was high-lighted twice each year, at the Feasts of the Annunciation and the Nativity, by special Teaching Days designated for the instruction of pregnant sisters and the celebration of their happy estate.[2] This careful process of instruction was followed up on the part of the Choir Helper of the Married Choir by a pattern of close supervision over the training of children in the home from their earliest infancy.[3] The Synod of 1782 made the responsibility of parents in the matter of training their children quite clear when it stated:

> The parents must speak often and in a rational manner with their children from their tenderest years of what has caused them to renounce all outward advantage in the world and come to the congregation, and of how they therein had also as a chief aim their children, whose salvation against seduction by the world they so longingly wished to guard, and to bring them to blessedness in fellowship with Jesus. The parents are to place thus before them how they themselves, when they were converted in their hearts to Jesus, became revolted before the

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[1] Loretz, p. 311.

[2] *Infra*, p. 315.

[3] Loretz, p. 311.

> vanity and foolishness of the world and how their only desire is to help accomplish the spread of the kingdom of Jesus, and that is now the calling of them and their children; to love him, and then also--according to their ability--to serve his house is to be seen as the greatest blessing and honor.[1]

This project of training was to be carried forward both in such heart to heart instruction and confession and also in regularly exercised devotional practices at least marking the beginning and the end of the day and all mealtimes.[2] Parents could incur severe disciplinary action if they were chronically negligent in these matters, and their supervision therein was considered among the most significant duties of the Helpers of the Married Choir.[3] It should also be noted here that in certain cases where parents were adjudged by the Elders' Conference to be unfit or flagrantly inept in training their children, it could provide for their removal from their natural home and their placement either in one of the institutions of the Brethren or in a foster home.[4]

In any case, as soon as the children were of an age that they could remain away from their mothers without dissatisfaction they began to participate in the regular functions of the Childrens' Choirs which included a brief daily service each morning, weekly litanies, monthly Congregation or Prayer Days, as well as annual Choir festivals and special activities at other annual celebrations, particularly Michaelmas and Christmas.[5] These activities must be considered from a devotional standpoint in later chapters, but their educative functions cannot be ignored here. Indeed, it must be recognized that the distinction that has been made between the devotional and the practical expressions of religion is merely an abstraction designed to facilitate analysis and becomes completely meaningless in the consideration of the real lives of real individuals. The Herrnhuter at worship is also the Herrnhuter in school, or in the workshop. Both sides of piety ultimately feed each other and particularly with the Brethren become almost completely united one with another.

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[1] "Verlass," par. 181,6.

[2] *Ibid.*, par. 404.

[3] *Ibid.*, par. 517.

[4] *Ibid.*, par. 503.

[5] Loretz, p. 312; see *infra*, Part II.

Within the Children's Choirs the relationship between Choir Helper and his charges which the young Herrnhuter had already seen operating in his own home became for the first time a personal, individual matter.[1] Although the Helpers to the Children's Choirs do not seem to have held the same position in the community as did those of the adult Choirs, there was no essential difference in the relationships which they sought and in large degree found with their youthful charges. As we picture the relationship which existed between a young child trained as these were from birth in the sensing and expression of their own inner feelings and longings, and the adults to whom they were entrusted--selected as they had been, and themselves trained and thoroughly experienced in dealing with such children, we must recognize that here was established an opportunity either for the beginning of the most intimate personal love and knowledge or for the grossest self-delusion which ultimately might become frustration and rejection, or worst of all, hypocrisy. As we shall later see with the young Schleiermacher and some of his friends, it was altogether possible that both alternatives could be taken at once, or by turns, by the self-same person.[2]

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[1] Loretz, p. 312.

[2] This was notably the case with Schleiermacher and several of his associates; infra, chapters xv and **xvi**.

Although the parents took primary responsibility in such matters with regular and active assistance from the Married and Children's Choir Helpers,[1] the entire community consciously participated in the task of protecting these young lives from evil influences and ideas and assuring their spiritual and physical welfare.[2] If a child lived at home his parents were at each moment of the night and day to know where he was and what he was doing.[3] If he resided at an institution or a boarding school, however, he was never allowed out of sight of the brothers who were given supervision over him and was not to be left to his own devices in company with his peers.[4] Such a boy or girl was never allowed in a darkened room day or night, which was the custom in the Choir Houses in general, for all sleeping rooms were at least dimly lit and supervised by special night watchers throughout the entire night.[5]

Just a word should be said here concerning the close regulations which were instituted to prevent the untimely development of sexual curiosity among children in a Brethren congregation. In a religious community where both sexes are represented the problem of maintaining the purity of its members against either mental or physical sins of the flesh is greatly intensified. To forestall such problems the Brethren maintained a careful program of almost complete separation, particularly in situations where curiosity and experimentation might most easily become an interest and a temptation--in dressing and in arrangement for sleeping; children were separated according to sex from a very tender age.[6] The ideal with relation to sex education was actually very high in that although early curiosity was discouraged, it was felt that when questions did arise as a result of the developing sexual drives, the information should be immediately forthcoming and in such detail and quality that the subject would be completely put to rest in the child's mind.[1] The more practical elements of such instruction were left until immediately after marriage when the bridal pair was taken into the home of the Married Choir Helper where in the course of one or more nights the instruction deemed necessary to a satisfactory marital relationship was imparted by the Co-Helpers of the Married Choir to the newlyweds.[2] Thus, at least in theory, the planning seems to have been good and well aimed to satisfy the needs both of the person and of the community. In practice, however, children must have grown up with an almost complete lack of understanding, even fear, of their opposite sexual counterparts. This was particularly the case with those who were raised in the institutions and boarding schools where they were not even allowed the knowledge of the opposite sex afforded by constant association with a parent of that genre. It was this ignorance which Schleiermacher so pensively regretted concerning his stay in the community,[3] and so actively and effectively remedied in his later life.

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[1] Loretz, pp. 311-12.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 318.

[3] "Verlass," par. 479.

[4] Loretz, p. 316, n.

[5] *Ibid.*; Lynar, p. 104.

[6] Loretz, pp. 314-15.

Only after four full years of intensive religious training of a very practical nature was a child first introduced to the rigors of formal schooling. From the fifth to the thirteenth or fourteenth year the schooling of a young Herrnhuter was compulsory.[4] If his parents could afford to do so they were expected to pay the tuition, but if not it was to be paid out of the poor chest;[1] regardless of means, the children were required to attend. In most settlements the local day school was located in rooms of the Brothers' House in which the Schoolmaster both lived and worked.[2] In the larger settlements--for example, Herrnhut--the children were divided into classes according to their age, and there were customarily no more than ten to twelve children in each class.[3] Classes in the settlement school began quite early--at eight o'clock--and lasted until eleven, and were also held in the afternoons from two to four o'clock except for Wednesday and Saturday afternoons which were holidays.[4] It should be noted that the morning schedule was divided each day by the half-hour Children's Hour, a special service which will be discussed in its due place.[5] The teaching in such schools concentrated on reading, writing, and arithmetic, with instruction also in history, geography, languages, and the rudiments of Latin. The curriculum generally extended to drawing and music which sometimes was taught privately,[6] and of course the Preacher, who was supervisor of the entire school, taught regular weekly classes in religion which aimed finally toward the catechization and confirmation, generally at around the end of this period of formal instruction in the village school.[7] For the girls who were taught in these schools the introductory study of Latin was replaced by practical instruction in the appointed domestic tasks of their sex.[8] When a

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[1] Ibid., pp. 313-14. [2] Reise, pp. 212-13.

[3] Briefe, I, 319 [I, 308]; E.R. Meyer, Schleiermachers und C.G. von Brinkmanns Gang durch die Brüdergemeine (Leipzig: Verlag von Friedrich Jansa, 1905), p. 242.

[4] Reise, p. 406; "Verlass," par. 176. The former gives the age of 5 to 12 years, but the synodical decree (1775) indicates the terminal age as 14 years.

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[1] Niesky Einverständnis, p. 40. [2] Reise, p. 405.

[3] Ibid. [4] Ibid. [5] Infra, pp. 204-207.

[6] Niesky Einverständnis, pp. 39-40; Reise, p. 406.

[7] Ibid.; "Verlass," pars. 855-856.

[8] Loretz, p. 317; Reise, p. 406.

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boy finished his education in the settlement school several alternatives were open to him. He might, if he was adjudged capable, go on in his formal education to the Paedagogium at Niesky and ultimately to the Seminarium at Barby or to a university.[1] If this way were closed, and he had a special interest in learning, he might enter the Schreiber Collegium or scriptorium at Barby where the Unity periodical, the "Gemein Nachrichten," was reproduced in manuscript for distribution to the congregations;[2] other "classified" items which either for reasons of economy or secrecy were not to be submitted to state censorship and publication--such as the "Synodical Decrees" which were very closely guarded from public scrutiny--were also reproduced here.[3] Yet a third alternative was that chosen by and for an overwhelming majority of such youths, who in consultation with the College of Overseers and the masters of the various trades were entered into apprenticeship in the Brothers' House or with one of the independent tradesmen where they were trained to take a place in the economic structure of the local congregation as full-fledged members of the economic as well as the religious organism of such a settlement.[4]

Side by side with this academic and economic preparation for full participation in the life of the settlement, the religious upbringing also reached its culmination. Within a year or two after the onset of formal academic training the child was introduced for the first time to the system of disciplinary safeguards which surrounded the Brethren practice of the Eucharist and were designed to protect the purity of the community as a whole and particularly the sanctity of that most holy rite, the Lord's Supper. It was actually not until well into this period that the practices which were aimed toward the practical application of these disciplinary processes in the life of the Children's Choirs were standardized and universally applied in the various settlements of the Herrnhuters. I refer here to the actions taken by the Unity Elders' Conference during the 1770's to bring order in the use of what might properly be called the "Children's Eucharist."[1] I hasten to specify that the term "eucharist" is utilized first because the practices which are subsumed under this category perform a function in the life of children exactly parallel to that of the Holy Communion in the life of adult Herrnhuters, and secondly because the central rite of each was the ceremonial epitome of a life completely given over to thanksgiving to God. This central rite in the case of the children was not in any sense a scaled-down celebration of the Holy Supper, however, nor was it an imitation thereof; such a parody would have been completely contrary to the Brethren view of Holy Communion. It was rather the ultimate act of supplication in the very commodious arsenal of such actions which could be claimed by the Herrnhuters-- the so-called Anbeten or "Prostration before the Lord" with which the monthly Children's Congregation Day culminated.[2] Occurring once in each regular four-week period, as did the celebration of the adult Eucharist, this observance of the Children's Choirs was surrounded with safeguards which completely parallel those applied with relation to their elders and were obviously patterned after the disciplines applied thereto. Usually in his fifth or sixth year a child began to be considered by his Choir Helper for admission to this mark of full participation in his Choir.[1] Such admission could only come, however, after that spiritual counselor was convinced that the child in question was in a proper relation with the Saviour and worthy to participate in the Anbeten. Only when he was thus satisfied would the case be brought up at the Choir Helpers' Conference, then at the Elders' Conference.[2] As we have already observed, these conferences had specific responsibilities with regard to each member of every Choir, and the members of such conferences were expected to be well informed concerning each case that came before them, both through the Choir officials concerned and by direct personal observation of and participation in the life and training of each individual.[3] If the Elders' Conference was inclined to agree to the admission of this child to the Anbeten at the next Children's Prayer Day, the nomination was put to the Lot using negative and affirmative cylinders.[4] If the affirmative was drawn, the child in question would then be informed of his admission and be prepared for participation at the next occurrence of the sacred rite; if the result was negative, however, he was never to know that the matter had come up and he would be nominated again when it was the opinion of the Elders' Conference that whatever circumstances might have caused the refusal of the Saviour could have altered themselves so as to allow a change in the decision of the Lot.[5] The ceremony of admission itself was carefully designed so as to guard against the idea that it was either a confirmation, a Choir change, or admission to the congregation, and thus consisted only of a prayer offered for the new participants while the whole Choir lay prostrate on the floor for supplication and the prayer of thanksgiving, or Anbeten.[1]

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[1] Loretz, pp. 318-19.

[2] "Verlass," par. 538.

[3] Ibid., par. 964,1; "Wöchentliche Nachrichten" (1783), No. 4; a weekly report issued by the Unity Elders' Conference. This serial was produced in MS and recorded the official actions and directives of the Unity Elders' Conference and official items of general interest from the congregations; MS found in the Bethlehem Archives.

[4] "Verlass," par. 132.

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[1] "Wöchentliche Nachrichten" (1770), No. 42; (1777), No. 46.

[2] Loretz, p. 317; "Verlass," par. 945,5,a.

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[1] "Verlass," par. 945,4. [2] Ibid., par. 945,4-5.

[3] Ibid., par. 309. [4] Ibid., par. 945,5,b.

[5] Ibid., par. 585,15.

In preparation for the celebration of this "Children's Eucharist" every four weeks the child became involved for the first time in that informal confessional give and take between Choir Helper and his individual charges which was to mark his life from that point on and be the mainstay and chief instrument of ecclesiastical discipline throughout his life--the Speaking.[2] This function as it was practiced in the last several days before the celebration of the Anbeten[3] was an adaptation of its use with relation to the Holy Communion, and it only reached its full and classic expression as it was coupled with the absolution in preparation for participation in the body and blood of the Saviour, so for the sake of its full impact and its relation with other elements in the penitential and disciplinary system of the Brethren its further discussion is postponed until that point in our reconstruction. It is mentioned here as an indication of the practical coordination of education and discipline in the upbringing and life of an individual Herrnhuter.

Usually at around ten years of age a child was adjudged to have reached a sufficient maturity to be advanced from the Choir of the Small Boys ~~or~~ Girls to the Older Boys' or Girls' Choir and at the same time to begin his regular participation in the congregational worship services to which non-communicant members of the congregation were admitted, such as the public preaching services and evening Congregation Hours.[1] This is not to imply that they were then excluded from the special Children's services, however, for they apparently continued to participate in these as long as they were in school or until they were confirmed, whichever came later.[2] It should be pointed out here that a so-called Choir Change was an extremely solemn event and was accompanied by careful deliberations by the Choir Helpers' and Elders' Conferences relative to the spiritual condition and readiness of the person nominated for change, and was not ever supposed to be an automatic promotion which took place as a consequence of the individual having reached a particular age.[3] The rites of absolution and consecration which accompanied such a promotion and took place in association with the annual Choir Festival of the receiving Choir will be described below as a part of the Choir year.[4] Suffice it to say here that it was designed and celebrated as an important step in the advancing maturity of a young Herrnhuter and was another important occasion for a thorough spiritual inventory both on his part and on that of the community.

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[1] Ibid., par. 945,5,b. [2] Ibid., par. 945,4.

[3] "Elders' Conference Protocol," July 21, 1787.

The upbringing of a brother came to its climax, but by no means its end, when, generally at about the time of his completion of the course in the village school, his Choir Helper in consultation with the Helpers' Conference decided that he was spiritually prepared for entrance into the inmost religious fellowship of the

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[1] Lynar, p. 73.

[2] "Verlass," par. 176; "Gemein Nachrichten" (1788), I. Theil, 20. Woche, I,1,g.

[3] "Verlass," par. 176.

[4] *Infra*, pp. 343-45.

Herrnhuter, the "Congregation of the Supper" Abendmahlsgemeine).[1] At such time he would be nominated before the Elders' Conference, generally at a meeting on Communion Day, for reception as a Candidate.[2] If the judgment of this body was favorable, the matter would be put to the Lot, again using only the affirmative and the negative cylinders.[3] If this result was favorable he was immediately informed and might attend the Communion Lovefeast that same day, and then view the celebration of the Sacrament from a balcony of the Prayer Hall for the first time in his life.[4] At the meeting of the Elders' Conference on the next Communion Day, four weeks later, he might be nominated for reception as a Confirmand if in the meanwhile he was adjudged by his Choir Helper and the other spiritual leaders of the community to be in a proper state of grace.[5] For a person raised within the congregation this meant that he should have a fundamental knowledge of his misery and fallen nature, and at the same time have longed for and yearned after a tender relationship with the Saviour.[6] When he was found to be in such a relationship with himself and the Saviour by the Elders' Conference his case was again put before the Lord by querying the Lot as before.[7] If once more the result was affirmative the information was communicated to him by his Choir Helper that he might on that day attend the Supper for the last time as a non-participating observer, and then not as a Candidate, but as a Confirmand.[8] As such he was commended to the congregation at the

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[1] "Verlass," par. 858.

[2] Lynar, p. 103.

[3] "Verlass," par. 623.

[4] Lynar, p. 103.

[5] "Verlass," par. 858.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Lynar, p. 103. Again only two cylinders were used; "Verlass," par. 623.

[8] Lynar, p. 103.

Communion Lovefeast beforehand as a special object of their intercession throughout the coming month, until he could for the first time participate in the body and blood of the Saviour.[1]

The catechetical training of Candidates and Confirmands seems to have varied from one place to another.[2] Actually it was the culmination, but again not the end, of the religious training which had been a regular part of the formal academic education. The catechism written by Samuel Lieberkühn in 1774[3] was generally supplemented by the use of Luther's Shorter Catechism,[4] and the period between the admission as a Candidate and a Confirmand was taken up for the most part by instruction directly related to the Sacrament itself and to the added opportunities which would fall to the young brother as a communicant member of the congregation. These training sessions usually took place once each week and were under the direction of the Preacher.[5]

The transformation which was during this period taking place with relation to confirmation among the Brethren, as well as in Protestantism in general, will be discussed elsewhere in this thesis.[6] Here we will assume the full development that was reached only in the 1780's among the Herrnhuters and in which those who had not already experienced this rite outside the congregation--thus all those raised as Herrnhuters or who came to the congregation prior to their confirmation--received that rite. Confirmation took place at the close of the meeting of the communicant members held each month several days before the celebration of the Sacrament to announce the forthcoming Eucharistic feast and to mark the beginning of the period of preparation for that event.[1] The rite was administered either by the Congregation Helper, the Preacher, or--more likely--by the Choir Helper. In any case, ordination was not considered necessary for that function.[2] At this point the young brother began his full participation in the Congregation of the Supper which first of all meant his preparation for the Supper itself. Before dealing with this process and its implications, however, it is necessary that we move ahead a few years to see the conclusion of his minority status with his entrance into the Brothers' Choir, and finally the means which were utilized in regulating marriage in such a settlement, turning then to the manner in which a convert was admitted into the congregation and how therein it was sought to achieve the same kind of result as was to be accomplished through the complex and thorough system of training utilized for those who were raised in the congregation. Only then will we return to a detailed examination of those provisions made for the continual discipline and guidance of the communicant member throughout his life--the Speaking, absolution, admonition, official censure, excommunication, expulsion, and finally, the provision for restoration of penitent former members.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 96. [2] "Verlass," pars. 855-856.

[3] *Die Lehre Jesu Christi und seiner Apostel zum Unterricht der Jugend in den evangelischen Brüdergemeinen* (Barby, 1774); hereafter cited as *Die Lehre*. It is interesting to note that the edition examined was bound with Layritz's manual on the rearing of children and was dated August 29, 1781 by the original owner, Joh. Fr. Peter, a prominent musician among the Brethren in America.

[4] The Brethren published several editions of Luther's *Shorter Catechism* for this purpose, e.g., Martin Luther, *Der kleine Catechismus* (Barby, 1802).

[5] "Verlass," par. 855. [6] *Infra*, pp. 403-406.

The occasion for the presentation of the valedictory testament with which our discussion of the education and nurture of children in a settlement congregation began was the passage of a person thus reared into the adult status of a Brothers' or Sisters' Choir. This step marked the end of a long period of constant and complete supervision both in body and spirit to assure the physical hardihood and spiritual devotion and maturity required of a member in a "pilgrim congregation." The weakling was tolerated, but was of little use in the great missionary task which will be outlined in the next chapter, or in the encouragement of his fellow in the cloistered congregation.[1] Usually in about the twentieth year a youth was considered ready for admission into the Choir of the Single Brothers.[2] If it took place earlier, as it often did with youths promoted from the _Paedagogium_ to the _Seminarium_ before that time, as were Schleiermacher and Albertini,[3] the new status was to be accompanied by a continuation of a certain amount of special supervision so as to guard against the effects of responsibility and freedom granted at too early an age.[4] In general, however, this move meant an end to the spiritual apprenticeship of the young brother and thus was marked with an even greater care than was the case in his earlier Choir Change.[5] Here too there was no set rule which made promotion unavoidable, and in this case the absolution which was celebrated with Footwashing, as before, was also often accompanied by a complete written review of his past spiritual development by the youthful entrant, which in turn became the basis

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[1] "Verlass," par. 863,1. [2] *Ibid.*, pars. 862,3; 865.

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[1] _Niesky Einverständnis_, pp. 38-39.

[2] "Verlass," par. 132.

[3] Meyer, pp. 144-50.

[4] "Verlass," pars. 132-33.

[5] _Ibid_.

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of his penitential conversations with the Choir Helper.[1] The crisis which here took place in the life of the Herrnhuter bred and raised in the settlement can only be seen with relation to his long preparation for it and its effect upon his subsequent life. Such times as admission to the Anbeten, admission to the Lord's Supper, and Choir Changes were marked in the lives of these people by an intensity of elation and emotional excitement which was little short of ecstasy in feeling of accomplishment and anticipation.[2]

Although the passage from the Married to the Widowed Choirs was also marked by much the same ceremonial features as previous Choir Changes--a thorough review of life in an outpouring to the Helper of the old Choir, absolution, and consecration into the new Choir--the last Choir Change in the life of the Herrnhuter with a really strenuous scrutiny of his calling and behavior on the part of the Helpers' and Elders' Conferences, accompanied by the use of the Lot in determining the will of the Lord, was the point at which the Brother sought to enter the estate of matrimony and the Married Choir.[3]

No use of the Lot has attracted so much notice as has the part which it played in the selection of marriage partners. It should be noted at the outset that in no other matter was the discipline of the Brethren more severe than it was in cases where the step of marriage was taken incorrectly, as for example, if a brother should marry a lady, either from the Sisters' House or from outside, without first gaining the permission of the Elders' Conference and of the Saviour, or should even make overtures of marriage directly to the lady of his choice. At one time this seems to have been the unforgivable sin among the Herrnhuters, and even in this day it remained an extremely grave offense.[1] In the matter of marriage, as in other affairs affecting the community and its welfare, the discussions and drawing of the Lot took place in the Elders' Conference.[2] A key element in the motivation of what went on there is actually a reflection of one of the principles on which the single sisters first bound themselves in their Choir: that they would marry only upon the recommendation of the Elders' Conference.[3] The whole of the selection practice is to be seen against this background. The fact is, if our brother feels he has need of a wife it is his prerogative through his Choir Helper to raise the matter before the Elders' Conference.[4] At that time his motivation is examined and if it is found worthy and he has the requisite financial independence, he will be given an opportunity to indicate whatever preference he might have among the sisters in the Sisters' or Widows' Houses. The suitability of such a match was then thoroughly discussed, naturally with the appropriate Choir Helpers taking the leading parts. If the marriage was thought suitable the Lot would then be drawn, using only affirmative and negative cylinders.[5] If the result was negative, the brother would then be given an opportunity to indicate another preference if he had one; if affirmative, the

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[1] This is likely the nature of the Latin Lebenslauf of Schleiermacher dating from his promotion to this Choir. Meyer, pp. 147-48; "Verlass," par. 895.

[2] There is no other manner in which to describe the feeling which surrounded Schleiermacher's confirmation; infra, pp. 519-22; Meyer, pp. 140-42.

[3] "Verlass," par. 629.

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[1] *Ibid*., pars. 417; 421.

[2] *Ibid*., par. 630.

[3] Cranz, p. 126.

[4] *Reise*, p. 208.

[5] "Verlass," par. 630.

Choir Helper of the sister involved would then consult her, since in this case the brother was bound by the Lot but the sister, who had not initiated it, was not.[1] If she had the joyous testimony in her heart that this was the will of the Saviour, she accepted it; if not, she was to decline it.[2] If she did the latter, the brother would then be informed of the fact and he might proceed as if the Lot had been negative. If he had no further proposals to make to the Elders' Conference they might continue on their own to the selection of a mate for him, either with or without his consent to the ladies over whom the Lot was drawn.[3] It must be borne in mind, however, that he was not bound by Lots drawn in the case of ladies whom he had not approved, but must be guided by his conscience as to their acceptance or rejection.[4] In some cases a phenomenal number of Lots are recorded to have been drawn, and in others, as in that of Schleiermacher's father, the whole project was abandoned.[5] However, if all parties persevered, and a lady was found who through desperation, scrupulosity, or the inclination of her tastes was moved to accept, the system was almost bound to bring about a well thought out match, founded as it was upon the more or less objective application of the most complete personal knowledge of both parties involved which was brought to bear by the various Choir Helpers and workers. The betrothal generally took place almost immediately, accompanied by the posting of the banns. Neither were

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[1] Ibid., par. 593.

[2] Ibid., par. 594.

[3] Reise, p. 209.

[4] Ibid.; "Verlass," pars. 593-94.

[5] The widowed clergyman sought a wife among the Herrnhuters, but no acceptable wife was found, partly because of the negation of the Lot and partly because of a lack of suitable candidates; Meyer, p. 6.

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weddings long postponed among the Brethren in the eighteenth century.[1] In the meanwhile, however, the continued courtship which in our time marks the interlude between engagement and marriage was completely absent; in fact, the prospective bridal pair were apparently not even allowed to see one another, at least alone, during this time.[2] This perhaps goes far to explain the shortness of engagements among these people. The marriage ceremony and the practices which surrounded it are described elsewhere, but it should be noted here that it was preceded by the absolution through Footwashing in the former Choirs of the bride and bridegroom and immediately followed by a reception of the new couple into the Married Choir.[3] This reception was accompanied, as has already been indicated, on that same night and on following nights if necessary, by careful instructions concerning the duties and pleasures of marital cohabitation, and finally the new pair were introduced into their own abode where their mutual habitation was consecrated by the joint Choir Helpers of the Married Choir; only then did they become full members of their new Choir.[4] Hence we have come step by step through each of the sundry stages which constitute the complex system of education and discipline of an individual brother or sister born and reared in a settlement. It remains now for us to examine the steps by which one from outside who desired to do so could enter such a congregation.

How did one become a convert to the Herrnhuters? The main factor in the admission of an outsider to membership in the congregation, as with anyone's membership, was the matter of his divine

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[1] _Reise_, pp. 209-210.

[2] _Ibid._, p. 210.

[3] _Ibid._, pars. 211-12.

[4] _Ibid._, pp. 212-13.

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calling to such status. This calling was expected to be testified in three manners. First and ultimately most important was the testimony which was to be present in the heart of the individual entrant.[1] The presence of such a witness was exemplified by the certainty and persistence with which one approached the Brotherhood. As with the entrance to a Benedictine Abbey, the congregation of the Brethren was supposed to be entered only after the most consistent resistance on the part of its spiritual leadership was overpowered by the continued insistence of the candidate for entry.[2] The second witness was a heart broken with the sense of sin, but also aware of the gifts of grace. The point is placed beyond question that a congregation of the Brethren was to be inhabited only by persons who had received assurance of forgiveness for sins and the renewal of a holy life, or who ardently pursued that estate.[3] Thus both the word of the entrant and an impression of his life would be sought by those responsible for his acceptance.[4] Third, and last, and only after the Elders' Conference was thoroughly convinced on the other two points, the Saviour was questioned by means of the Lot as to whether this person was or was not called to be a brother.[5]

One desiring to make such a step first made application to the College of Overseers whose responsibility it was to determine whether he was legally free to make the move, i.e., that he was not bound as an apprentice or as a minor child, and then whether there was a place for him in the well balanced social and economic structure of the local settlement.[1] If their findings were affirmative then the whole case became a concern of the Elders' Conference where the genuineness of his calling was put to the three tests outlined above.[2] It should be noted here that in all cases where whole families were involved it was required that the opinion of the Unity Elders' Conference be obtained before the question was put to the Lot.[3] This was apparently as much to gain time as anything else, in order that a mistake might not be made in haste with regard to so serious a matter, involving as it did the responsibility for several persons on both the physical and the spiritual plane.[4] When the Lot was finally drawn concerning this matter we note for the first time the use of all three cylinders--the affirmative, the negative, and the empty lots.[5] If the negative lot was drawn the applicant was advised either to abandon his efforts to enter the Unity; to apply to another congregation; or to wait until later, when the situation might have changed, and apply again in this same congregation.[6] If, on the other hand, the empty lot was selected, the usual procedure was followed in an effort to discover what it might signify. In this particular type of question it was suggested that it might mean that the applicant was to be allowed to take up residence in the settlement on a trial basis until some later time when the same question would be asked of the Saviour and a decisive reply received.[7] Of course, if the affirmative cylinder was selected the permission was immediately granted without which no person could remain in a settlement on any but a temporary basis, and the entrant could take up his permanent residence and livelihood in the community.[1] It was at this point that the new resident was required to subscribe to the "order" or "Brotherly Agreement" with his "oath or signature;"[2] this agreement was a prerequisite to any land tenure which was involved, and even to his residence itself. This, then, became the legal key to the continued disciplinary system in a settlement of Herrnhuters. Property could not be held except by members, and then not with the clear title of inheritance, encumbrance, or sale.[3] If a brother failed to live up to his agreement he could be required to forfeit his property and leave the settlement.[4]

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[1] Lynar, pp. 100-101.

[2] Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 38.

[3] "Verlass," par. 64.

[4] Lynar, p. 101.

[5] Ibid., pp. 101-102.

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[1] Ibid., p. 101; "Verlass," par. 367.

[2] Ibid., pp. 100-101; "Verlass," par. 624,2.

[3] Ibid., par. 624,3.

[4] See ibid., pars. 414; 415; 422.

[5] Ibid., par. 624.

[6] Ibid., par. 624,4.

[7] Ibid., par. 625,2-5.

Upon taking up his residence in such a settlement, let us say in the Brothers' House, the new entrant could participate in the life of the community but was not officially a member of the congregation.[5] During the period which followed an intensive succession of interviews took place between the new resident and his Choir Helper with the object of establishing the extremely close and confidential relationship which was supposed to exist between a brother and his Choir Helper.[6] As the next monthly Congregation Day approached, the readiness of the new resident to become a member of the congregation was thoroughly treated in the Elders' Conference.[7]

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[1] Ibid., par. 624,1. [2] Spangenberg, Nachricht, p. 79.

[3] Niesky Enverständnis, pp. 43-44; "Verlass," par. 102, "Durch die Entfernung von der Gemeine leidet eine ledige Person insgemein im Aeussern wenig oder nichts, dahingegen Familien dadurch öfters ausser aller nährung gesezt, u. ihnen ausserlich grosser Nachtheil zugezogen werden würde"; ibid., par. 414,2.

[4] Spangenberg, Nachricht, pp. 83-84.

[5] Lynar, p. 102. [6] Ibid. [7] Ibid.

If in the opinion of his Choir Helper he was prepared for this step, the Lot was once more resorted to, only this time with but the affirmative and negative cylinders.[1] If the result was unfavorable nothing was said to him of the matter, and some time later, when it was judged that the circumstances might have changed, the Saviour would again be consulted as to his readiness.[2] If the result was affirmative, the new brother was received into membership at the closing service of the Congregation Day with a short sung liturgy and the Kiss of Peace.[3] At this point the entrant stood in much the same relationship with the congregation as did the native-born Herrnhuter by virtue of his birth--he was a member, but not yet a communicant.

The entrance of a new brother to the Holy Communion came in the same steps of Candidate and Confirmand as did the admission of his native counterpart.[4] The only real distinctions were made with relation to the manner in which his readiness was judged, and, if he had already been confirmed outside, the manner of service at which he was received into that status. With regard to this first distinction it was recognized that those who came to the congregation from the world came for a particular reason which generally revolved around the difficulty of leading a devout and holy life in the unfavorable environment of the world and often even related to corrupt habits of thought and behavior. It was, in short, assumed that one who came from outside was familiar with the evil against which the native Herrnhuter had constantly been shielded and should be admitted to the Sacrament only after he had been tested and had demonstrated his intention and ability to renounce such habits and manner of life.[1] The other distinction was that those who had previously been confirmed only received a blessing and consecration at the Lovefeast or Absolution service immediately before the actual participation in the Supper rather than several days before, thus it was hoped to avoid any accusation that the Herrnhuters were re-confirming persons already confirmed.[2] This rite was received while standing rather than kneeling so as to emphasize its distinction from confirmation.[3]

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[1] "Verlass," par. 623. [2] Lynar, p. 102.

[3] *Ibid*., pp. 102-103; *infra*, pp. 244-46.

[4] Lynar, p. 103.

Upon being admitted to Holy Communion the new Herrnhuter was exposed for the first time to the formal exercise of that central pillar of Brethren discipline which it will be recalled had already been exerting its controlling influence on the life of the native Herrnhuter since his first admission to the "Children's Eucharist" and which had come to its full expression in preparation for the monthly sacramental celebration. I refer, of course, to the periodic climax in the relationship between brother and Choir Helper--the Speaking. To be completely understood this confessional exercise must be placed within its proper context as a vital part of what will later be described as the Communion Festival, which began, sometimes as much as a week ahead of the actual celebration of the Eucharist, with a gathering of the Congregation of the Supper at which the forthcoming Communion was announced and the communicants were admonished to prepare themselves by the most thorough self-examination and confession, finally seeking absolution for their sins and weaknesses.[4] By means of this series of exercises it was thought to guard the sanctity of the Sacrament and in so doing to guard the purity of the whole community.

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[1] "Verlass," par. 858.

[2] *Ibid.*, pars. 862-63.

[3] *Ibid.*, par. 864,1.

[4] *Reise*, pp. 395-96.

The entire period between this service of announcement and the actual celebration of the Holy Communion was one dedicated to a thorough and often excruciating practice of self-examination and penance. The temper of such soul-searching is to be seen in Spangenberg's Idea where we read:

> The first thing for the examination of every one who would go to the Holy Communion is this, Whether his heart be converted to God? "Examine yourselves whether ye be in the faith; prove your ownselves."
>
> For if anyone is defective in this, he is by no means fit to be a partaker of the Lord's Supper.
>
> But though we be converted, yet we are to examine: Whether we be sound in the faith? Whether we place our confidence and hope upon Christ alone? or whether, in one or another point, we build upon our own doings and works? We are then to examine ourselves, in regard to the doctrine of Jesus and his apostles, how we stand with God: Whether we walk in simplicity with Jesus Christ? Whether we have a child-like and confident heart towards our Father in heaven? Whether we submit ourselves to be taught, led, and directed by the Holy Ghost? Whether we crucify our flesh with its affections and lusts? Whether our Saviour, with his sufferings and death, be ever before our eyes? and whether our heart live in it? Whether we be the entire property of our Saviour (for we ought to love God with all our heart, with all our soul, with all our mind, and with all our strength)? Whether we be contented with the ways which God takes with us? Whether also we always, and for everything, give thanks to God and the Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ? Whether we be faithful and believing in our prayers and intercession? Whether we employ our time aright, and attend to our calling according to our Saviour's mind? Whether our words be a joy in the Lord, and an edification to our neighbors? Whether, in general, we faithfully observe the commands of Christ, which we ought not to know only, but also to keep? Whether we love our neighbor, nay our enemy, as ourselves? Whether we be glad to be serviceable and helpful to him? Whether to give be more pleasing to us than to receive; according to the word of our Saviour, "it is more blessed to give, than to receive." Whether the mind of Christ be in us, to be willingly poor and mean? Whether we care for that which is our neighbor's as if it were our own. Whether we have a living hope of everlasting salvation, desiring to depart, and to be with Christ? These and others are the points on which a Christian should reflect, and by which he should examine himself. In doing this he will find a thousand reasons to blush before the Lord, and to humble himself at his feet, and oh! how inestimable is then the death and the blood

of Jesus Christ, which gives us the expectation of so much grace and forgiveness.[1]

Against the background of this kind of self-examination, which seems to have been the steady diet of Communion week, are to be seen the more formal penitential exercises of the Brethren during this time.

The so-called Speaking as the most characteristic element of this soul-searching is used here to designate the entire process of preparation, and although it naturally became the keystone of Brethren discipline and was the occasion upon which both mortal and chronic sins generally came to light and were officially dealt with, its primarily positive function as an effort to square the life of the individual and the community with the sanctity of the Supper must never be lost to sight. Here in the central cultic act the practice and discipline of the Brethren truly became one. Within short compass, Lynar gives us probably the most adequate description of what must have taken place at such a Speaking. He described it thus:

> Every four weeks, the entire week directly preceding the Holy Communion is given over to a kind of Confession. The Choir Helper during this week is to speak privately with each individual and ascertain the condition of his heart. Although the Choir Helper is in general very closely related with the members of his choir--frequently visits them, and also is often visited by them, and thus knows them all intimately, yet this special custom has been introduced and is called "the Speaking of the Brethren." It is open to the preference of each one how long he will remain and what he will say. The servant of the house in summoning the brethren to the Choir Helper proceeds according to the order of the sleeping rooms as they stand in the Choir House. The summoned brother sits down and commences to chat about relatively indifferent matters, until the conversation comes imperceptibly around to his inward condition; in this there is nothing of compulsion. All which burdens the heart may be poured out to the Choir Helper and he is duty bound to hold anything which has been confessed to him in the strictest confidence. He inquires after nothing, and does not take it

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[1] Spangenberg, Idea, pp. 247-48.

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for ill if one entrusts nothing at all to him.[1]

To this picture Spangenberg adds:

> Notwithstanding (the personal examination of conscience), the brothers and sisters are individually spoken to before the Sacrament by their Elders and Eldresses in order to learn of the current state of their hearts. And because they stand in very intimate connection with their charges, it is possible for the Elders to advise them in a most acceptable manner. For conscience's sake it is sometimes necessary after consultation with the Elders of the Congregation to advise abstention from the Holy Communion for one or even more times. . . .
>
> Because the brothers and sisters live in continuing trust and confidence, and pour out all their burdens and the condition of their hearts to their Elders and Eldresses, no further Confession has been introduced among the congregations of the Brethren. The absolution itself is communal. It is petitioned from the Lord just preceding the Lord's Supper and is accompanied by the Kiss of Peace.[2]

From these accounts it is obvious that we are dealing here not with a confession after the traditional manner, but with what might be more properly termed a spiritual consultation and inventory. At its best it afforded the individual communicant an opportunity to draw together the reflections of his self-examination and to supplement that examination with the assistance of a person with a high degree of psychological and religious perception and insight and who had the advantage of a continuity in such consultations woven together into the whole fabric of the very active spiritual, social, and economic life which marked the Choir House. The chamber of the Choir Helper was open to all comers at all times, and the affairs of each member in his Choir were his business. It was he who maintained the Choir Diary and it was toward him that the children were from infancy admonished to maintain the most complete "openheartedness" (Offenherzigkeit).[3] It was finally his word that was sought in the local Elders' Conference when a person's religious state and spiritual advancement, or special vocation, came under discussion. It would be difficult to imagine a more effective penitential system than that of the Brethren at its best. Unfortunately, as we shall later see, human fallibility and the threat of positive disciplinary action which ever lay beneath the surface of this system all too often converged to frustrate its ideal execution.

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[1] Lynar, p. 107. [2] Spangenberg, Nachricht, pp. 76-77.

[3] Lynar, p. 107. See also J.F. Reichel, "Sieben Reden an die Paedagogisten in Niesky" in "Gemein Nachrichten" (1788),

Beyond the descriptions that have been cited it is difficult to determine with precision what generally happened during a Speaking. We do, however, have some indication of the kinds of things which were of concern from the above quotation from Spangenberg's Idea; and further, with regard to the particular Choirs, the specific Choir Principles to which one was expected to measure up had been clearly defined by the General Synods of this era.[1] We find an even more specific idea of the kind of things which might be gleaned by such a keen spiritual judge as Spangenberg in a Speaking with a group of young men during a visitation at the Seminary at Barby in 1779. The comments which the elderly bishop incorporated in his report to the Unity Elders' Conference about his inspection of the Seminary reflect what must have been some of the concerns of the Speakings which were a vital part of any such visitation. It should be noted that these confessions were in preparation for the Single Brothers' Choir Festival and were carried on not by the regular Choir Helper with his consistent and intimate knowledge of each

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Beilage, 20. Woche. These seven addresses were delivered in 1788, the year after Schleiermacher's departure from the Herrnhuters. The first of these deals with Offenherzigkeit.

[1] "Verlass," pars. 120-85; also see discussion of Choir system supra, pp. 79-89.

individual, but by a relative outsider--although Bishop Spangenberg did reside during this period in Barby, then seat of the Unity Elders' Conference. Such reservation should, however, be balanced against the fact that the impressions here reflected were almost certainly arrived at in close consultation with the regular Choir Helper, thus contributing to their reliability as a gauge of what a typical Sprechen, at least with seminarians, might have involved.

> -Brother G., room monitor, desires to go out among the heathen, his father wants him to be a farmer. . . . (Spangenberg advised him) to study hard.
> -Brother S. is phlegmatic, yet of a good sort--like a string which is not tightly stretched; it is not likely to snap, but neither does it give forth a bright tone.
> -Brother G. is changed and improved, by nature very hot-headed, he can catch fire through any little thing which activates his egotism and his health is damaged thereby. But this has not happened for some time. Otherwise he is industrious and does not fail to attend the Morning Benediction at which he plays (the organ).
> -Brother W. is in a bad way. He comes but little to Congregational and Choir meetings. Also, even when well, he likely does not arise on Sunday until after the Litany and often plays (cards) in the evening. At this I became rather excited and declared to him that if he did not desire better to apply his time in Barby and was of a mind to lead others to fall as well, then he could go back whence he came, and if he were not converted, God would punish him with sins, and the end result would be that he would have to be expelled from the Congregation.
> -Brother G. is an example of excellence and is a demonstration that even in Barby it is possible to learn something!
> -Brother T. is blessed with excellent gifts but is as yet too flighty. But oh! within him, and others as well, there is such an indifference in regard to intercourse with the Saviour (Umgang mit dem Heiland)! They say "Yes, when we have lain down to our rest, then we speak with the Saviour."
> -Brother R., a loose and slack bow, there is never any smoke nor much fire in him--he eats and drinks and sleeps. . . . What a pity!
> -Brother T., industrious, in behaviour exemplary, fights against doubt (Unglauben), participates in all meetings.
> -Brother U., a newly transplanted tree, which is still putting down its roots.
> -Brother K. promised that from now on, since he has heard from Labrador, an entirely new work of grace has begun in him. He confessed earlier transgressions (fruhere Schülden).[1]

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[1] The judgment of the editor (H. Plitt) that these referred to economic debts rather than ethical transgressions hardly makes sense.

> -Brother V. is a persona miserabilis. He is neither pleased with what he is and sees nor with anything else. His eyes have something about them which causes one to fear a derangement.
> -Brother H. If I were Lavater I would fill an entire page with a description of his face, for the like is not to be found from among ten-thousand men.

(And of several not immediately connected with the Seminary, Spangenberg reports:)

> -Brother G. has debts, but not through extravagance, but because his expenses are great.
> -Brother C. has from time to time gone hunting. Because that is not his vocation I have asked him to renounce this practice. He could become "Servant of the House" (Hausdiener) and assist the present one, Brother Bossart, in the office of administrator. Brother Bossart is overburdened, too weak and too sensitive (empfindlich).
> -Brother N., in the Apothecary and with the College of Scribes. The love of the Saviour has saved him by allowing him to become deaf just at the time when he had it in his mind to leave the Congregation. He has therefore cause to thank God.
> -Brother W. Junior, a lovely youth who clings to the Saviour, loves the Congregation and wants to go to the heathen.
> -Brother M., an old separatist--could, despite that, probably yet be won--I asked him to come and see me.[1]

Such were the impressions, at least from one side of a Sprechen, upon an old and highly skilled Elder of the Brethren. This can be but the reproduction of a very few--and then not primary, nor intermediate, but final--judgments drawn from a number of these conversations. They do, however, indicate the limitlessness of the scope of interests and concerns which might legitimately be touched upon in these confessions. The "brother confessor," even in this case, was well informed about the peculiar problems and gifts of each individual, and with that background was willing to discuss anything which might have bearing upon the inner life, which in fact means anything that he is able and willing to discuss--from intellectual interests to economic needs, from physical disability to what amounts to a kind of psychological analysis.

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[1] H. Plitt, pp. 45-53.

What then, we might well ask, gave form to these Speakings? What were they aiming to resolve or determine? Certainly the fact that they were made an integral part of the Communion Festival indicates that they were designed to do a great deal more than "fill in the Choir Helper" with a current spiritual inventory. Of course, this should already be clear from the part which the Speaking plays as the external climax to the internal process of self-examination in preparation for participation in the Communion. It was finally, then, in this relationship of the Speaking that the decision was usually formed and expressed as to whether the person should or should not approach the Sacrament. Indeed, it was here that the spiritual advisor made his recommendation that one "for the sake of conscience abstain from the Supper this time"[1] or, if both Choir Helper and communicant lacked the requisite knowledge in the case as to whether for a particular condition or offense one should or should not remain away from the Communion, it appears to have been common to consult the Saviour by means of the Lot. It should be noted that in such cases another drawing of the Lot was not necessary for readmission at the next Communion time, provided the scruple had been removed which had given rise to its use in the first place.[2] We thus see that on the negative side, the side of judgment, the Choir Helper assumes a role not substantially different in practice from that in which a father confessor could operate in other religious constitutions. He here appears to prescribe a period of penitential abstinence from full participation in the life of the community. This was not, however, conceived as in any sense a meritorious action or a payment for sin. The condition of

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[1] "Verlass," par. 867.

[2] *Ibid*., par. 869.

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worthiness rather than the equitable punishment for sin is--or should be--the object of any such action. We find the Choir Helper acting more as a physician than as a judge, and the exclusion is more an hygienic than a punitive measure. Nonetheless, the Choir Helper is acting as an instrument of divine judgment, a fact which forces us, for the moment leaving aside the problem of the impenitent or chronic sinner, to turn to that other traditional function of such a system--the dispensation of divine grace.

What is the role of the Speaking and the Choir Helper in the positive side of divine action among men--in absolution from sins for which the Christian shows contrition and the intention of reform? It is clear from the statement of Spangenberg above that "the absolution itself is communal," and the Synod of 1769 was quite explicit that even if he is not counseled to remain away from the Communion, "no one must conclude that he is worthy to go to the Holy Supper. . . ."[1] Despite all this, and the fact that such appears to have been the overwhelmingly predominant practice, it is quite certain that some type of private absolution did occasionally take place in the relationship between the individual brother and his Choir Helper. Among the decrees of the General Synod of 1782 we find this indication: "If a Choir Helper privately absolves a brother or sister, nothing more is taking place than that the comfort of the Gospel is communicated through him to that brother or sister, and he or she is directed to the Saviour, that absolution might be claimed from Him." The decree goes on to denude this practice of any coloration of theological clericalism, by adding that

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[1] *Ibid*., par. 867.

> this is an action which belongs singly to the spiritual priesthood to which all Christians have been called, and which consequently can be practiced by each brother toward another, which, however, for the sake of order, without thereby excluding others, is entrusted to certain servants of the Congregation. Such is not to be seen as a churchly function, and ordination is in no way required for it.[1]

Thus, as we should have expected in such a system and relationship, it was possible for the Choir Helper to speak the word of grace as well as the word of judgment in face of the desperation of a contrite heart. The practice was, to be sure, closely circumscribed against any danger of a rising clericalism, but it was nonetheless made available for the comfort of the tender conscience of which the Brethren seem to have had no great shortage. There comes a point, however, in the thought of the Brethren, when the Speaking is degraded to a secondary position in the preparation for the Holy Table. The individual brother or sister is not, in the final analysis, afforded the luxury of a father confessor in the full sense of the word.

The Speaking is not to take the place of the self-examination commanded by Paul. In the words of the Synod of 1782, "One must not hold the Speaking for this examination, but have already examined himself, before he comes to the Speaking."[2] Thus we may see the true position of the Speaking within the structure of this spiritual inventory which consumed the whole pre-communion period, and reached its fulfillment in the Holy Supper itself. This evaluation of the Speaking is also suggested in the words quoted above from the Synod of 1769 that "no one must conclude (if he is not advised to absent himself from it) that he is worthy to go to the Holy Supper," to which we add here the final words of that decree, "but each one makes this decision on the basis of his own examination and responsibility."[1]

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[1] *Ibid*., par. 898.

[2] *Ibid*., par. 28.

Thus we see the final responsibility placed once again upon the individual communicant as to whether he shall or shall not partake of the Supper. What was this ultimate standard by which a devout brother or sister was able to determine whether or not he might approach the Lord's Table? We find this central criterion set forth by Spangenberg when he states that

> the Supper of the Lord is held in the Brethren Church every four weeks on the Sabbath, and then as a matter of fact in the evening. All communicants, who according to the conviction of their hearts have the JOY (Freudigkeit)[2] to approach the sacrament, go together at that time.[3]

So the Herrnhuter is in the end directed inward for the answer, and this spiritual requisite is to be the same as that demanded in the acceptance of the decision of the Saviour through the Lot. This "joy" is difficult to define. It is more than a general feeling of well-being, or even of elation. It is always directed toward something in particular. It is a sense of rightness, of harmony in consideration of something specific. The Synod of 1782 defines it as "certainty through the conviction accomplished in the heart by the Saviour, that one therein follows the will of the Saviour."[4] This "joy," then, is the decision of the Saviour, an act or gift of grace etched upon the heart of the individual communicant. It was considered absolutely necessary to the worthy participation in the Supper and apparently could be won or lost, confirmed or shaken, at any point within the preparation period. Thus we see how it was hoped by means of the intimate relationship existing between the Choir Helper and the individual Herrnhuter which came to its full formal expression in the Speaking to spiritually supervise and nurture each life in the community, and how within this context and that of the whole practical and devotional life of the settlement the individual was ideally to take ultimate responsibility for himself. It was intended that it should never be otherwise, and the whole system of admission and nurture was aimed at the practical realization of that ideal. At the same time, the founders of this scheme were far too experienced--both as men of the world and as physicians of souls--to suppose that no further provision need be made to guard the purity of the congregation. So we now must turn to a consideration of this more "negative" side of Brethren discipline.

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[1] _Ibid._, par. 867.

[2] It should be noted that we have a situation almost completely parallel to the usage of the Lot where external authority is finally subjected to an inner state and, here as there, the inner state is the same--_Freudigkeit_. See _supra_, p. 75, and _infra_, pp. 154-56.

[3] Spangenberg, _Nachricht_, p. 76.

[4] "Verlass," par. 598. The principle is here being discussed with relation to the acceptance or rejection of the Lot.

Actually we have already dealt with the central agency of the structure aimed to guard against the presence of persons of impure spirit and thus also ultimately impure life--the Speaking itself, and of course the relationship of which it was a part in the structure of a Brethren Choir. We have also observed the first step, or actually mildest form which such discipline would take in the execution of the Speaking, as the brother was admonished to mend his hard-heartedness and spiritual torpor, or in some cases to rectify questionable elements in his moral behavior. We have seen also the next step--the least severe type of excommunication--either a voluntary abstention, an abstention upon recommendation of the Choir Helper, or abstention recommended by the Lot in the Elders'

Conference but at the instigation of the brother himself. Actually this may be seen as a very mild form of what has traditionally been called "lesser excommunication," for thereby the brother was not deprived of any of the ordinary rights of a communicant member, such as serving on the various conferences[1] and attending the so-called Liturgies,[2] but would remain away only from the Communion Lovefeast, the Absolution, and the Sacrament itself. There was also no special process for readmission at the next Communion Festival, but a person who had remained away under these circumstances was free to participate in the Eucharist as soon as whatever scruple had caused his abstention was removed.[3] The cause for such abstentions was to remain completely secret, and the brethren were cautioned not to speculate about the reasons for such things;[4] too often, unfortunately, these admonitions were of little avail.[5] It should be noted that this minor form of excommunication, which after all was an open choice of any brother as he prepared himself for participation in the monthly Eucharist, presupposed both that the offense was of a minor or even spiritual nature, and that the offender was truly contrite with relation to it. If either of these conditions was absent, however, disciplinary measures of a more severe nature were resorted to.

The disciplinary system of the Brethren was based neither upon the punitive powers of the state nor upon any use of spiritual reprisals in the form of the ban or an anathema.[6] Ideally, the disciplinary actions which were taken were conceived of as natural consequences of certain acts or attitudes rather than as punitive measures.[1] In practice, however, they were both of these, but for the most part the punitive character was based upon the spiritual rather than the material values involved. The system itself was an adaptation of the disciplinary provision in the New Testament (Matt. 18:15-17) to the structure of a Brethren settlement.[2] The Scriptural approach provided first for the admonition of the erring member by his fellow to whose attention the transgression had come. The second step was to be his admonition by two or three brothers together, and the third took place before the entire congregation. If this third and last admonition was ignored the transgressor was to be entirely expelled and become as "a Gentile" to the church. The adaptation which was made of this method among the Brethren shows a remarkable fidelity to the intention of Apostolic practice reflected in the Gospel.

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[1] "Verlass," par. 299.

[2] Ibid., par. 404,8.

[3] Ibid., pars. 592; 317,4-5.

[4] Lynar, p. 144.

[5] Meyer, p. 192.

[6] Lynar, p. 143.

The responsibility of each Herrnhuter for his fellows was clearly summarized at the close of the previous chapter.[3] This relationship was to reach practical expression in life as one brother saw the lapses of another and brought them in a loving manner to his attention, or, failing of the courage and tact to do this, brought them to the notice of their mutual spiritual guide, the Choir Helper.[4] To fail in such a duty was considered nothing less than a participation not merely in the transgression of the brother but in his spiritual downfall as well. The consultations which took place at the Speaking were seen in this category, and as we have already observed, if the sin were not of a public or a mortal nature, and the brother involved showed contrition and intention to reform, it all ended right there.[1] If not, however, the matter was introduced immediately before the Choir Helpers' Conference where it was decided whether it should be brought to the attention of the Elders.[2] While the case was before the Helpers' Conference the second step of the Scriptural system began, as usually the Choir Helper, accompanied by the Congregation Helper, called on the transgressor and brought his error to his attention, admonishing him to seek forgiveness and to mend his ways.[3] If the brother in question still remained adamant, however, the next step was taken even in matters of minor intrinsic moral importance, and the case was brought to the attention of the Elders' Conference.[4] It has been noted that in serious cases this was done immediately; in others, especially where the individual concerned was willing to exclude himself voluntarily from the Supper, it might be postponed until gentler means of persuasion had failed.[5] After all, the sinner was to be treated more as an infected than as a wicked person. Thus, unless he by his behavior threatened either to desecrate the Holy Communion or to infect others and lead them astray as well, such a person could be tolerated for an extended period in a Brethren settlement.[6] Yet when other means failed, and often with the use of the Lot, the Elders' Conference expelled the brother from the Congregation of the Supper, depriving him not only of the Sacrament but also of whatever offices he might hold in the settlement and of all participation in the several services held each week only for communicant members;[1] he could be readmitted to his former status only by again following the same process as before--becoming a Candidate and finally being received once more by a blessing to the Supper.[2] If contrition failed to emerge, the next step in the disciplinary process followed, the calling for a personal confrontation by one of the two major conferences of the congregation--if his transgression was a spiritual one, by the Elders' Conference; if a breach of the congregational "order" or Brotherly Understanding, by the College of Overseers.[3] In the case that the person thus summoned was a brother, only the men on the Elders' Conference were present; or with a sister, only the Congregation Helper and the women who served on that body.[4] When a sister was thus to appear before the College of Overseers only a small committee selected from its members was to be present.[5] This interview must be seen in no way as a light affair, but was the occasion for a good deal of rather plain talk, and should the brother or sister still refuse to repent, definite action was undertaken to effect his expulsion from the whole fellowship of the congregation, thus in the settlement--removal from or isolation in such a village.[6] The first step in such an expulsion or "greater excommunication" was, as with the "lesser," the opportunity for the offender to rectify the situation under his own initiative--in short, to remove himself.

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[1] Ibid., p. 142.

[2] "Verlass," par. 405.

[3] Supra, pp. 88-89; see also Spangenberg, Nachricht, p. 80.

[4] Ibid.

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[1] "Verlass," par. 317,4.

[2] Ibid., pars. 328; 404,3.

[3] Ibid., par. 405.

[4] Ibid., par. 404,3.

[5] Spangenberg, Nachricht, pp. 80-81; Lynar, p. 144.

[6] "Verführer werden prüfen, u. von den Krancken welche man mit Geduld selig zu machen hat, unterscheiden können." "Verlass," par. 411.

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[1] _Ibid_., par. 404,8.

[2] Lynar, p. 144; see "Elders' Conference Protocol," April 17, June 12, November 1, 1783.

[3] "Verlass," par. 405. [4] _Ibid_. [5] _Ibid_.

[6] It was common in cases of a public nature that the offender be immediately barred from all participation in public worship. Lynar, p. 144; Spangenberg, _Nachricht_, p. 81.

We may judge somewhat the approach that might be taken in such an "invitation to leave" from a draft of a letter in the hand of Bishop John Ettwein written probably in 1787 to a certain Mr. Okely in the Bethlehem Congregation. We have no indication of whether the letter was ever sent, but the temper of the draft is nonetheless very revealing in both its directness and the problems and principles which it reflects. It proceeds as follows:

> Mr. Okely:
>
> You are so well acquainted with the Constitution and Rules of the Brethren's Place Congregations, that undoubtedly your good sense has convinced you, long ago, of the impropriety of your continuing with your Family as Inhabitants at Bethlehem.
>
> The Patience and Forbearance of the Elders' Conference has not had a general Approbation and many say it would be inexcusable, to wink at it, any longer.
>
> You have been out of Order in several[1] Articles of our brotherly Agreement.
>
> Your Slave with lying and tale bearing has long been a Vexation and great Trouble to the Inhabitants and we cannot suffer his Stay any longer.
>
> You know also what Liberty Mrs. Okely gives to her Tongue for Slander.
>
> In short our Peace is disturbed by you and yours and we see to our Pain and Sorrow no other Remedy to restore it but that you think upon your Removal from Bethlehem the sooner the better.[2]
>
> Let us part in good humour, without causing each other more Trouble and Expense, and you will for all, find us, on all occasions your Real Friends.[3]

It should yet be remembered that even this forthright and rather forceful letter was not an act of expulsion, but rather an effort to avoid that unpleasant and sometimes difficult necessity.

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[1] In the MS draft the word "several" was actually the writer's third choice, the expressions "most all the" and "many" having been written and stricken out.

[2] This sentence first read: "In short, our Peace is disturbed by you and yours and we see no Remedy but that you think upon your Removal from Bethlehem the sooner the better."

[3] This English MS was found among several other documents bearing upon the case in the Bethlehem Archives. On the back is written "Schrieben an Ockely nicht vollzogen." Certain allowance must of course be made in interpreting it because English was not Bishop Ettwein's native tongue, and one can mark certain difficulties stemming therefrom.

The matter of actual expulsion was one surrounded with a number of complex problems. With persons who were unmarried and had a trade or family connections outside the congregation, the problem was not so great, for the spiritual losses of expulsion would not be accompanied by a detrimental effect on others, or economic ruin.[1] On the other hand, with those persons who had grown up in the congregation the community had a certain obligation, as did their parents, to see that they did not become paupers. For these special consideration was exerted to assure their well being.[2] An even more substantial distinction was made with relation to persons who were married, and especially in the case of those who had children.[3] We may rightly trace the care with which families were taken into the congregation to this difficulty concerning their expulsion. It was felt that it was unjust for a mate or even an entire family to lose the benefits enjoyed by members of a Brethren congregation on account of the acts of a marriage partner or parent.[4] Thus it was provided, even in cases of rather grave transgressions, that the Lot was to be consulted as to whether the entire family would be expelled or allowed to stay.[5] If the Lot favored their retention in the settlement this was to be regarded as a special act of divine mercy, and never as a matter of course.[6] If it was unfavorable, the entire family was expelled, and it was to be looked upon as a warning to others who might be inclined to feel safe in their wrongdoing because of their marital status.[1] In either instance the offending person was himself placed under the greater excommunication and was virtually isolated within the community, being allowed to attend none of the religious services in a village where life was dominated by such exercises.[2] In such cases, however, the Married Choir Helper would continue to exert all of his efforts to bring this person to a true contrition before the Saviour and eventually to the renewal of that state of grace which would permit restoration to the full life of the congregation.[3]

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[1] "Verlass," par. 411.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., par. 414.

[4] Ibid., par. 414,1.

[5] In cases where the sin is of a public nature this may be done in the Congregation Council; ibid., par. 415,2.

[6] Ibid., pars. 414,3; 415,2.

All of these various intervening steps in the disciplinary system may best be seen under the second step of the Scriptural outline and appear to have been quite effective in accomplishing either the most desired end--the repentance and restoration of the erring member--or the alternative end of removal from the community. In some cases, however, the final step of formal expulsion was necessary, and it should here be noted that in such matters as "fornication, adultery, theft, brawling, intemperance, cheating in trade and behaviour, intentionally defrauding the government, or other vicious transgressions," all of which were looked upon as "grave offenses" or "public works of the flesh," the various steps of expulsion could work with astonishing speed.[4] As soon as the persons in responsibility became convinced of the guilt of a brother or sister in such a case the process of expulsion took almost no time at all, and within the course of a day or two the matter was brought to the attention of the proper governmental authority for investigation and the former member was left to the discretion of the civil arm if the offense was in violation of the law.[1] In other cases, expulsion was undertaken only with the most careful deliberation, and only after the person in question had been given sometimes more than adequate time to recover from his spiritual malady.[2] When this last step was finally utilized, however, it was usually a reflection to the danger of a spread of such infection rather than merely its continued existence.[3] Even in the case of the most extreme religious doubts and infection with rationalistic principles, which was one of the more dangerous among the spiritual ills which the Herrnhuters sought to treat and control during these years, if one did not actually aggravate his condition by insisting on procuring and reading forbidden or questionable literature and consorting with people whose religious principles were also in question, or even more dangerous--threaten by his actions to spread his infection by retailing his heresies and doubts to others and thus leading them into the same condition--he might be tolerated as a member of a Brethren congregation for an indefinite period of time.[4] He would, of course, not be allowed to partake of the Holy Communion, but he might otherwise take an active part in the life of his Choir and of the congregation. The key here, as in all disciplinary matters, was with the condition of the heart. Much could be tolerated from a contrite sinner who was able to convince the Elders of his sincere desire to gain forgiveness for and deliverance from his sin and weakness.[1] Without such a condition of heart, however, one might for relatively minor sins which were of a chronic nature ultimately be expelled.[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, par. 415,4. [2] *Ibid.*, par. 415,3.

[3] Such a one could only be restored after a formal repentance and the affirmation of the Lot had been received; *ibid.*

[4] Spangenberg, *Nachricht*, p. 82.

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[1] Ibid.   [2] Ibid., pp. 83-84.   [3] Ibid.

[4] "Verlass," par. 411. The various safeguards of censorship of books and letters of such a person which are a usual part of Brethren discipline would certainly be intensified in such a case. Ibid., pars. 427-28.

The actual moral standards which were to be upheld incorporated such commonplace matters as temperance,[3] industry,[4] thrift,[5] abstinence from worldly recreations,[6] simplicity in dress and household appointments,[7] respect for the privacy of others,[8] and theological orthodoxy,[9] but in the formal structure of Brethren ethics which was always supposed to find its place as a part of theology, they were individually and severally seen with relation to the proper love for God and for one's fellowmen--particularly fellow Herrnhuters.[10] Perhaps the most complete expression of this brotherly love, as well as the awareness of those who wrought this system of the problems which such a movement and communities like this faced, were the provisions made with relation to the secret sins of hypocritical scorn for one's brother and his lapses. In a decree of the Synod of 1782 we read:

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[1] Ibid., par. 233; Lynar, p. 143.

[2] "Verlass," par. 409.

[3] Ibid., par. 431; Spangenberg, Eines alten Dieners, p. 16.

[4] "Alle Chorarbeiter sollen über der Ordnung Gottes, dass wer nicht arbeite, auch nicht essen solle, mit Nachdruck halten." "Verlass," par. 413,2.

[5] Ibid., par. 426.

[6] Reise, pp. 238-39.

[7] "Verlass," pars. 425-26.

[8] Ibid., par. 435.

[9] Ibid., pars. 428; 430.

[10] Lieberkühn, Die Lehre, pp. 60-72. This interpretation is clearly made in almost each of the various disciplinary synodical decrees also; "Verlass," pars. 399-436.

> There are many things which according to the teaching of the gospel are just as bad, sinful, and worthy of punishment as those grave sins which are seen as such by the whole world. To these belong especially the sins of the heart (Gemuthssünden), maliciousness of the soul and the scornful spirit--when one with a certain malicious pleasure tells and broadcasts the faults of others, disseminates calumny, and attempts to bring others into condemnation and disdain. All of these, as also the attachment to worldly things, pride, the undermining of one's neighbor, etc., are things which can no more be a part of a child of God than other grave vices and transgressions. Thus neither should the congregational discipline be exercised alone upon those who fall into obvious faults and offenses but also and as thoroughly upon those who do not so much violate the rules and order in their external actions as they sin in secret and unobserved. It will, as a matter of fact, always be hard to apprehend such people, but nonetheless it is wished from the heart that in the future more might be done than has in the past.[1]

But regardless of its cause, or whether it came early or late, the expulsion of a member was a time of public crisis for a Brethren congregation and was marked with the deepest regret, although this regret was not necessarily unmixed with relief.[2]

If all the warnings and admonitions of the congregation and its Elders failed and the transgressor proved adamant through all of the preliminary steps, and especially if he sought also to lead others astray, the College of Overseers had the responsibility as the representative of the congregation in such matters to entirely expel the offender from the congregation.[3] This action was announced to the congregation at an open meeting of the Congregation Council before which in the theoretical structure of the system the offender was to receive his last admonition after the failure of which he was to become as a Gentile, the last step of the New Testament outline of discipline.[4] In the words of Spangenberg: "This does not, however, take place with the anathemas which are customary elsewhere at an excommunication or so-called ban, but with sorrowful feeling and sincere exhortation to commend such an unfortunate man to the compassion of God."[1] It should here be noted that although no formal curse accompanied such an excommunication, there was nonetheless a hidden or implied one in the very nature of the "calling" which one was believed to have had to be a part of the congregation, and the expelled person's demonstrated failure to fulfill that calling. With converts as well as with the native-born Herrnhuter, to leave the Brethren under any circumstances was to be "certainly untrue to the gracious calling which they had thereto."[2] It is likely this coupled with the orientation to a life of devotion withdrawn from the world as it was lived in a settlement of Herrnhuters which was the cause for the almost universal unhappiness of persons reared in such a settlement when forced to live in the outside world.[3] This was cited by the author of Reise durch Kursachsen as a reproach to their manner of raising and educating children.[4] In short, it was actually the success of the congregation in creating an internally balanced and full moral and devotional environment and motivating it with a high concept of religious calling, rather than some lapse in the structure of their system of nurture and discipline, which could be pointed to as the cause for this problem of those who had been lost to the congregation and had suffered the inward curse of betraying such a calling and the very real loss of separation from the full religious life there.

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[1] Ibid., par. 425. [2] Spangenberg, Nachricht, p. 84.

[3] "Verlass," par. 368. [4] Ibid., par. 405.

At the same time, the reader may rest assured that in a

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[1] Nachricht, p. 81.

[2] "Verlass," par. 181,3.

[3] Reise, p. 400.

[4] Ibid.

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movement such as this one with its strong themes of divine grace and mercy, the case of an erring brother could not be allowed to rest with expulsion. Even the most grave offense or most stubborn attitude or opinion was in the Herrnhuter's view a matter which could and hopefully would be dealt with by God's love and mercy.[1] The commendation of an expelled member to divine compassion was by no means merely a veiled threat of judgment but a clearly expressed wish for the conversion and reformation of the heart and mind which would make possible once more membership in the fellowship of faith and residence in the congregation.[2] During this period even that transgression which was most awkward for the congregation with its system of carefully supervised mating and cautious safeguards in the reception of married persons--the elopement of persons in the congregation or the attempt to gain readmission by a person who had married while temporarily outside the congregation--no longer placed a permanent impediment upon the offender as it had previously, when such a person either was refused consideration for readmission altogether, or was placed in a special class of brothers who could only attend the Communion quarterly rather than every month like all other communicants.[3] At the synods of 1769 and 1775 this former practice was deemed improper and offensive to the mercy of the Saviour.[4]

Because of the specific character of the system of discipline among the Brethren and the tendency of persons threatened with disciplinary action to withdraw of their own accord, it is necessary to consider here not merely the readmission of former members who had actually been expelled, or even only of those who had left under a cloud of censure, for it was often possible for a person to withdraw at any point and to state any reasons which he chose in his letter of resignation which was generally required in such a case,[1] and the true cause might not be known even to his Choir Helper. Thus the original steps of any readmission were the same, whether the former brother had been expelled, had left under public threat of expulsion, had left at the advice of his Choir Helper only, had departed without communicating his reasons, or had left stating valid reasons and having received the letter of recommendation from his Choir and Congregation Helpers which allowed him to participate in the Diaspora societies.[2] The candidate for readmission was required to write a letter to the Elders' Conference of the congregation stating his intention to return and, of course, in all save the most favorable degree of departure he was to make clear the nature of that which had caused him to depart and express his contrition and confidence in the saving grace of the Saviour--in short, to confess both his sin and conversion.[3] Beside this, of course, it was the responsibility of the Elders' Conference to examine the condition of spirit and life of the repentant brother and assure themselves of his true estate. Actually there were no established rules or canons among the Brethren as to the length of time one must remain under discipline and the rites of penance which had to be undergone for relief therefrom.[4] In practice it was attempted to make these meet the nature of the offense and the degree of discipline which had been applied.[1] We have already observed that one who had voluntarily excluded himself from the Supper might be readmitted thereto with absolutely no ceremony at all; in cases of a more advanced nature it might be possible for readmission to come after a discussion and drawing of the Lot in the Elders' Conference.[2] If the discipline actually reached the point of withdrawal from the community it was required that the candidate formally document his repentance, and this then became the basis for the decision of his case in the Elders' Conference--that decision being finally contingent upon the use of the Lot.[3] In any case, it was not necessary for the former member once more to go through the stages of gaining permission to reside, acceptance as a member of the congregation, and finally, status as a communicant, but he might immediately be admitted as a Candidate for the Supper and thus after only one or two months to the Communion itself. In cases where a publicly known offense was concerned it was customary that the letter of confession be read before the entire congregation, and particularly in cases where a grave or especially protracted transgression was involved a public ceremony of readmission took place in which the repentant offender was absolved of his sins by a formal imposition of hands in the presence of the whole congregation.[4] It should be noted here, however, that it actually appears to have been most common on the Continent that a person who had been expelled or had withdrawn under discipline--

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[1] Spangenberg, Nachricht, p. 84.

[2] Ibid., pp. 82-83. [3] "Verlass," pars. 417; 421.

[4] Ibid., pars. 417; 419; 421.

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[1] _Ibid_., pars. 416 n.; 423.

[2] _Ibid_.

[3] Spangenberg, _Nachricht_, p. 83.

[4] _Ibid_., p. 82.

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 83.

[2] Lynar, p. 144.

[3] "Verlass," par. 422. In cases where a sin of a public nature was involved the Lot could be utilized in the Congregation Council rather than the Elders' Conference; _ibid_., par. 417. Families were not to be readmitted without consulting the Unity Elders' Conference; _ibid_., par. 421.

[4] Lynar, p. 144; Spangenberg, _Nachricht_, p. 83.

or even who had been involved in a grave sin which had become a matter of public knowledge in the local congregation--should apply for admission to another congregation than that in which his former lapses were publicly known, so as to assure his unprejudiced reception.[1] The fact that in so close-knit an ecclesiastical order as that of the Brethren this expedient did not always achieve its desired end should come as neither a shock nor a surprise to anyone with any understanding of human nature and its expressions under such circumstances.[2] The secret sins were certainly a most grievous problem. But then, the Herrnhuters were conscious of this. As was stated concerning this entire system by Loretz when he wrote in his Ratio Disciplinae: "The Brethren know not only that nothing human is perfect, and that if much evil may be hindered by the wisest provisions and institutions yet at the same time much good may often also be obstructed and inhibited thereby and they readily admit that many of their regulations and institutions are at root nothing more than silent demonstrations of their imperfection."[3] But ultimately, as that author then goes on to point out, it was the grace of God and not the wisdom of men upon which they depended. Only in the merciful election was a brother called; only thereby could he remain therein and fulfill that calling which he shared to be the body of Christ; and if he should fall--and sinful men did fall--only by that mercy could he be gained once more for that fellowship and its mission.[4] Meanwhile, the Brethren could only wait "upon that blessed day when they also would find their heart and flourish in the Lord who also bought them with his blood."[5]

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[1] "Verlass," pars. 414,3; 419. [2] Reise, pp. 275-76.

[3] P. 214. [4] "Verlass," par. 414.

[5] Spangenberg, Nachricht, p. 84.

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CHAPTER IV

THE HERRNHUTERS' MISSION TO THE WORLD

On June 5, 1773, at the regular weekly colloquy between the members of the Unity Elders' Conference and the seminarians at Barby[1] the resolution for discussion was couched in the following manner:

> In the world our chief aim and essential plan is to bring attention and attachment to the merits of Christ's blood among all religions: . . . (1) to make our ownselves a blessed people; (2) to preach the gospel especially where it has not yet been preached; (3) in the European lands to direct those who long after the spiritual metropolis to remain in the constitution wherein they were called.[2]

And thus was neatly summarized the three-fold mission of the Brethren. Our concern in this work is and will be directed toward a thorough knowledge and understanding of those means by which it was undertaken to gather, nurture, discipline, and inspire such a "blessed people," in short, to reconstruct the life and cultus of a Brethren settlement. It would, however, be impossible to understand the continuing vitality or the general significance of such a settlement and the movement which it represented without also taking into consideration the second and third tasks in this three-fold mission --the missionary and the so-called Diaspora work of the Herrnhuters.

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[1] A selection of minutes from these discussions was incorporated as an appendix to H. Plitt.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

The account of these two very important factors in any evaluation of this movement could easily dominate a general history of the Brethren. For the purposes of this study, however, their development and general historical significance are of little interest; what we are concerned with is the part which these tasks and their execution played in the understanding which each congregation had of itself, and thus some comprehension of their place in the life and cultus of a Brethren settlement.

With the great monastic movements of the high Middle Ages the Herrnhuters shared the combination of a pursuit of the Apostolic life with a high calling to awaken Christendom and evangelize the nations. Ultimately the devout were drawn from amidst the world and formed into a representation of the body of Christ, not alone, nor primarily, for their own benefit, but as a witness to that world and finally as a witness in that world of the continuing activity of the Saviour to redeem all nations. Therefore, bound closely with the essential calling of the Brethren to be a church (Gemeine) of Christ and thus his body, was the actual calling of each settlement congregation to "be a seedbed in which witnesses to the death of Jesus are brought together and are prepared for the future service of the Saviour among Christians and heathen."[1]

No feature of Brethren piety and history has been more thoroughly documented by historians and churchmen than their missionary endeavors among the heathen,[2] and justly so, for as one historian points out, "When William Carey issued his great challenge at Kettering they had sent out more than 300 missionaries; they had established stations in the West Indies, in North America, in Surinam, in Greenland, and in Labrador; they had attempted to convert the Jews; they had sent expeditions to Lapland, Russia, Guinea, South Africa, Ceylon, Algiers, Constantinople, Wallachia, the Culmacks, Livonia, Persia, Egypt, Abyssinia, the Tartars, the Coromandel Coast, the Nicobar Islands, and Bengal; and now they had under their charge 14,976 baptized converts."[1] Thus there is no reason here to recount the dedication and valor of those hardy souls who, armed with nothing but their passage money and their knowledge of a handicraft,[2] set sail for unknown shores around the world. We are interested rather in the origin and presence of that self-sacrificing dedication within those little semi-monastic villages and the influence which that spirit and its consequences had upon Herrnhut and her sisters. In a sense, this offering of one's "self" without reservation to the use of the Saviour in conversion of the heathen may be seen as the epitome both of the cultic and the moral structure of the Brethren and thus as the apex of Herrnhut piety. Therefore it would seem no less than appropriate that these matters of the congregation's offering to the Saviour and for the world should be treated here at the close of our investigation into the practical means and before the beginning of our description of the devotional means by which these folk sought to express their experience of the divine visitation.

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[1] "Verlass," par. 64.

[2] See Adolf Schulze, Abriss einer Geschichte der Brüdermission (Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1901), for an almost exhaustive bibliography of this much treated subject.

To understand what this sacrifice meant to the individual and the community one must, of course, recall that over-population was avoided in the European congregations during the rapid expansion of the movement in this period by the constant departure of Brethren for the mission fields, but go beyond that fact to what was personally entailed by such a move made by so profuse a number of the inhabitants in such settlements. What did it mean to be a messenger of the Herrnhuters? What did they seek to obtain by this massive effort, either for themselves, the heathen, or God?

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[1] J.E. Hutton, A History of Moravian Missions (London: Moravian Publication Office, 1922), pp. 201-202. Hereafter cited as Missions.

[2] Ibid., pp. 188-89.

It should come as a surprise to no one that the method of evangelization utilized by the Brethren among the heathen did not follow what appears to have been a stereotype among certain continental theologians who, in the words of Spangenberg, "had probably never seen an heathen . . . much less converted any,"[1] and yet strongly advised a philosophical-theological approach moving from the proof of God through the whole history of salvation.[2] With a black slave, as with a European nobleman, the approach was substantially the same. In Saxony or the Indies, the Herrnhuter sought "not to know anything save Jesus Christ, and him crucified."[3] The admonition of the aged Spangenberg that "the blood and death of Jesus must remain our diamond in the golden ring of the gospel"[4] was well heeded in missionary preaching as well as the whole cultic structure at home. Thus the missionary preached a simple message by means of which he taught the unconverted to understand their own true state of misery, the offensiveness of this state to a holy God, and the mercy and compassion of God expressed in Christ and his death. For a picture of this method we turn once more to Spangenberg, this time reading from his manual of instructions to prospective missionaries, Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen, where he advises the separation of those who demonstrate their susceptibility to the gospel for special instruction as follows:

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[1] August Gottlieb Spangenberg, An Account of the Manner in Which the Protestant Church of the United Brethren Preach the Gospel and Carry on Their Missions among the Heathen, no trans. given (London: H. Trapp, 1788), p. 61. Hereafter cited as Missions among the Heathen.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 67.

[4] Ibid., p. 68.

> There one may treat with them the universal corruption in which poor humans lie, and the origin of the same. One shows them what sin is, and how God is offended and angered thereby, and especially the condemnation which unbelief must bring. One speaks with them of the cause of the death of Christ, and how he poured out his blood therein that we might be thereby reconciled. Of the resurrection of all men and the coming great judgment day and its consequences they are also given the necessary instruction. That they, however, would escape the future wrath and inherit eternal life through faith in Christ--that one tells them with cheerful heart and mouth. One then introduces them to the matters of Baptism, and explains to them what is meant thereby. There they are assured of the forgiveness of all their sins; our Lord Jesus Christ takes them to be members of his body, i.e., his church; the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ becomes their Father, and they his children; the Holy Ghost makes them his dwelling place, and takes them into his care; they, however, renounce the devil and all his works and nature and against him promise to live for the Lord and follow his word for which he will give them grace.
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> . . . .
>
> One need say no more to the heathen of the Holy Communion than what the words of Jesus and the Apostle Paul have placed in our hands concerning it: that the Saviour has instituted it for the faithful and that one becomes therein a participant in his body and blood. He gives himself truly to us to enjoy unto eternal life.[1]

In the Brethren type of mission this simple message was brought by simple people. Apparently with design, a theological education played no significant role in the preparation of a Brethren missionary.[2] As has already been intimated, he was a tradesman, not a clergyman in the professional sense. It was considered much more important that he have thorough training in a craft with which he could support himself and demonstrate the virtue and dignity of labor to the heathen than that he should be able to parse a Latin or even a Hebrew sentence.[1] The settlement congregation and particularly the Choir Houses were indeed the "Pflantzen Schule,"[2] the seedbeds, for the foreign missions program of the Herrnhuters. The workers who went out into the field went in the faith that their lives were in the hands of God. If he desired that they should live and that they should convert souls, they would do so; if not, it was all as well, for it was his will.[3] As in other such undertakings among the Herrnhuters, missions were established and missionaries dispatched only in consultation with the Saviour--in short, by decision of the Lot in the Unity Elders' Conference.[4] But then, this was actually only the last in a series of steps by which a brother or sister could make that ultimate sacrifice of his life to the Saviour and "go to the heathen."[5]

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[1] (Barby, 1784), pp. 36-41. Hereafter cited as Unterricht für die Brüder.

[2] A comparison of the roster of students at the Seminarium for these years in P. Kölbing, Die Feier des 150 jahrigen Bestandens des theologischen Seminarium (Leipzig: Fredrich Jansa, 1904), pp. 73-77 with the workers who were sent out as indicated in the "Wöchentliche Nachrichten" clearly illustrates this fact.

Although the administration of the missionary enterprises of the Brethren came during this period under the control of the Unity Elders' Conference, having formerly been directly under the control of Zinzendorf and the circle around him,[6] the ultimate scene of recruitment or rather volunteering was the settlement congregation. And the chief duty in such matters fell to the local Elders'

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[1] Hutton, Missions, p. 188.

[2] "Verlass," pars. 64; 211,2.

[3] Spangenberg, Unterricht für die Brüder, pp. 73-74.

[4] Hutton, Missions, pp. 90-91. [5] See supra, pp. 127-28.

[6] Spangenberg, Missions among the Heathen, pp. 53-54.

Conference with the Congregation Helper personally playing a leading role in assuring the presence of the requisite qualities.[1] The qualifications of a prospective candidate were quite clearly defined during this post-Zinzendorfian period,[2] and as should be anticipated, those of a spiritual nature dominated the rest. And of all these, what should be named first but that witness of the heart which was to dominate the life decisions of the individual Herrnhuter in all things, whether it be a question of attending or abstaining from a Eucharistic service or the problem of the acceptance or rejection of a life mate--Freudigkeit. But let us hear the synodical decree.

> Whoever wants to serve the Saviour among the heathen must have the requisite Joy (Freudigkeit). What is then meant thereby? If one in the first place considers what an important affair it is to serve the Saviour among the heathen, and how much danger both to soul and body is involved therein; also what grace and gifts are required--If in the second place he looks to himself and is conscious of his great poverty, his numerous offenses, his many weaknesses, and his deep corruption in body and soul; and in this finds ample cause for fear--If he in the third place fastens his eyes upon the Lord, exhorts himself in faith and says, "Dear Saviour! You consider me worthy for your service among the heathen for you know me better than I know myself--in all my poverty and misery. You are faithful and will give me the grace and gifts of which I have need in your service; do not deny my petitions. You will teach, guide, and lead me with your Holy Spirit and will take me under your protection against the evil foe, the wicked world, and the corruption which is in me. You will be with me and strengthen me when I am weak and everywhere show yourself to be my Saviour, and your and my Father will for your sake love and bless me, shelter and care for me."--And if he then in the fourth place comes to the resolution: "So now would I have no love for my life but go cheerfully in your name and upon your word."--Then you can say, "He has Joy!"[3]

And in this faith they did go by the hundreds to work and preach, to physical privation and heartbreaking failure, but also to the joys of success and victory over the internal and external barriers of vice, superstition, ignorance, and sloth, but often more important, their own temptations of frustration, discouragement, and even loss of faith--loss of Joy. Many of those who went out with nothing but their faith and the tools of their trade never returned from their sacrificial altar of jungle or ice-cap; but they continued to go, filling thereby certainly one of the most illustrious pages in Christian history, causing Herrnhut to stand well beside those other great missionary orders of the Church--the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the Society of Jesus.

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[1] "Verlass," par. 735.

[2] Ibid., pars. 727-37.

[3] Ibid., par. 727,9.

Having thus seen what being such a worker-missionary involved from the personal point of view, both in hardships and in spiritual benefits, let us turn to a consideration of what the Brethren thought they were about in their missionary efforts. The mission theology of the Herrnhuters was undergoing interesting developments during this period. It is well known that Count Zinzendorf had espoused a view of missions closely identified in our own day with millenial thought. His belief was that the time had not yet come for the salvation of the nations en masse, which could come only after the conversion of the people of Israel,[1] thus his projects were aimed at the conversion of a few Candace-Souls[2]--elect individuals from each nation as the "First Fruits" (Erstlinge) of that great harvest at the end of the age.[1] This thesis was at the instigation of Zinzendorf made the subject of a famous painting, or rather a series of paintings by the prominent Brethren artist Valentine Haidt in his "Erstlingsbild" in which he depicted with life-size figures the First Fruits of Brethren missions among the various nations where they were found.[2] Already at the end of Zinzendorf's life a movement was afoot, apparently led by his son-in-law, Brother Johannes (de Wattewille), to supplant this mission theory which had often led to the refusal of Baptism to large numbers of heathen converts.[3] As a controlling doctrine the concept of the "First Fruits" was abandoned at the first synod of this period and the broader view of preaching to all and accepting all bona fide converts was pursued.[4] It should be noted, however, that yet in 1780 we find Spangenberg writing: "We are firmly persuaded that it is not our call to aim anywhere at national conversions, or to introduce the Christian religion among whole nations."[5] Thus we see that although its enforcement to the degree of rejecting genuine converts had come to an end, the concept of selective conversion was far from dead.

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[1] Some note should be made here concerning the efforts of the Brethren to convert the Jews. Although this was considered a vital project by Zinzendorf little was actually done along that line. The most concerted work was carried on by Samuel Lieberkühn in Amsterdam from 1739-1741; Hutton, Missions, pp. 146-54. The work among the American Indians should also be mentioned here since Zinzendorf apparently at least for a time accepted the then popular myth that these people were the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel; ibid., p. 146.

[2] Reference is, of course, to the Ethiopian eunuch converted and baptized by Philip (Acts 8:26-39).

Just a few words should here be said concerning the matter of financing this missionary work. It has already been made clear that the main burden for supporting the work of the various mission posts lay with the missionaries themselves. They were selected and commissioned with definite attention to their economic contribution to the particular mission to which they were being sent. The mission posts themselves tended to develop into little settlements with discipline and a cultus very similar to a settlement in Europe,[1] but with even a great deal more economic interdependence, for the property and all economic efforts were held in common for the mutual support of the whole program.[2] Although they were quite small, these units tended to be well planned and efficient in operation, thus taking most of the burden of missionary support directly on their own shoulders.[3] There were, however, expenses such as travel and original outlay for the purchase of property which had to be borne by the Unity as a whole. To defray these a mission treasury was established under the Unity Elders' Conference to which each member of the congregations was given an opportunity every six months to contribute.[4] Beside this were also formed several independent missionary societies which contributed actively to the missions of the Herrnhuters.[5] But as we shall see in the following chapters, the participation of the congregations at home in the work of missions went far beyond the furnishing of personnel and money for the mission posts. The consciousness and indeed active remembrance of each of these posts and missionaries was a part of the hourly, daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly intercourse between the congregations, the individuals, and the Saviour. The work of the Brethren was the object of hourly intercession with God, and there were regular weekly and monthly readings of reports and letters from missionaries and workers in services, and even entire days given over wholly to that purpose. Yet this common participation by every member and congregation applied not alone to foreign missions but also to that third task in the calling of the Herrnhuters --the mission to the Christians--the Diaspora work.

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[1] Hutton, Missions, pp. 146, 183; Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf, pp. 99-100.

[2] There are actually a number of copies of this painting. Most notable of these are the extremely large canvases to be found in Herrnhut and Zeist, and, unfortunately, the one at Herrnhut was destroyed with the Gemeinhaus there at the close of World War II. Two smaller ones remain at Herrnhut, and also one at the Bethlehem Archives. For a black and white reproduction of the picture and a copy of a document identifying the figures see Uttendörfer and Schmidt, pp. 155-58.

[3] Spangenberg, Missions among the Heathen, pp. 52-53.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 42.

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[1] The cultus, discipline, and structure of the mission congregations are thoroughly discussed *ibid.*, pp. 77-110.

[2] "Verlass," par. 738.

[3] Hutton, *Missions*, pp. 188-89; Spangenberg, *Missions among the Heathen*, p. 58.

[4] "Verlass," pars. 714-15; *Reise*, p. 440; Spangenberg, *Missions among the Heathen*, pp. 57-58.

[5] In the Netherlands, "The Brethren's Society for the Spread of the Gospel among the Heathen"; in England, "The Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel"; and in America, "The Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen"; see Hutton, *Missions*, p. 189.

Actually during most of this period the designation of this work as "Diaspora" was set aside because it was felt that the term suggested some superiority of those to whom it referred over their fellow religionists. We will, however, continue to use it rather than "Outside Brethren and Friends" (auswärtigen Geschwistern und Freunden) which was substituted for it.[1] On the other hand, if we were to follow monastic terminology, we could best designate the members of the Brethren Diaspora as the "third order" of Herrnhuters, for the parallel which may be seen between this body of "fellow travelers" and the lay orders which flourished among the mendicants during the high and late Middle Ages is far from slight. It is with relation to this phase of the Herrnhuters' mission that the truly innerchurchly, and in post-Westphalian Germany, inter-churchly nature of that movement may best be seen. That it has been classified in the histories of German Pietism as a sectarian expression thereof and that in the free church societies of England and America it has become almost completely a denomination may ultimately stand more as a judgment of Protestantism than of the Brethren. If a single motif could be selected in the life's intention of the founder of this movement and his work, nothing could so clearly characterize Count Zinzendorf than his consistent insistence and effort that the Christendom which he knew might be awakened to the enjoyment of "heart religion" and that at the same time this awakening might not be accompanied by what had almost become its shadow, separatism.[1] It was clearly this effort which led to the renewal of the Unity in 1727, and it was also to be observed in the attempt of Zinzendorf to bring unity among the Germans in North America,[2] but it was most consistently demonstrated and grafted into the very fiber of the movement itself by the activity of the Diaspora work and the steps which were necessarily taken to protect its effectiveness.[3]

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[1] "Wöchentliche Nachrichten" (1778), No. 42; also, "Verlass," par. 811.

The similarity between the Brotherhood and its sister, or better, daughter movement in England--Methodism--may best be seen with relation to the Diaspora. In this work Zinzendorf attempted to accomplish much the same thing with relation to the constituency of the state churches in Germany as Wesley strove to bring about in that of England. Among other factors which tended to cause the success or failure of such movements as these is the ability of those who promote them to guard against the emergence of a schism rather than a renewal of the church concerned. The relatively very small membership of the Herrnhuters, even down to our own time, is in this a sign of their success rather than failure. As we clearly observed in our previous chapter, the Brotherhood's whole conception of itself was as a small, strictly disciplined congregation of Christians, especially called to live and work, as we have seen in this chapter, as a representation and a representative of Christ's activity among nations and in the churches. It was not to become a church, nor was it to become a denomination, but rather it was to bring together representatives from the religions and ultimately to send back to those religions representatives that the end might be the renewal of the churches, with the spirit of the Brethren congregations. The associations which were thus formed throughout the principalities of Germany, Switzerland, Netherlands, Scandinavia, and particularly in the Baltic Provinces of the Russian Empire[1] fell generally into three classes:[2] the first, that of the isolated family the members of which were sympathizers of the Brethren; the second, that of fellowship either of an organized or informal nature; and the third, that made up of what were actually the "town and country congregations" which have already been mentioned, or something similar thereto.[3] Our main concern here is with the manner in which this work related to the religious life and spirit of the settlement congregations.

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[1] John R. Weinlick, *The Moravian Diaspora* (Nazareth, Pa.: Moravian Historical Society, 1959), pp. 20-21.

[2] Jacob John Sessler, *Communal Pietism among Early American Moravians* (New York: Henry Holt, 1933), pp. 20-71.

[3] I refer particularly to the system of *Tropen* already dealt with, *supra*, p. 57, n. 3.

Much like its foreign missions in methods and personnel, Diaspora work furnished the settlement both with a possible expression for the highest level of personal vocation and with an object for their highly developed communal consciousness and responsibility. Like the foreign missionary, Diaspora workers were expected to have a keen awareness of their personal calling and were assigned by means of the Lot to the field in which they would serve. These basically laic workers with little or no academic theological training went into a local situation only at the invitation of local people,[1] and then only if it were legal to do so and the parish minister did not object.[2] If either of these or a strong public sentiment opposed such a visit, the interested individuals were rather invited to visit Diaspora societies or even settlements elsewhere.[3] The position of a worker who did go out to the towns and countryside to the people under the jurisdiction of the various state churches was, to be sure, non-clerical; he was forbidden to engage in the kind of public preaching which was so characteristic of his Methodist counterpart in England or even to deliver original sermons at all,[4] but was confined to the reading of certain sermons which were considered acceptable for that purpose by the Unity Elders' Conference,[5] and was under no circumstance to criticize the churches or the ministers therein[6]--thus he was by no means anti-clerical.[7]

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[1] See the list of the areas of active work during this period in Weinlick, The Moravian Diaspora, pp. 39-40. It will be noted that approximately one-half of the estimated 30,000 Diaspora members in 1775 were to be found in the Baltic Provinces; ibid., p. 38.

[2] Ibid., p. 42.

[3] Supra, p. 51.

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[1] "Extract," III.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., IV.

[5] The addresses in the "Gemein Nachrichten" considered suitable for this purpose were marked with a capital "A." Most of Zinzendorf's sermons were thought unsuitable for such use, as "den auswärtigen Geschwister nicht verständlich genug." An exception was made in the case of his Berthelsdorf and Berlin addresses; ibid., IV.

[6] Ibid., II.

[7] Persons who failed to show proper respect for the clergy of their churches were even excluded from Diaspora meetings; ibid., III.

With the strong emphasis upon communal piety in this movement it was to be expected that these "brethren and friends" should be formed into societies for worship and discipline. In the cultus which was exercised among them a consistent effort was made to avoid any feature which might tend to lead the awakened members to leave their regular churches or to be rebellious against their pastors.[1] Services were never to be scheduled so as to conflict with the stated services of the parish churches,[2] and during this particular period a concerted effort was made to eradicate any elements of a peculiar Herrnhut stamp which might have crept into the worship of these societies and also to avoid any further introduction of such features,[3] thus forestalling dissatisfaction with the religious services and sacraments as celebrated in the parish churches. Although the Brethren considered a large percentage of the state church ministry to be unconverted hirelings,[4] they fully recognized the value of the establishment of religion as a means to the perpetuation of the gospel among men[5] and observed in each of the recognized "religions" the possession of a particular "treasure by which one can engage the awakened souls."[6] In the minutes of a Diaspora conference held in

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[1] During this period the privilege of Diaspora members to participate in the cultus of the settlements when they were visitors there was sharply curtailed, particularly with relation to Holy Communion, Cup of Covenant, and Footwashing. They were also to be dissuaded from the use of Lovefeasts in their own cultus. *Ibid*., IV.

[2] Weinlick, *The Moravian Diaspora*, p. 41.

[3] "Extract," IV.

[4] *Ibid*., II.

[5] *Ibid*., III. "Er [Jesus] hat in den Religionen noch einen grossen Saamen, zu dessen Erhaltung die kirchlich Verfassung nicht wenig beiträgt, welche um so mehr zu schäzen ist, also man in gewissen Ländern z. E. Nord-America, den Mangel derselben zu grossen Schaden der Seelen gewahr wird"; *ibid*., I.

[6] *Ibid*.

1785 at Herrnhut two interesting examples are given of what this might mean. The first of these will make an engaging point of reflection when in the next section we deal with certain features of the Brethren cultus which may be seen as parallel thereto.[1] Regarding these treasures, it was observed that

> with the Greek Church, which is now well known to us first in Russia, it is their beautiful liturgies. The Lutheran Church now appears about to lose a treasure, namely the old fundamental hymns through the frequent alteration and mutilation of them which is so deeply regretted as a great misfortune by the sighing of many souls.[2]

The "friends" were strongly urged to preserve and cherish the churches and their treasures rather than to separate or even to come to the Brethren settlements.[3] They were urged to be patient with their "hireling" pastors and even to tolerate those ministers who were rank unbelievers,[4] and to receive the sacraments at their hands so long as they were presented in the form in which Christ delivered them.[5] Needless to say, however, the Brethren were deeply disturbed by the rising tide of rationalism among the clergy of Protestant Europe, and at that same conference in 1785 a line was drawn beyond which the churches could not go and still remain fit habitations for awakened Christians. The rule was that followed by Paul in the synagogues, that one should remain so long as Christ is not slandered.[6] The statement of this terminal point of toleration was then followed by a pensive reflection of pessimism. "If it should come to pass, as it now appears about to, that in entire countries the ministerial posts would be possessed for the most part by unchristians, then our work in the churches could take an entirely different form."[1] Fortunately for the continued success of the Diaspora work this change was never considered necessary, and in fact, the situation from their point of view was soon somewhat improved as the main tide of "neology" passed.[2]

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[1] I refer particularly to the use of music among the Brethren and to the emphasis upon the resurrection in their cultus; *infra*, pp. 375-84 and chapter v.

[2] "Extract," I.

[3] *Ibid.*, III; H. Plitt, pp. 234-35.

[4] "Extract," II. [5] *Ibid.* [6] *Ibid.*

The Diaspora societies which were formed were even more similar to the settlements in their discipline than they were in worship. Here in the nurture and discipline of the societies was apparently the real strong point of this work. It was supposed that the relationship in these little flocks would be one of mutual encouragement and edification. This of course was the ideal of a Choir and settlement, and the Diaspora society was no different. The lay workers in such organizations were not alone in this work of maintaining a high spiritual and moral tone but after the Herrnhut fashion all were expected to take a hand, and actually it was felt that discipline could be even stricter and more punctually enforced in the societies than in a settlement, for it did not entail the same social or economic or even ecclesiastical overtones.[3] Expulsion from such a society naturally did not bring excommunication nor any of the problems of displacement from community and economy which were involved in the same act with a settlement congregation, thus persons could be and were more readily and freely expelled and restored in the Diaspora.[1] By this means it was hoped to practice the discipline which had almost completely disappeared from the state churches, particularly of Germany, and in the course of time to furnish those churches with an improved constituency of dedicated and loyal "children of the church," the state with its "best subjects," and their fellowman with his "best friends."[2]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Already during this period was noted the resurgence of piety and orthodoxy in the emergence of new movements with a similar purpose to the Herrnhuters; ibid., I. A tour of Protestant universities by Bishop Layritz reflected the increasing strength of these factors already in this period; H. Plitt, pp. 208-17.

[3] "Extract," IV.

Besides these societies or communities of sympathetic brethren and friends, however, we have already noted the extension of this work to isolated circles and particularly families which were dedicated to the principles of the Brethren. This phenomenon is particularly interesting to us because it was apparently in such status that the Schleiermacher family first stood in relation to the Herrnhuters. It was usual that such folk visit and be visited by representatives of the Brethren and stand in active correspondence with the Diaspora workers, participating in the life of the entire Brotherhood--congregations, missions, and Diaspora--by means of the reports issued in the "Gemein Nachrichten" which under strict limitations such friends were allowed to read.[3] The character of such "little house-churches," as well as the Herrnhuter's general ideal of family life, may best be seen by an interesting description of what it should be like given in the Diaspora principles set forth by the Synod of 1782. It reads as follows:

> Houses of God--that is, families in which the father and mother are of the mind to rear their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and to rule their house in a godly manner--are especially precious in these recent troubled times and should be most carefully attended. In such a house the father is priest and preaches not only with his holy and exemplary

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., II

[3] Ibid., IV.

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> behaviour but also extols the love of Jesus to his family, children, and servants, and commends them daily to his mercy; the mother confirms his witness through her gentle and placid character, and intimate intercourse with the dear Saviour, and clings to him day and night in prayer and supplication for those who are hers. In such families our dear Lord dwells; the blessing of his dear Father rests upon them; and we most heartily wish to do everything that there should be more such houses and that those into which Jesus has come may ever more take the form of true little house-churches (Haus-Kirchlein).[1]

In such homes the workers were upon their visits to strongly encourage the exercises which characterized a settlement home--morning and evening prayers, industrious reading of the Scriptures, prayer at meals, and the careful catechization of the young in the Scriptural truths.[2]

Perhaps the most remarkable feature which was proposed for inclusion in the Diaspora system is a program referred to as the Anchorite Plan (Anachoreten Plann). It is incorporated here because of its general interest, even though despite the earlier efforts of Zinzendorf and the attempt of the Synod of 1769 it did not bear fruit during this period.[3] Although this scheme has sometimes been identified with the ideal that Diaspora workers should support themselves by their own labor,[4] the program as outlined by the Synod of 1769 obviously implied a great deal more than that and actually suggests the possibility that the Brethren might have been impressed with the startzi or hermit elders of the Russian Church. That the full impact of the idea may be appreciated, the synodical decree is quoted here in full.

> The synod (1769) heartily wished that the Anchorite Plan which was so often and longingly desired by the Blessed Disciple

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[1] "Verlass," par. 784,18. [2] Ibid., pars. 464; 784,19.

[3] Ibid., par. 809.

[4] Weinlick, The Moravian Diaspora, p. 30.

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> should come into being, and a number of brethren, especially single brothers, might thereby be useful to the blessing of many places and lands. By this is understood that a number of brothers scatter themselves in various areas and dwell in this or that city or village. The character and plan of such a brother would be:
>
> 1. To support himself in solitude by the work of his hands.
> 2. For the sake of the Saviour to deny himself spiritual and physical comforts.
> 3. To live at peace with all men.
> 4. In the sacraments to hold himself regularly to his religion.
> 5. In his whole mode of life to have the character of a man of God.
> 6. Never to hold meetings, but only to those who seek rest for their heart to commend the Saviour and his reconciliation.
> 7. In everything to urge no one, either from far or near, to come to the congregation.
>
> Should brothers find themselves moved in their heart to such a plan, and communicate that fact, then is their desire to be tested in the Elders' Conference before the Saviour to see if it then is that He himself has lain such a strong impulse in a brother's heart that he is certain of this matter. Such a brother is, as a matter of fact, not sent by the congregation, but is accompanied by its hearty benediction and prayer.[1]

Thus was it hoped that the Diaspora work, like that of foreign missions, should be the highest religious expression of the individual and community in a Brethren settlement, and although this scheme did not receive the requisite Freudigkeit on the part of the individual brethren,[2] this does not deny that, as with its missionary counterpart, the Diaspora was accompanied by the thorough participation of the settlements and their members as they waited upon the Lord in hourly intercessions and committed their lives to service of the gospel.

Yet there is another side of the participation and interest of the congregations in this work among the "brethren and friends." I refer to the fact that, like the "third order" among the mendicants, the Diaspora furnished a major source and proving ground for many

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[1] "Verlass," par. 808. [2] *Ibid.*, par. 809.

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who finally demonstrated their peculiar calling to be full-fledged Herrnhuters.[1] It should be obvious from the nature of the relationship which it was hoped to maintain between the Brethren and the state churches that this was a delicate matter. Proselyting was not only against their principles but it tended to endanger the effect and even the continued possibility of their work in Christendom.[2] At the same time, and in fairness to their own election and the calling of their members individually, it was considered and had been proven dangerous to strongly resist a member of a Diaspora society who felt called to enter a "cloister" of the Brethren.[3] In the discussion of this problem it was felt at the Diaspora conference of 1785 that regardless of the possibility of offending some, the chief rule should remain "that anyone who considered going to the congregation be advised to go over the matter thoroughly several times more before the Saviour."[4] The minutes continue with a statement of principle so revealing of the religious character of such a move to the protection of a Brethren settlement as to demand inclusion here, as the instruction to the leaders of the Diaspora continued:

> The workers must chiefly give heed to those souls who out of the feeling of their misery and because they no longer harbor any hope for themselves in the world yearn after the congregation. Those are the genuine candidates for the congregation.[5]

Such ones, despite the active resistance of the Brethren to their removal from the religions "in which they were called,"[6] came in great number to people the homes and Choir Houses of Herrnhut and her sisters.[1] Thus did the Diaspora become in the piety of the Brethren community both an object for and an expression of Christ's presence in the world, and a source from which it drew the continuing vitality which was then reflected in the whole of its life and cultus.

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[1] "Extract," IV.

[2] *Ibid.*, III.

[3] This danger took the form of the eventual fall of those in whom a real calling to the congregations had been suppressed and frustrated, thus causing the work of the Brethren and the reputations of those awakened and served by them to come into question; *ibid.*, IV.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] H. Plitt, p. 231.

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 235; Weinlick, *The Moravian Diaspora*, p. 33.

PART II

DEVOTIONAL PIETY AMONG THE HERRNHUTERS

CHAPTER V

MUSIC IN THE LIFE OF THE CONGREGATION

The devotional piety of the Herrnhuters may likely be described with the least abuse or distortion of the true status of its parts within the whole life of the community in which it was practiced, and of the individuals by whom it was practiced, by dealing with temporal rather than either traditional or logical categories. It is proposed here to treat the devotion and cultus of the Brethren as they actually were lived in the type of a settlement that has just been described. We shall attempt, so far as is possible from the rather fruitful sources available to us, to reconstruct the devotional life first of an ordinary day, then of an entire week, thirdly of a month--or actually of four weeks, then of a year, and finally of an entire life as it was lived within the settlement either by a person born there or by one who has come to the Brethren at some time during his life. Thus each of the various rites, sacraments, and observances will find its place in one or another of these cycles, classified according to its place within the religious life, both communal and individual, rather than in a more traditional manner according to a position which has been assigned to it in the structure of formal Christian theology. Because of the singular role of one particular element in the devotional piety of the Herrnhuters, it has been deemed necessary to discuss separately this factor which runs through each of the five temporal reconstructions which follow it.

Certainly the most remarkable and characteristic element in the devotional life of the Brethren is to be seen in the use which is made of music therein. Congregational singing predominates in their cultus as in no other. In the entire life of their settlements and in the individual lives of all those who resided therein the thread which seems to bind all actions and ceremonies together is the presence of devotional music. Music completely dominated their worship; it marked every important event--of birth, baptism, confirmation, marriage, and death. Among the first words lisped by the infant and the last sounds heard by the departing soul were the ubiquitous and beloved hymns and chorales.[1] Here was the instrument through which the intense devotion of the Herrnhuters found its most complete and consistent expression. It proved a source of recreation as well as of devotion to them, giving expression to the close bond which the Brethren held with nature as well as with grace. The finest art of the Herrnhuters was that of congregational singing, and it was unanimously lauded by their friends and critics alike. Beside this keenly whetted art we find also a very extensive use of instrumental music, utilizing chiefly brass and stringed instruments. To a visitor coming to one of these settlements for the first time, the most striking characteristic of the community must almost certainly have been the omnipresence of music of one kind or another. And to a resident therein, as we shall presently see, there was no other single factor which so consistently contributed to the edification of the individual and the unification of the community.

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[1] The prevalence of hymnody in the life of the individual Herrnhuter is most clearly demonstrated at its beginning and end and most clearly attested in the religious "last will and testament" which was generally left to the community in the form of a spiritual autobiography and published during this period in the manuscripts "Gemein Nachrichten" as Lebensläufe. Concerning the early influence of hymnody and music see especially the Lebenslauf of Ludw. Justin v. Bruiningk under "I. Lebensläufe einiger in Niesky heimgegangenen Kinder im Jahr 1786," "Gemein Nachrichten" (1787), Beilage, 1. Woche, I; and at the end of life see almost any of the autobiographies. See also in this matter the section on the devotional life-cycle of a Herrnhuter, infra, chapter xii.

It must be noted at the outset that by the eighteenth century, and particularly in the Germanies, music had become a highly developed and respected art.[1] The age of Bach and Mozart need bow its head to none, and in the Germany of Friedrich the Great, one could hardly look upon musical interests as a refuge for second-rate or effeminate men. The musical tradition of the Herrnhuters grew up in that world in which the classic forms of modern Western music were taking their finished shape. In that "golden age" of Germanic music, the full impact of this art upon the human spirit was a factor yet undefined, but for the first time being more completely anticipated. Indeed, the Western musical tradition had been one fostered by religion, and in fact had proven a uniquely effective mode for expression and realization of the peculiar emphasis upon community in the Christian religion, the understanding of "church" as such. In the eighteenth century, however, the rapid development in the musical tradition tended so to broaden the prospects of music's function as in effect to give it a new and more significant position. With the new vocalization, instrumentation, harmonization, and musical forms as their tools, the Brethren set out--partly consciously, partly unconsciously--to give full and perfect expression to their highly emotional view of the life of faith.[1] The fruits of this effort may be seen in the unique cultic tradition of the Herrnhuters. The empirical thread which most clearly and completely unites that tradition is to be seen in its use of music. The cultural uses of music among these people may be viewed in the truest sense as tributaries to the primarily cultic use thereof. The concertos and symphonies which were performed by the Brethren were generally looked upon not as an end in themselves, but rather as contribution to the virtuosity of both performer and listener, with the final object of improving the dignity and grace of the cultus, the liturgy, as well as the fullness of each member's participation therein.[2]

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[1] See concise discussion in Curt Sachs, Our Musical Heritage (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1948), pp. 262-306; also Barth, pp. 49-53.

The full extent of the musical usages among the Brethren could hardly be overestimated. In almost no hour of day or night was its complete absence to be noted. Its most significant use is that marriage of the art of tone with that of the word in the rich and beautiful tradition of the eighteenth century chorale. This union of voice and instrument dominated worship among the Brethren, a dominance which was tenaciously guarded against the traditional ascendancy of Word and Sacrament amongst German Protestants.[3]

At least a word must be said here concerning the poetic side of the chorales of the Brethren. Both rising out of and at the same time contributing to the development of a classic period in German lyric poetry, this religious movement may be seen among the most poetically-involved in Christian history. Count Zinzendorf himself produced thousands of hymns and carried on a concerted program for the encouragement of poetic production through the congregations.[1] All were encouraged so to express themselves, and we have very adequate demonstration that an astonishingly large number among the brothers and sisters did not by any means neglect this opportunity.[2]

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[1] Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf, p. 124.

[2] The primary goal is made quite clear in C.I. LaTrobe, Letters to My Children, ed. J.A. LaTrobe (London: Seeleys, 1851), p. 42. Hereafter cited as Letters. This collection was written during a sea voyage in 1815.

[3] "Verlass," par. 916.

It should also be noted that the hymn books and the verses therein were not used merely as aids to full participation in congregational singing--in fact, for the most part, such assistance was not needed by the individual Herrnhuter--but were instead largely used as devotional manuals in the inner life of the individuals and groups within the congregations. Their contents were committed to memory and thus became an integral part of the thought and feeling of each member.[3] In this manner, perhaps more than through the overt efforts of such as Zinzendorf, the whole life of the community was attuned to poetic conception and expression. The truth of this statement may be seen most clearly from the fanciful style which prevailed in devotional discourse at this time. This poetic spirit may be seen as a largely contributive factor in the role which chorale singing played among the Brethren and as a very significant element in the highly developed art of congregational singing which was observed with so much pleasure by both friend and foe. Although the author of Reise durch Kursachsen strongly desired to make a clear distinction between the singing and the words that were sung among the Herrnhuters, approving the one and disapproving the other,[1] such a distinction is an unwarranted abstraction in any understanding of this dimension of their religious life. These passionately pious folk sang the chorales as they did because of their intellectual and poetic content, never despite it. Writing in 1815, Christian Ignatius LaTrobe reports concerning his first observation of the Holy Communion at Niesky in 1775 that the organ was played "with such incomparable simplicity and attention to the subject, that it was as if he [Verbeek, the organist] had the art of making even inanimate matter speak the language of devotion."[2] This was no accident, nor only the peculiar talent of a single organist, but was the result of a consistent approach to the playing of organs and to congregational singing which was prevalent among the Herrnhuters.

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[1] Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf, p. 124.

[2] See Joseph Th. Müller, Hymnologisches Handbuch zum Gesangbuch der Brüdergemeine (Herrnhut: Verlag des Vereins für Brüdergeschichte, 1916).

[3] "Verlass," par. 918.

The importance of congregational singing in the cultus of the Brethren is most clearly demonstrated by its ubiquity. No service of worship was too large or too small, whatever its occasion or intention, for the singing of several chorale stanzas by the congregation. We know that there were many gatherings for worship at which not a word was spoken,[3] but that one should be held without participation in at least two appropriate stanzas is completely inconceivable. There need be no fumbling with hymnals and chorale books; most of the hymns were a part of the active memory of the congregations, as were the chorales which went with them. The liturgist need only begin to sing and the gathered voices would immediately support him, as would the organist.[1] Perhaps the most commonly remarked service of singing among the Herrnhuters was the so-called Singstunde, or "Singing Hour." More will be said of these services later, but it must be noted here that they were in a free liturgical form in which hymn stanzas sung to various chorale melodies were woven together by the liturgist, developing a single line of thought. The key to this form of worship was of course the complete familiarity of the congregation with the verses and tunes used. Actually, most other liturgies using song, as all did to a greater or lesser degree, were to a certain extent governed by this same atmosphere of freedom with complete and immediate participation made possible by memorization. The Holy Communion liturgy, for example, was in actuality such a "sung discourse" aimed at full spiritual participation in the Sacrament. During this period, and also much later, the liturgist had almost complete freedom as to the choice of what chorales and stanzas he would use in the liturgy.[2] Also, we find a whole genre of "Singing Hours" called "Liturgies" which were for the most part distinguished from the regular "Singstunde" by the fact that only communicants could be present and that the Kiss of Peace was imparted thereat as a regular practice.[3] For such Liturgies in many cases, however, there was also the difference that they afforded a more sophisticated and at the same time less free structure. Many of them were full hymns written for such an occasion.[1] The most common of these Liturgies was that based upon the passion chorale, "O Sacred Head" (which is incidentally by far the most mentioned of all in the literature issuing from the Brethren during this period); it was at this time the "Friday Liturgy" of the Brethren.[2] The Lovefeast liturgies or "Odes" were also of the same type as the "Singing Hour," as was the Footwashing, and had the same freedom. Even the reading of the document which has become known as The Passion Week Manual[3] was punctuated at the discretion of him who led the service by the singing of various appropriate verses. An immersion in the cultic tradition of the Herrnhuters of the period makes the fact perfectly obvious that at any time or place where Herrnhuters were assembled for any reason, any of thousands of hymn verses set to hundreds of melodies could be intoned by the leader, with perfect confidence that the result would be anything but a solo--in fact, with the complete assurance that all present would lend voice, not only to the melody, but also to a full choral harmony. Which brings us to an examination of the rather remarkable way in which the Brethren are reputed to have sung their myriad verses.

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[1] Pp. 81, 82.

[2] Letters, pp. 33, 34.

[3] This apparently was often the case with the so-called Singstunden and Liturgien. "Verlass," par. 914, even admonished against the mixture of "liturgies" and discourses: "Es ist besser, dass die Liturgien und Reden nicht mit einander in einer Versammlung verbunden werden."

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[1] Lynar, p. 74. C.I. LaTrobe (ed.), Hymn-Tunes, Sung in the Church of the United Brethren (London: Fetter Lane, published by the editor, 1795), p. v; hereafter cited as Hymn-Tunes.

[2] "Verlass," par. 929. [3] Ibid., par. 913.

The style of singing among the Brethren was particularly noted in the eighteenth century for the high level of its devotional quality. Among its characteristics are generally noted its unanimity, its unity, its softness, and its harmony. The description of singing in the state churches of the time seems to suggest a pattern of

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[1] Lynar, pp. 79-80. [2] Ibid., p. 80; "Verlass," par. 929.

[3] Reference is here to Samuel Lieberkühn, Die Geschichte der Tage des Menschen Sohns von der Marter-Woche an bis zu Seiner Himmelfahrt (Barby, 1765). Hereafter cited as Die Geschichte der Tage.

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singing far from such devotional standards.[1] In fact, if these descriptions are correct, it is reasonable to picture in our minds a participation more spirited than devotional. The singing in the churches of Germany appears to have been far from gaining full participation of the assembly, and to have earned such descriptive phrases for its style as "attempting to cry one another down," etc.[2] Contrasted against such a background, expression of the strong communal and corporeal strain in Herrnhut ecclesiology through their style and use of singing becomes quite clear. Count Lynar reflected the deep impression made by the singing in a Children's Hour in this description:

> As soon as . . . the preacher begins to sing a verse the children all join in immediately with such a harmonious and lovely manner that one can hear nothing more beautiful and devotional. The singing is as if there were only a single voice, slow, gentle, and lovely, and the children are often so moved and filled by what they sing that tears of joy stand in their eyes. The organ accompanies their song in the softest tone. One is reminded of a word from the Psalm, "From the mouths of babes and sucklings hast Thou perfected praise."[3]

Again in the words of C.I. LaTrobe, reflecting upon his youth, we read:

> Our dormitory (at Fulneck) was over the chapel; and I remember to this day, the delight with which I used to keep myself awake, to hear the congregation sing one of the Liturgies of the Father, Son, and Spirit,[4] always watching for that tune: Veni Creator Spiritus. I often thought, "O how happy are those people! They are already in heaven, and I will live, to belong only to those who are true followers of the Lamb." Though indistinct, these were my feelings.[5]

In the same letter LaTrobe described the singing at Holy Communion

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[1] Reise, p. 80; Spangenberg, p. 73.

[2] Christian Gregor (ed.), Choral-Buch, enhaltend alle zu dem Gesangbuche der evangelischen Brüder-Gemeinen von Jahre 1778 Melodien (Leipzig: Breitkopfischen Buchdruckerey, 1784), "Vorbericht." Hereafter cited as Choral-Buch.

[3] P. 74. [4] C.I. LaTrobe, Hymn-Tunes, Tune #22.

[5] Letters, p. 31.

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as "the harmonious and devotional singing of between 300 and 400 communicants, all of whom, as I believed, were with their whole hearts waiting for a special blessing in the participation of the body and blood of Jesus in the holy Sacrament, and with voice and spirit showing forth his death, melted my whole soul within me."[1] The rationalistic author of Reise durch Kursachsen describes this feature of Brethren worship in most glowing terms:

> The festive stillness of the simple moving song accompanied by soft organ playing, which certainly distinguishes itself to great advantage from the overly loud shrieking so common in many churches, is well capable of awakening the heart which is inclined toward religious feeling to an inner devotion and to bring forth therein pious resolution. Most pleasing of all to me are those meetings in which there is only singing. Most splendid is the sound if with certain verses the brothers and sisters alternate (the singing is on the whole most harmonious) and enrapturingly beautiful whenever the sisters sing alone.[2]

It should be noted that at this point the author went on to a most negative criticism of the hymns which were sung on these occasions which could hardly have been expected to appeal to a theological child of the eighteenth century Enlightenment.[3]

The General Synod of 1775 seems to have given special attention to the maintenance of a high level of congregational singing in the worship of the congregations, and gives some rather specific suggestions as to how it should be done.

> In the Singing Hours, upon which an especial Charisma (grace) has rested in the past, all brothers and sisters must join in, and be able to apply to themselves the truth from the Watchword or Text which is being sung about. Thus familiar verses must be sung. But that also some new or unfamiliar verses may become known to the congregation it will be good now and then to begin the Singing Hour by singing an unfamiliar verse before the congregation so that the brethren may little by little learn several beautiful ancient and modern verses. This is far better than that we should hold Singing Hours from the song book.[4]

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[1] P. 33. [2] Pp. 81-82. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

[4] "Verlass," par. 912.

From that same synod comes what may be seen as the classic expression of a theology of congregational singing among the Brethren.

> It is also a part of the external beauty in the meetings which at the same time has an influence on the heart, that therein many sing and perform music as if there were only one, and thus besides binding the hearts to a single purpose also directs the necessary attention of each single individual upon the whole. The people of the Lord in the Old Covenant often sang and played to the praise of God, for his benefits demonstrated to them, with loud jubilation, with rejoicing and hearty tones. In our time we have the greatest benefit of all to sing about, namely Jesu's death and reconciliation. Besides the joy in the Lord which is similar to that of the Old Covenant we have at the same time arising therefrom the deep humiliation over his pain whereof we are guilty; and this moderates the joy of song so that it becomes liturgical. Inner joy and gentle pain come together in the heart there and consequently express themselves also in the tones of song and music.[1]

Precisely who wrote these extremely insightful lines is not with certainty known to us, but surely the most likely candidate would be Christian Gregor, a man who had perhaps more than any other of his time thought through the theological and religious implications of ecclesiastical music.[2] The rationale offered here gives us a deep and clear understanding of the peculiarly attractive style of congregational music which was developed among the Herrnhuters. It was conceived that true Christian liturgy must combine joy over grace with sorrow over sin, which may best be expressed through the combination of music and verse performed in common in a style which brings out and indeed creates the unity of the worshiping body of Christ and that orientation towards the gospel of the cross characterized here as "inner joy and gentle pain." From the "Introduction" to his Chorale Book of 1784 we draw Gregor's description of

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[1] Ibid., par. 917.

[2] This judgment is made on the basis of the almost complete agreement both in idea and language, with statements made in the "Vorbericht" to Gregor, Choral-Buch, and also in a statement by Gregor in Otto Uttendörfer, Zinzendorfs Gedanken über den Gottesdienst (Herrnhut: Gustav Winter, 1931), pp. 55-56.

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the manner of this singing and the way in which a balance is kept between the devotional quality of the singing and the devotional attention to the religious verse used therein.

> On the part of the congregation it is necessary to the beauty of chorale singing that so many as possible join in the singing, but not that each should sing in such a manner as to outcry the other, but that all voices seek so to accommodate to one another that the prevailingly moderate tones seem to lose themselves in a softly confluent, yet powerful harmony. The liturgist, however, if he has a good voice, is well advised in taking pains so to sing forth that one can understand the syllables of the words, which may not be expected from many voices together, nor indeed could be accomplished thereby without disadvantage to the gentle singing.[1]

Perhaps the most complete insight into the mode of performance of this congregational music may be gathered from various instructions given to the organists to guide them in their leadership therein. From that same synodical decree last quoted, we read:

> From this [theological statement] may be distinguished, among other things, also the character of an organist of the congregation, who along with his chorus musicus, should be an aid to the joy of his brethren. An organist in the congregation must be in his heart an anointed, a liturgical man, who is cut out for this duty. He must in his whole heart (Gemüth) be attuned to serve in his part the congregation each time he enters the organ, and especially be of the same devotional pitch as the liturgist. Properly he should know each verse which is intoned so that he may sing along in his heart (Gemüth) in such a manner that he seems not merely to be playing the melody but the verse as well.[2]

We note here the careful accommodation of the two art forms into a single religious, artistic expression. This fact is further borne out in the "Introduction" of Gregor's Chorale Book where he admonishes close attention on the part of the organist to the content of the verses being sung. The phrasing of the music was, for example, to be accommodated to the ideas or thoughts within the verse, and in the same way the tempo and gravity of the music were to be regulated.[1] The artfulness of the musician, or even of the composer, was never the primary consideration in such performances, but rather the effect which was made by the combined words and music upon the hearts and indeed the heart of the gathered congregation. Frohberger stipulates that this was always the case,[2] a contention upon which doubt is cast by the concern of the Synod of 1775 with the matter,[3] and completely negated in the letter of LaTrobe quoted above. In the years 1776-1779, directly following that Synod, young Christian Ignatius was at the Seminary in Barby, then seat of the Unity Elders' Conference and thus nerve center of the whole order of congregations. The genuine reflection found in that epistle of the conscious and difficult effort which was carried on in precisely this period to maintain the art of congregational singing against the professional artfulness of the organists justifies rather a large quotation from this document.

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[1] Choral-Buch, "Vorbericht." [2] "Verlass," par. 917.

> Of course, the organ and pianoforte occupied most of my attention, and I was fond of playing the former at church. But our taste at that time was bad. The noble simplicity of our church-music and hymn-tunes was lost in flourishes and ill-placed decorations, and deformed by long straggling interludes. Little attention was paid to that agreement between music and words, by which they are made to speak the same language, and to convey, each in their degree, the same feeling to the mind. Frequently complaints were made by the worthy and venerable fathers of our Church, who then resided at the castle at Barby, and felt themselves disturbed by the thoughtless and tasteless manner of playing the organ. But these were not heeded, being rather considered as a proof that the complainants wanted skill to appreciate the value of the artful and ornamental musical drapery, with which we clothed tunes, otherwise, in our opinion, too dull and monotonous.
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> No one felt more keenly and justly, the absurdity and hurtfulness of our manner, than the excellent man, the late Bishop Spangenberg. After much gentle and fruitless remonstrance, he at length hit upon an expedient, which at least, in a degree,

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[1] Choral-Buch, "Vorbericht."

[2] Pp. 347-48.

[3] "Verlass," pars. 917 and 918.

answered his purpose, and for which I feel grateful at this moment. I was only one of eight students (if I remember right) who took their turn by weeks to play the organ at chapel.[1] He thought, however, he had some claim upon me, on account of the great love and friendship which subsisted between him and my grandfather Antes, in North America, and my own father. I experienced, on many occasions the benefit of it, for he favored me with very particular attention, and often gave me the best and truly parental advice. He thought, therefore, that he had a right to expect something more from me than from others; and once on a Communion-day, sent for me after dinner to the castle. I was a little alarmed on receiving the message, fearing that some complaint might have been lodged against me, which might subject me either to a reprimand from the venerable Bishop, or even to suspension or exclusion from the Communion. I therefore entered his apartment with fear and trembling, but was soon relieved by the kind and affectionate manner in which I was addressed. He asked me if I would take coffee with him; and, as soon as it was brought, began to make inquiry about my studies, habits, my mode of life, making remarks upon every part of my honest report and confession, with the most engaging liberality and candour.[2] After this conversation had lasted some time, he announced that subject closed, but that he had still another object, in desiring to see me that afternoon. My mind was prepared to receive with humility whatever he might propose, and his words were to the following effect:--"For this long time past, I have been filled with concern, and even pain, when I reflected how the most beautiful part of our worship is rendered unpleasant to me and others, by the manner of my brethren in playing the organ. They seem not to have duly considered the importance of that species of service, especially in a living Church of Christ. I will not charge you or them with levity or indifference, for I conceive the fault to originate more in thoughtlessness, than in total disregard of the subject of the hymn, or the feelings of the congregation; but it has become such a burden to me, that I cannot help feeling rather indignant, especially as some conversation I had with your leader, produced no impression or effect whatever. I have this day been desired to officiate at the Holy Communion, but had almost declined it, for fear that the common way of playing the organ might again so much disturb my mind, that I should become unfit for so solemn a service, and be interrupted in my enjoyment by a distracted attention.

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[1] This seems to have been a very general and necessary practice in settlements of the Brethren when the strenuous religious life would have been far too much to be adequately served by a single organist. Only one of these players of the organ would be designated as Organist, and thus director of music.

[2] It will be obvious to the reader when he has become acquainted with the confessional practice of the Brethren that what is taking place here between Spangenberg and young LaTrobe is actually a Sprechen, or confession after the manner of the Herrnhuters; see supra, pp. 124-33.

"All at once the thought struck me, I will send for my dear friend LaTrobe, and speak with him about it. Perhaps he will not despise the remarks of an old man, who indeed understands nothing at all about music, and cannot point out the nature of the grievance, but yet thinks that he has a just sense of what is proper and consistent in performing a service in the house of God, which may either contribute to edification, or create great disturbance in the minds of the congregation. Perhaps *he* will feel disposed, if not from a conviction of his mind, yet out of regard to an old friend of his grandfather, father,[1] and himself, to humour him for once, and to play in such a manner as will please him. Now, do you think, my dear brother, that you can bring yourself to omit for my sake, what you may consider fine, and condescend to play a simple tune, unadorned with so many additional notes and flourishes, and though you should even not like it yourself, submit, for friendship's sake, to humour my weakness. Yes, I am confident you will; and do pray our Saviour, that He may give you grace to do it in a manner well-pleasing to Him, and edifying to His people."

I heard this affectionate address with an impression, which convinced me of the truth of his remarks, and moved me even to tears, and I promised him, that the next time it was my turn to play for him, I would endeavour to gratify him as far as possible, but that it was N.N.'s turn today. "No," said he, "you shall play for me today. It was on that condition, that I consented to preside at the Communion, and I will send an apology to the proper organist." He added, as I was leaving the room, "Well, my dear brother, if, after having acceded to my request this once, you are really of the opinion that I have erred in thus endeavouring to make a revolution in the manner of playing the organ, I will say no more; but shall be thankful, for your compliance with my wishes on this occasion."

The business was settled, and I took the organ. I prayed the Lord, that he would grant me to act herein also, as is well-pleasing to him; and was happy to hear afterwards from my highly venerated advisor, that he fully approved of the simple and artless manner I had adopted, in accompanying the beautiful hymns he had chosen for this solemnity.

Little did the venerable Bishop suppose, that on that occasion, he was reading a lecture upon Church-music, which would produce more real and abiding benefit to his auditor, than most of the learned and elaborate dissertations upon counterpoint have ever done. He did, indeed, bring about a reformation, the good effects of which were enjoyed for many years. As for me, I was so fully convinced by the experiment itself, of the superior effect of true simplicity in accompanying hymn-tunes, and suffering the beautiful combinations and transitions, with which

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[1] C.I. **LaTrobe's** grandfather was Henry Antes of Fredricks County, Pa., with whom Spangenberg had become acquainted upon first coming to Pennsylvania. LaTrobe's father was the Benjamin LaTrobe who translated Spangenberg's *Idea fidei fratrum* as well as other works and was one of the founders of the English Moravian Church.

> many of them abound, to present themselves in their native grandeur, divested of the harlequin dress by which many organists are apt to cover and disgrace them, and from that day I changed my whole style of playing. I had my reward, in being honored with frequent messages from the Bishop to play the organ when he officiated, which, though it naturally excited a little envy, was in general submitted to. Others also adopted a plainer style, to the satisfaction of their hearers. But the most essential benefit I derived from this circumstance was, that it led me to consider the services of an organist in a living congregation of Jesus in a new light, and taught me to pray, that, as far as I was engaged in it, I might serve him acceptably, and not disturb, but rather further the devotion of the congregation. When I afterwards became a tutor in the academy at Niesky, I had the satisfaction of training eight among the young students, into whose minds I endeavoured to instill the principles and precedents I had been taught by Bishop Spangenberg; as I have done ever since, when I have conversed with our young organists, as well as in my little publications. Thus as I observed above, the good effects of his lecture on Church-music, delivered that day, have been felt and spread abroad in various directions.[1]

In actuality this revolution in music was nothing new, but was rather harking back to principles which had been outlined by Zinzendorf and which had been practiced by the latter's organist, Christian Gregor, during the Count's life.[2] The "Introduction" to Gregor's Chorale Book in 1784[3] as well as the "Preface" to that of C.I. LaTrobe in 1795[4] reflect a continuing struggle against what appears to have been a fad among church organists at the time to greatly embellish the melodies and improvise fanciful interludes between lines and between stanzas.[5] Such showmanship on the part of the organist or on any one else's part little fitted the style and function of congregational singing among the Herrnhuters. Such exhibitionism was considered very destructive of the devotional calm, communion of spirit, and attention to the thoughts of the verse which were the ideals through which the individual brother or sister was merged into the worshiping and living Church of Christ. This ideal of edification applied not only to this central musical expression of congregational singing but as well to the other uses of music in the congregations.

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[1] Letters, pp. 36-41.

[2] Uttendorfer, Zinzendorfs Gedanken über den Gottesdienst, pp. 55-57.

[3] Choral-Buch, "Vorbericht." [4] Hymn-Tunes, pp. iii-iv.

[5] C.I. LaTrobe, Letters, p. 36; Frohberger, p. 347.

In the whole external scene of the Brethren settlements perhaps one of the most distinctive practices may be observed in the use therein of the brass choir. Instrumental music in the churches was a much more common affair in eighteenth century Europe than it is in twentieth century America. In fact, the trombone was almost exclusively associated with church music at that time.[1] In the churches, or rather Prayer Halls, of the Brethren we note one common feature. Around the small clock and bell tower to be found at the center of the roof was erected a balustrade of adequate size to accommodate a number of musicians. From this platform, high atop the house of worship, the brass choir was accustomed to play. This ensemble, composed for the most part of trombones and trumpets, had the duty of making certain announcements to the congregation. In Europe of the eighteenth century the bell of the parish church had long performed a number of very specific functions in service of the community in general. In fact, the area of a parish was supposed not to exceed the sound of its bell.[2] The functions of spreading alarm and bringing all within earshot to assembly for whatever purpose had naturally become a matter of strong association in the general mind over the centuries. Beside this fact it should be noted that, short of a prohibitive outlay for what would amount to a princely set of bells, the musical potential--and thus for this musical people, the devotional potential-- of a single bell was severely limited. A combination of these factors may be seen as the reason for the use of the brass choir playing from atop the Prayer Hall in these settlements. There were two primary purposes for such playing: the communication of certain information, and the assembly of a select group of worshipers. In the former case we would note the announcement of and greeting to certain distinguished visitors to the settlement, and of course much more common, the announcement and celebration of what was for the Brethren a blessed and joyous event, the passing of a brother or sister to be with the Saviour. The exact form of this latter announcement will of course be discussed along with the other practices which surrounded death among the Brethren, but it may be noted here that from the chorales which belled forth from the exalted tribune of the brass choir it was immediately evident that someone had gone to his rest, and also, in due time, to which of the Choirs or divisions of the congregation he or she had belonged.[1]

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[1] Eric Blom (ed.), *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (5th ed.; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1955), VIII, 555-59; J.A. Fuller Maitland, *The Age of Bach and Handel*, Vol. IV of *The Oxford History of Music*, ed. W.H. Hadow (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), pp. 129-30.

[2] Nicholaus Müller, "Glocken," in *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, ed. Albert Hauck (Leipzig: J.C. Heinrich, 1899), VI, 707-709.

When the brass choir was used to call the congregation to worship it was generally understood that only those were to attend who were full communicant members. Thus the music served both for information and for devotion. In each case of its use it should be remembered that carefully selected chorales were played and that these were well known to the listeners, as were also most if not all of the hymn stanzas which were set to them. It would be almost automatic in such a setting of memorization and patterned devotion for each individual brother or sister to put just that most appropriate verse to the clarion notes as they floated down to the listening ear --the exact verse which was in the mind of those who selected it. On such an occasion as Holy Communion, for example, the whole attention of the congregation was so carefully shaped and directed that this must certainly have been the case.

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[1] Reise, pp. 462-63; see also Das Litaneyen-Büchlein nach der bey den Brüdern dermalen hauptsächlich gewöhnlichen Singe-Weise (von neuem revidirt, vierte Edition; Barby, 1757), pp. 227-28; cited hereafter as Das Litaneyen-Buchlein (1757). Translated into English as The Litany-Book, According to the Manner of Singing at Present Mostly in Use among the Brethren, trans. from 4th German ed. (London: 1759); cited hereafter as The Litany Book (1759).

It should here be noted also that the brass choir was used in worship inside the Prayer House upon special occasions and was especially useful at funerals for the procession from the Prayer Hall to the churchyard, as well as in accompaniment of the hymn stanzas which were most joyously sung at the graveside. This usage was common all over Europe even as it is in many places today. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of this practice among the Brethren was the festive and thanksgiving temper of the music that was played. In much the same manner as for funerals is the use of this musical group at the Easter morning sunrise service. Both of these services will be dealt with at greater length below.[1]

It has been seen how the brass choir in the playing of chorales has the function of reminding the community of certain devotional hymns as they are sung and is thus part and parcel with the devotional art of congregational singing as we have discussed it. We must further note that this is also very much the function of the organ as it is used as a solo instrument. This is certainly not unique to the Herrnhuters, for the charming Chorale Preludes of J.S. Bach can hardly have had any other intention. In fact, the organists in the Brethren congregations were strongly encouraged to utilize chorale melodies as the basis of the voluntaries which served as prelude to each of their services.[1] The clearly stated intention of this scheme and also the highly approved custom of merely using a chorale in its transcribed form for such purpose was that the mind and spirit of the worshiper should be directed to associate word and tone in the inner side of that excellent art of the Herrnhuters, hymn singing. In this matter the organist is once again strongly advised against "showy" demonstrations of virtuosity.[2]

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[1] *Infra*, pp. 376-82; 416-17; 419-20.

The Brethren are also known to have made very considerable use of musical choirs. It was not at all uncommon in their settlements to have two or even more choirs; in fact, a number of the liturgies below involve two choirs as well as numerous solos.[3] The choirs performed anthems and other forms of special music upon various occasions, but perhaps their most regular function was their role in antiphonal forms of singing in which they formed an antiphon with the congregation and/or with the liturgist. In such cases they might sing only a few words, a couple of lines, or even an entire hymn stanza. This custom is still common among them today and is most effective in various liturgies. The basic function of the choir was to enrich the worship and edify the congregation. This was accomplished both by the singing of pieces which were unfamiliar to or were too complex for the whole congregation, as well as by adding general support to congregational singing.[1] It was even suggested that the choir might fulfill a significant function by teaching new chorales and hymns to the congregation and also new harmonies to old melodies.[2] However, we must note that the vocal choir was generally thought of in connection with the other musical performers of the congregation, of which there was often a very numerous and active group. This was particularly the case in those communities where one of the educational institutions of the Unity was located.

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[1] Gregor, Choral-Buch, "Vorbericht"; C.I. LaTrobe, Hymn-Tunes, p. vi; "Verlass," par. 918.

[2] Gregor, Choral Buch, "Vorbericht."

[3] See Communion Lovefeast liturgies, *infra*, pp. 610-12 and Holy Week liturgies, *infra*, pp. 616-30.

The musical contingents of the congregations seem to have been especially active during this period; this was notably the case at Niesky during the first two years of Schleiermacher's stay there.[3] Let us turn once again to the letter of C.I. LaTrobe quoted above.

> Towards the close of the year 1779, I returned to Niesky, in the capacity of tutor. I found there a most musical party, and music afforded to most of us the sweetest recreation after our academical labours. Our Maestro di Capella was Freydt,[4] an admirable performer on various instruments. Who had two exercise concerts in a week. . . .
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> As we had a good leader, our little band became more and more perfect, and our performances more correct and pleasing. This was particularly the case in the years 1783 and 1784, when, with the addition of all hands, both in the institution and in the settlement, we could muster thirty-two vocal and instrumental performers. The celebration of the festivals and of the passion-week was enlivened by anthems, both of ancient and modern composition. Freydt's incomparable solo and chorus--"When we in spirit, view thy passion" etc.,[5] will to your memory and feelings exhibit a specimen of the taste of those times, and the effect produced in the congregation by such

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[1] Gregor, Choral-Buch, "Vorbericht." [2] Ibid.

[3] Friedrich Schleiermacher was at the Paedagogium in Niesky from the spring of 1783 to the autumn of 1785.

[4] Ludwig Freydt (1748-1807) was director of music at the Paedagogium from his entrance into the Brüdergemeine in 1777 until his retirement in 1805. In 1789 he moved with the school from Niesky to Barby and returned to Niesky upon his retirement where he died in 1807. See Lebenslauf in "Gemein Nachrichten," "Gemeintags Lectionen" (1807), No. X, ii, 3.

[5] C.I. LaTrobe (ed.), Anthems of the Brethren (London: Fetter Lane, published by the editor, n.d.), p. 49.

> performances encouraged us to believe, that the Lord accepted our weak attempts to honour him, by devoting the talents he had given us to his service.[1]

Turning once again to our rationalistic music lover, we read concerning the musical opportunities in the Paedagogium a few years later, probably after its removal to Barby in 1789:

> It is possible for them [the students] to really improve themselves in music, and although the instruction in this art is only imparted to those who have an especial desire and ability in that direction, still there is always a great number who participate. Every Sunday they hold concerts in which the compositions of the most famous masters, as for example, Mozart, Haydn, Reichardt,[2] Himmel, etc., are performed. Each instrument and each vocal part is represented by several musicians, and one should, quite often, scarcely believe that he is hearing beginners, everything is executed with such beauty and harmony. The music director at the Paedagogium, Herr Freydt, possesses a very excellent knowledge of his discipline, and a particular ability to communicate it to his students.[3]

In the quotation from LaTrobe above it may be noted that these musical groups also played a recreational role, if indeed we must or even can distinguish between the liturgical and recreational, or any other function in the life of the Herrnhuters. In this matter of recreation, however, we find yet further comment from a pious rationalist in Reise durch Kursachsen.

> One must not suppose . . . that the Herrnhuters have no recreation whatever, or that all earthly recreation has been renounced. Above all they love music and they are not satisfied merely to use it in their meetings as a means to the accomplishing and awakening of devotion, but outside of these they hold little musical exercises and concerts. Especially in the Brothers' House there are individual societies, which play quartettes, quintettes, sonatas, etc., on the violin, flute, and other instruments. Sometimes several persons also come together so that they can perform great symphonies and whole concertos.[4]

These various musical groups contributed immeasurably to the general quality of both taste and performance of music within the settlements and directly contributed by participation in the whole religious and cultural life of the congregations. It was these ensembles of voices or instruments, or both, which were responsible for the hundreds of small musical surprises such as the awakening of the brothers or sisters on their Choir Festival or on Communion Day or some other festival, or on the Lord's Day, or just a birthday, with musically set chorales and hymns. They also were a great factor in the widely reputed and widely visited celebrations of the traditional Christian holidays, especially of Christmas and Easter, within the Brethren settlements.[1]

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[1] Letters, pp. 41-43.

[2] For Reichardt's view of music among the Brethren see Frohberger, p. 348.

[3] Reise, pp. 415-16. [4] P. 239.

It would be a grave mistake to make a sharp distinction between cultus and culture in the classification of music as used in the settlements of the Herrnhuters. Most assuredly they conceived that there was much music unsuitable for use in those sanctuaries--that which was dominated by the spirit of the times or of the world (Weltgeist),[2] but this was to be excluded altogether. That music which was admitted, and this included the very best sacred music of a century and a nation which may be said to have produced the very best, was utilized to the fullest extent for the edification of the Brethren as a whole and as individuals. Be it a concert or a "Singing Hour," the objects of glory to God and communion with the Saviour in and through the Church were the same and were served to the fullest extent possible. And it is far from merely incidental that this very small and in many ways isolated group is responsible more than any other for the introduction to England and to English America of the great German masters of eighteenth century sacred music (other than Handel). It is no accident that the famous Bach Choir hails from Bethlehem.

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[1] See infra, pp. 322-27 and 375-76.

[2] "Verlass," par. 923.

Yet we are not ultimately concerned here with these cultural reverberations of the unique musical-liturgical tradition of the Herrnhuters, but present this account as a necessary foundation for any adequate comprehension of the devotional life of a Brethren congregation as it was carried on in the years following the death of Count Zinzendorf. We shall now see how through this means with its surprising versatility as well as the sundry others created by the free application of fertile religious imaginations and wide experience, the hours, days, weeks, months, years, and lives of the Herrnhuters were woven together to form a truly rare religious phenomenon.

CHAPTER VI

A DAY IN A BRETHREN SETTLEMENT

If in analysis of the devotional life in the Brethren congregations one were to seek out the smallest legitimate temporal division therein, his attention would finally come to rest not merely upon a single day but upon the activity which characterized that life in every individual hour. In most of the settlements of the Herrnhuters during the eighteenth century a remarkable provision was made for the maintenance of the intimate relationship which was deemed to exist between God and these congregations. I refer here to the so-called "Hourly Intercession," a traditional practice which was begun at Herrnhut on the twenty-seventh of August, 1727, and continued in many congregations well beyond the period of our interest.[1] The provision was that in each and every hour, day and night, some member of the congregation was representing the sorrows and joys not merely of the Brethren as such, but indeed of the whole world before the altar of God.[2] This function became the duty of an especially established and selected society within the settlement, and for each hour someone was assigned, generally by means of the Lot,[3] to exercise the role of intercessor--

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[1] The centennial for the practice was held in 1827.

[2] The object of their intercession is defined as "Was man zu Freude oder Leid aus der Nähe und Ferne vernahm, all besondern Anliegen dieses oder jenes Volkes, diese oder jener Gemeine, dieser oder jener einzelnen Person." F.L. Kölbing, Die Gedenktage der erneuerten Bruderkirche (Gnadau: Verlage der Buchhandlung der evangelischen Brüder-Unität, 1821), pp. 153-54.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 152 (English trans., p. 132).

to guard the congregation from outside and within, but most especially to be a sort of sanctuary fire in the temple of God.[1] That particular sense of the Hourly Intercession was represented by its founders thus: "In this view we resolved to kindle the flame of a free willing sacrifice of intercession in our place, which should not cease to burn day or night."[2] The hourly prayer was scrupulously observed by each member of this society in the hour assigned to him, usually in his own quarters or sleeping chamber.[3] If perchance "anyone could not spend the whole hour in prayer, either because of indigence of spirit, or official concerns preventing him, he might sing spiritual songs and hymns of praise to the Lord, and thus bring unto him, for himself and his fellow brethren, either the sacrifice of thanksgiving, or the offering of prayer and supplication."[4] Services or meetings of those who prayed (Beterversammlungen) were created for the information and stimulation of this Society of Intercessors, and from them as well as from special lists and publications the members of this group of "priests"[5] gleaned the knowledge of the affairs, problems, joys, and cares of the Unity the world over which served as the foundation for their task of representing them before the Almighty; the nature of the "Meeting of the Intercessors" itself will be dealt with in its proper place as a weekly devotional exercise of a congregation.

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[1] It is spoken of in precisely these terms; ibid.

[2] Ibid. Translated anonymously into English as The Memorial Days of the Renewed Church of the Brethren (Ashton-under-Lyne: T. Cunningham, 1822), pp. 132-33.

[3] Ibid., p. 133 (German, p. 153). [4] Ibid.

[5] Prior to the Synod of 1769 it was common to call this society the Priester-Gesellschaft; at that synod the name was abrogated in consideration of the priesthood of all children of God. "Verlass," par. 900,2. Among the publications used by the Intercessors was the Nachricht of Spangenberg which was expanded after the Synod of 1782 for that purpose. Also there were special lists of congregations, missions, and personnel maintained for this use. We still find personal prayer journals stemming from this period which were used as very extensive prayer "lists" by the individual intercessors. "Verlass," par. 909.

There are several factors in this interesting and meaningful practice of the Hourly Intercession which must in all honesty be touched upon. It is quite apparent from the actions of the General Synods of 1775 and 1782 that the Society of the Intercessors had, at least in many places, become ingrown in its personnel and concerned in its meetings with matters neither conducive to devotion nor intercession, and had become the object of bickering and jealousy. As a result, some rather strong action was taken. It was suggested that the personnel of this group be altered each month and that the lot be utilized to select its members from among the suitable communicant members of the congregation; that the meetings of this society concern themselves only with the matter at hand, i.e., intercession; and that in case pride and jealousy found vent and the institution no longer proved a blessing, it should be abrogated by the Local Elders' Conference altogether.[1] The medicine seems to have answered the need, and the "sanctuary fire" which was in itself the hourly cycle of devotion in the congregation of the Brethren continued a sleepless vigil throughout the entirety of the period under study here.

Yet to set forth a moment by moment schedule for the daily life of one of these settlements and for every member therein would be a literal impossibility, not merely because of the great number of details comprising each day, but also because not every day is the same. It will naturally be the task of the later chapters to deal with what might be designated holidays or festivals, but even aside from that, certain functions of each day were in their peculiar character controlled by which day of the week it chanced to be as well as by which hour of the day. Besides this variety in the schedule which is contingent upon the particular day of the week, we find further variety introduced by the peculiar manner and station in life of the Choir or vocational status of the individual. For example, the hours of rising, devotions, eating, working, and retiring were of necessity much more closely regimented among those who resided in Choir Houses than among those who were of the Married Choir and resided in their individual homes. Thus it is more possible for us to reconstruct the life of the former in its minute detail than that of the latter. The devotional and social life of the entire community, if indeed the two can be separated here, takes on a commonality and regularity which are strongly reminiscent of that found in a monastic cloister. This is particularly the case in the Choir Houses, especially those of the single brothers and single sisters.

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[1] *Ibid*., pars. 901-908.

The rationalistic author of Reise durch Kursachsen gives us an excellent and detailed description of the daily schedule in the Single Brothers' House at Gnadau in Saxony.

> In the Brothers' House which has three stories with a hipped roof and in which are to be found approximately twenty rooms, not counting the large assembly room,[1] reside seventy to eighty single men, most of whom follow trades. In a house like this, one encounters such various tradesmen as tailors, cobblers, linen weavers, cabinetmakers, goldsmiths, and bakers. The apprentices who work in the village with their masters also

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[1] The Choir prayer hall is referred to here.

> live in this house. The external arrangement of this establishment is very good and demonstrates the most praiseworthy organization, even if it frequently appears somewhat mechanical. Early in the morning at half-past four a small bell is rung.[1] After five a brother sings several hymn stanzas in the sleeping chambers as the actual signal to arise,[2] whereupon the bell signals that it is time to fetch the water. Milk and water are heated each morning in the kitchen, and are then fetched by the residents of the House for use in preparing their own breakfasts. Then at six o'clock the Morning Benediction begins in which there is singing and the so-called Watchword is read. After this each one breakfasts in his own quarters. Breakfast consists of soup, tea, or coffee,[3] according to what the income of each brother allows. Then each goes to his work. At twelve o'clock noon all the brothers eat together in the dining hall. The board allowance is fourteen gelders weekly, for which soup, vegetable, and meat are given. A half hour later they return to work. At six o'clock in the evening the bell rings once more for the meal. At seven and at nine o'clock short devotional meetings are held in the congregational Prayer Hall, and after the latter meeting a so-called Evening Benediction is held in the prayer hall of the Choir House at which several more stanzas are sung. Soon thereafter the majority go to bed.[4]

Thus did the single brethren while away their time, in the words of that same author, in "work, eating, drinking, and waiting upon the devotional practices"[5] of the congregation and the Choir. Although he then goes on to point out the "worthwhile" diversions which also helped to fill the days, namely the intellectual exercises of reading history, geography, travel literature, poetry, and --apparently in secret[6]--even novels, our concern will be primarily

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[1] This bell would likely be located somewhere in the courtyard of the Choir House, as in Herrnhut.

[2] Although this is described as a daily practice in Gnadau, it does not seem to have been so in all places, but it was the custom in most places that on Sundays or other festival days the inhabitants of the Choir Houses awake to vocal and instrumental music; Lynar, p. 109.

[3] The breakfast of a schoolboy in Niesky consisted of "Milch oder Thee und Butterbrod." Reise, p. 408.

[4] Pp. 65-67.

[5] Ibid., p. 67.

[6] The reading of this relatively new literary form was considered a waste of time (or worse), and thus was generally condemned by the spiritual mentors in these settlements and must be carried on at least in pretended secrecy. Ibid., p. 68. See also Meyer, p. 183.

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with the last of those things which this sympathetic rationalist considered most deadly--the devotional practices which filled the otherwise leisure hours of the inhabitants of such an establishment and settlement. The general schedule as it has been described here for a Single Brothers' Choir may be seen as typical for all of the residents of Choir Houses, and although it might be altered to some degree by changes in the seasons, the difference between one house and another does not seem to have been great. One constant variation must, however, be borne in mind. The activities of those in the Married Choir and the Children's Choir who resided in their own private houses rather than in a Choir House consistently varied from this general description at several points. Chief of these relates to the fact that the Morning and Evening Benedictions were conducted in the home by the father of the family rather than by Choirs.[1] Another such variation arises from the fact that the Married and Children's Choirs had no separate Choir Houses and thus no individual prayer halls for their Choir Assemblies. This fact, combined with the large number of members in the Married Choir, made necessary the use of the regular congregational Prayer Hall for this purpose.[2] In the case of the Children's Choir there was often available some smaller hall in the Congregation House which may have been a former congregational Prayer Hall--as the so-called Smaller Hall at Herrnhut--which could and did serve this purpose.[3]

At the outset it had best be stated that worship services held by the Brethren were extremely short, especially as compared to the Sunday morning marathons which seem to have been the standard

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[1] Lynar, p. 119. [2] Ibid.

[3] Frohberger, p. 234.

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in the parish churches of the Establishment at that time.[1] Count Lynar reports that "these meetings are short, lasting only a scant half hour, the better to maintain devotion. Only very seldom does it happen that one extends to three-quarters or an entire hour."[2] He spoke thus of the services of the whole congregation; the meetings of the individual Choirs, however, often tended to be a good deal shorter. In fact, the Choir meetings regularly held, or especially called for devotional and disciplinary purposes, were generally called "Choir Quarter-Hours"[3] and apparently lived up to their name. In the Morning Benediction, however, with which the day of the Herrnhuter began, even this brief period was reportedly cut in half, the service lasting only for what Lynar calls "half of a quarter-hour." He describes this short service in the following manner.

> The Choir comes together in the prayer hall in the summer at six in the morning and in winter at seven o'clock. One is free either to dress or to come in his nightgown as he will. Here stands a table, at which sits the Choir Helper who holds the meeting. There is a small organ in the hall and always a brother in the house who is a musician and whose duty it is to play it. The Choir Helper reads the Watchword and the Text of the day, then all rise and sing several verses standing. Sometimes the Choir Helper also offers a short prayer. This is called the Morning Benediction and lasts for about half of a quarter hour.[4]

The precise hour of rising and retiring in a Choir House was not mandatory, nor was attendance at this early service required by an established rule.[5] The custom was, however, that one should rise in time to attend, and we may justifiably assume that if one or another of the brothers or sisters made a practice of sleeping through it, the matter would likely come up at the confessional "Speaking" between the Choir Helper and the individual member before the next Holy Communion.[1]

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[1] _Ibid._, pp. 345-46; _Reise_, pp. 367-68.

[2] Lynar, p. 70.

[3] "_Chorviertelstunden_"; see "Verlass," par. 962.

[4] P. 105. [5] _Ibid._, p. 108.

The substance for this morning devotional service was, as has been noted, furnished by the Text Books[2] in which were contained the daily "Watchword" which was to be "carried about as soldiers do in order that like soldiers, who each day have a different watchword so they can recognize one another and which must be remembered throughout the entire day, so also the Brethren have each day an especial saying from the Bible with which they edify themselves."[3] These daily Watchwords were shared in common by the Brethren in their settlements the world over. Each year since 1731 a book containing them has appeared for use in the settlements and Diaspora congregations both in Europe and abroad. According to the Lynar account of the Morning Benediction, both the Watchword and the Text were read. The Watchword had especial significance for the Herrnhuter for it was drawn from a great number of Biblical texts as long as almost a year ahead especially for the specific day, and it was apparently believed by the individual brethren that these texts might be looked upon as in some sense a divine oracle, in that through them it was the intention of God to guide and edify his people.[4] Each Watchword was paired with a hymn stanza which served both as a commentary on the text and as a collect by which it was devotionally accompanied. The Text for the day was chosen either for its appropriateness to the Watchword or to the day itself, and it too was accompanied by a stanza which served the same functions as those with the Watchwords.[1] It must not be assumed that once these texts were read, and the stanzas read and probably also sung at the Morning Benediction, they were then put to rest; they rather became the theme for the entire day. We shall note as we go through the various services of the day how these Scriptural passages and stanzas played a part. Let it suffice here to say that they formed a common vehicle of devotion toward God throughout this entire movement and also served as "a means almost unconsciously to memorize the most beautiful parts of the Bible and of hymns."[2]

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[1] Supra, pp. 124-33.

[2] Reference is made to Die täglichen Loosungen und Lehrtexte der Brüdergemeine published each year by the Brethren since 1731. Hereafter cited as Text Book.

[3] Lynar, p. 98; see also Heinz Renkewitz, Die Losungen: Entstehung und Geschichte eines Andachtsbuches (Hamburg: Friedrich Wittig Verlag), pp. 8-9.

[4] Meyer, p. 13, n; Spangenberg, Nachricht, pp. 67-68.

After the industrial efforts of the settlement have been under way for almost two hours we find the audience gathering at the Congregation House for the first full-scale worship service of the day.

> Every day in the week, generally in the morning from eight-thirty to nine o'clock, a meeting is held which is dedicated to the children but which is always attended also by the older boys and girls, and even adults whose occupations allow it miss these services with great reluctance. This meeting is called the Children's Hour (Kinder-Stunde). First a couple of verses are sung and then an address is presented, for which a saying from the Bible furnishes the basis and in which some truths which are suitable for and conceivable by the children are presented in a very brief, but clear and easily understood manner of speech, and are accompanied by admonitions to abandon and yield their hearts daily anew to their Creator who has shown towards them so many benefits, and to their Saviour who loves them so tenderly. Thereupon the meeting is closed with a couple more verses. Such verses are sought out which the children can

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[1] Adelaide L. Fries, Customs and Practices of the Moravian Church (Winston-Salem, N.C.: Board of Christian Education and Evangelism, 1962), p. 68.

[2] Lynar, p. 99.

> memorize and which are explained to them at home. As soon, therefore, as the Preacher begins to sing a verse the children all join in immediately with such a harmonious and lovely manner that one can hear nothing more beautiful and devotional. . . . The children are often so moved and filled by what they sing that tears of joy stand in their eyes. . . . The Children's Hour is not always held by the Preacher, but also by other Elders of the Congregation if they have the required talent.[1]

This description of the Children's Hour in Lynar's account is followed by cuttings from a number of addresses given upon such occasions by Count Zinzendorf.[2] We also have a number of these services preserved to us in the "Gemein Nachrichten," and an entire volume of addresses to the children made by Spangenberg during this very period.[3] The style of address in these speeches was indeed simple as Lynar describes it. Liberal use was made of what might be called a story-telling style, by means of which various types of material were delivered, as for example, Biblical material, personal experiences of the speaker or his acquaintances, or illustrations taken from the "Gemein Nachrichten" or diaries of individuals or congregations. There was a conscious recognition of the limited attention span of children and of their inability to follow long and intricately reasoned discourse, or to hold more than a single point of discourse clearly in mind. Thus the addresses were short, simple, and clearly stated, aiming at the impact of a single idea enlivened by means of living illustrations and personal references, with the idea then driven home in prayer and song.[1] Spangenberg also reports the use in these Children's Hours of what he calls a "catechisation in songs" in which "the teacher inverts the beginning of a verse into a question and sings it alone; the children then answer thereto with the correct hymn lines."[2] Various other expedients were also resorted to in order to render these services from time to time more appealing or edifying for the young auditors and participants. Among these was the occasional practice, at least in certain congregations, of holding the address in a foreign language which the children at the time were learning in school, especially in French, or possibly in English.[3] Such would have been the rare exception, however, as the true object of these meetings was the edification in faith rather than the education in languages.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 73-74.

[2] Ibid., pp. 74-76; see also N.L. Zinzendorf, Sammlung einiger von dem Ordinario Fratrum gehaltenen Kinder-Reden (Barby, 1758.

[3] August Gottlieb Spangenberg, Sammlung einiger Reden, gehalten an die Kinder in Herrnhut (Barby, 1797). Hereafter cited as An die Kinder.

In these services the daily Text was generally a part, but we must note here the unique relationship which the children had concerning the texts. Through most of this period it was considered that the Texts of the adults were not suitable for the children, or that others would be more suitable, so a separate or supplementary list of Texts was prepared for their special use.[4] It was from these that the cue was generally taken for the short addresses which were presented at Children's Hour, and, along with the accompanying hymn verses, they were memorized at that time.[5] As Lynar indicates, the service was regularly closed with the singing of two or three stanzas. Upon occasion, however, this meeting might be closed with a special prayer or benediction which would be performed by

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[1] "Verlass," par. 39; see also par. 964.

[2] Nachricht, p. 74.

[3] Batty, p. 96.

[4] "Verlass," par. 1002.

[5] Lynar, p. 99.

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the person holding the meeting. At such times it was common for the children to assume the position of abject worship commonly called "prostration before the Lord" (Anbeten).[1] By the period with which this study is concerned this form of devotion seems to have been more and more relegated to the Children's Choir.[2]

The noon meal, which took place at twelve o'clock in the Choir Houses, was the only meal of the day eaten in common in the dining halls of these establishments.[3] At such a meal several hundred brethren would be gathered at the large tables provided in this roomy hall. Immediately before they sat down to their fare of soup, vegetable, and boiled meat (roast was generally reserved for Sundays),[4] they all joined in the singing of a hymn verse. This practice was repeated when they rose again to return to their vocational duties after only a half-hour at table.[5] It should be here noted that each ate at such meals according to the board which he paid to the Choir[6] through his room supervisor every fortnight,[7] and it was not required that all eat in the common room at this or any other meal. We are here brought to a very popular means of devotional and social association, that of a small group of table companions.

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[1] Spangenberg, An die Kinder, p. 14.

[2] This judgment is based chiefly upon an examination of the "Bethlehem Diarium" during the 1780's. This document is a day-to-day record of events in the settlement of Bethlehem, Pa. It is of an official nature but also fulfilled a devotional function. The "Diarium" is to be found in Bethlehem in MS, in microfilm, and certain wide sections before the period of this study have been translated.

[3] Lynar, p. 109.

[4] Reise, p. 409. We refer here again to the diet at the Paedagogium in Niesky, "Das Essen bestehet aus Suppe, Gemüsse und Fleisch und Sontags Braten."

[5] Lynar, p. 109. [6] Ibid. [7] Reise, p. 69.

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Any member of a Choir was free, if he could afford to do so, to entertain a group of friends and associates at table in his quarters. On such an occasion he could invite members not only of his Choir, but also of other Choirs, or even persons outside the congregation altogether. It was generally customary that the host employ one of the members of the Choir to serve the meal which in turn was ordered and prepared in the kitchen of the Choir House. Some such table societies seem to have endured over a period of time, while more often they took place as celebrations of a special occasion, such as a birthday or some other noteworthy day. The fare at such a meal might be almost as sumptuous as the imagination of the host would hope--and his purse afford. The spiritual fare would naturally follow the interests which had led to the selection of the company.[1] But on such occasions the effort was being made to bring together a small group of people whose minds and hearts would complement each other and lend to the spiritual edification of all. The emphasis upon assessment of the inner life which was characteristic of the piety in these establishments led to the development of the ability of many to skillfully select such a company of kindred spirits and bring them together in a manner which created through these special meals a rich source to mutual uplift, both social and spiritual.[2]

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[1] Lynar, p. 109.

[2] It is necessary here to make reference to the practice of a "Daily Liturgy" which is described in the obviously authoritative but anonymous Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 36. "The daily liturgy is only held in certain settlements in summer at noon and in fall and winter at that time which separates day and night. In the Disciples' House (Jünger-Haus) on Sunday is sung the Litany of the Life and Suffering of Jesus from the Common-Prayer or Liturgien-Büchlein (consisting of various churchly prayers, Litanies, Hymns, and collects) and on the following days the Te Deum, the Te Jehova,

When the bell sounded for the end of the work day in the Choir Houses and in the village as a whole at six o'clock, the time for the evening meal had come. This meal, like breakfast, was left to the taste and ingenuity of the individual brother. He was free to make a visit to the kitchen of the house and there procure some item of food to assuage his hunger, or he might be a member of a company of guests at such a table as has just been described.[1] In any case, the fare would be light--likely tea, butter-bread, and perhaps some soup.[2] This was also the hour generally given over to what was probably the favorite pastime of the Herrnhuters--devotional strolling about in the various parks and gardens available in a settlement of the Brethren. If and when his work allowed it, a member of the congregation was always free to take a stroll in one of these numerous parks or lanes. There was, however, some limitation as to where these walks might lead. It was apparently customary that the gardens, parks, and wood lots of the settlement, aside from the gardens attached to the particular Choir Houses, be divided up and that certain ones should be alloted to the brothers and certain to

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and Te Abba are successively sung. On Wednesday, which is the so-called Disciples' Day, when the post from the congregations (as in all congregations at the monthly Congregation Days) is communicated, The Liturgy of the Holy Trinity is sung, or prayed in the three separate gatherings--to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost individually. On Friday Passion Vesper is held, generally the Hymn [Liturgy] 'O Sacred Head now Wounded,' and on the Sabbath the Liturgy of the Church of God is sung." What the author is here describing appears to be the practice in the congregation which accompanied Count Zinzendorf particularly in England, which seems to be the setting for this work. In any case, this practice as such does not appear to have survived the Count by long, but at the same time may be seen as a close relative to the Congregation Hours and Evening Hours of the period under study.

[1] Lynar, p. 109.

[2] This again was the evening fare at the Paedagogium at Niesky; Reise, p. 410.

the sisters, and that these should be reversed on alternate weeks. This was apparently to assure that such strolling be for "purely" devotional purposes and that the clarity of motivation for these wanderings be protected.[1] A required schedule of walks seems to have been a regular part of the regimen for the pupils in the various local and Unity schools which might be found in one of these settlements,[2] and it appears to have been relatively common that if the weather allowed it, the children who were excluded from certain services because of their age should be escorted by their Choir superintendents and helpers on hikes during the hours of such services, apparently as a compensation for their exclusion.[3] On such walks the leader would generally bring along some item of devotional material which would be read to his charges and which was supposed to lead to mutual or individual reflection.[4]

At around seven o'clock, perhaps more accurately designated as "twilight," the time has arrived for the so-called Congregation Hour, the first general congregational service of the day.[5] For a general picture of such a service we turn once more to the detailed descriptions of Count Lynar.

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[1] Lynar, pp. 109-110. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

[3] Meyer, p. 259. On one occasion Schleiermacher was interrupted in his reverie by such an excursion of boys.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

[5] In the designation of the evening services I have followed Count Lynar in calling the twilight service the Congregation Hour or *Gemein-Stunde*, and the later service the Evening Hour (*Abend-Stunde*). It should be noted that Meyer calls the former the Evening Hour, and the latter, Singing Hour, reserving the term Congregation Hour for the twilight services at which there was an address. There seems to be some justification for this usage from contemporary sources, but I follow Lynar's designation as it is least likely to lead to confusion on the part of the reader and also has sound justification beyond his thorough acquaintance with the cultus at Herrnhut during this period. See Lynar, p. 77, and Meyer, p. 30.

> When the time has come for a meeting and the hour has struck, the bell is rung. In five minutes the whole congregation has gathered in complete silence. One Sacristan (Saal-Diener) stands at the door and the other in the hall to show the brothers to their places, so also on the sisters' side with the female Sacristans (Saal-Dienerinnen). When the congregation has gathered the Sacristans close the doors and no one else is admitted, so as to guard against disruption of devotion. At this time the Sacristan goes to the small room where the Elders are, and his female counterpart to the place where the Eldresses await, and reports the readiness of the congregation, whereupon the two side doors are opened and the Elders come out and take their places, while he who holds the service goes on and seats himself behind the table. Sacristans seat themselves at their respective doors so that if perhaps someone should become ill they could open the door for him. Then the worship begins. On the side of the brothers' benches which are nearest the sisters, sit the oldest patriarchs, and the oldest widows on the sisters' side, closest the brothers. Children under ten years do not attend the meetings. The older boys and girls, however, sit way at the front so they can be better observed by their supervisors. During the meeting it is the responsibility of the Sacristans to trim the lamps. When the meeting is to be closed, he who holds the meeting stands during the singing of the last hymn stanza, then the whole congregation also. When the verse is ended, the departure begins with the liturgist, and the congregation following in the same order in which they entered.[1]

The actual composition of the twilight service tended to vary according to local custom[2] and in most places also according to the day of the week it happened to be, thus the service as it occurred each day will be dealt with under the weekly cycle of services. This is the case also with the so-called Evening Hour, which will be discussed directly. The Congregation Hour which generally extended from seven to seven-thirty o'clock was opened, as was the custom for all services, with the singing of several chorale stanzas. Entrance into the hall by the congregation would probably be accompanied by an organ prelude, which might likely be at least based upon some familiar chorale and which would be aimed at the intensification of the worshipful attitude of the assembled brethren.[1] The main feature of the meeting was generally in the nature of the spoken word, depending on the day of the week and the preference of the Preacher or reader. We shall see that on some occasions the body of the service would be comprised of an address, either delivered by one of the Elders on the basis of a Biblical text, generally the daily Text from the Text Book which had been read by the Choir Helpers more than twelve hours before, or it might be in the nature of an address read from those which appeared in the "Gemein Nachrichten" or in one or another of the printed books of sermons, especially those by Count Zinzendorf (almost universally referred to in the literature of the period as "the blessed Ordinary").[2] At other times there were extensive Bible readings or readings of spiritual autobiographies or other various accounts from the "Gemein Nachrichten." At the close of the spoken section of the service the meeting ends with the singing of several more hymn verses, and the signal for adjournment is, as indicated above, the rising of the Preacher at the liturgical table which takes the place of a pulpit. This entire service extends over a mere half hour, then the congregation is once again free to follow its individual and collective devotional recreation.

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[1] Pp. 72-73.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

Several days during each week it was customary during the period between this Congregation Hour and the Evening Hour at nine o'clock to hold the Choir Meetings above referred to as "quarter-hours." These generally took place in the Choir prayer halls, except for those Choirs which had no such place,[1] and were comprised of the singing of several stanzas after which followed a frank homily in which the especial devotional theme of the particular Choir was emphasized.[2] In these addresses we may find the teaching and application of the positive and negative ethical and religious standards of the Herrnhuters as they related to the various estates of life found in the settlement congregations.[3] In these simple sermons, drawn primarily from the Scriptures and from the personal experience of the Preacher or Choir Helper who delivered them,[4] we find the clearest demonstration of the full membership of this movement within modern Protestant Pietism, and thus also of its moral seriousness, as well as its religious vitality.

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[1] Gregor, Choral-Buch, "Vorbericht."

[2] Zinzendorf is also sometimes called "der Jünger."

At some "Choir quarter-hours," rather than such an address a litany especially designed for the particular Choir was utilized. These litanies were built around the same general themes as would be stressed in the addresses given to the Choir. Their distinctive feature, however, was relative to a classic theme in Zinzendorfian theology and Brethren piety. I refer here to the theme associated with Irenaeus in the West and generally related to the idea of redemption as the theory of "recapitulation."[5] In these litanies the attention of the Choir was called to the way God through Christ came into human life, redeeming and sanctifying the various estates of human existence. This motif may be traced in the litanies for each of the Choirs and takes its place beside the concrete themes which are peculiar to each one of them.[1] The discussion of the exact nature of the calling or ethical theme of each Choir must be dealt with later, but something of this nature is to be seen from the emphasis among the boys upon obedience and frankness, among the single brethren upon chastity and dedication of life, and among the widowers upon the anticipation of the afterlife.[2] It need hardly be noted that these litanies were for the most part, and in some cases certainly all, sung rather than spoken, and thus find their place within the unique musical-liturgical tradition of the Herrnhuters.

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[1] It should be noted that the Married Choir held only one regular Choir meeting each week, this on Sunday afternoon.

[2] Lynar, pp. 105-106.

[3] These so-called Choir principles were outlined in the synodical decrees of this period; "Verlass," pars. 120-81.

[4] Lynar, p. 106.

[5] Adolf Harnack, History of Dogma, translated from the 3rd German edition by Neil Buchanan (New York: Dover Publications, 1961), II, 241-45.

Occasionally at such services we also find organizational and disciplinary matters being dealt with, as for example, the announcement of the call of a brother to leave the Choir, or the explanation of the expulsion of a member.[3] These meetings usually ended some time after eight, often apparently lasting until half-past the hour. It is probable that on the evenings when Choir Meetings were not scheduled, this time was utilized for gatherings of the so-called Societies or Bands generally composed of fewer than ten persons, designed for the purpose of sharing with one another the most inner secrets of their lives and thought. These groups appear during part of the year, namely the winter, to have been most active, in fact to have met each day.[4] It will shortly be noted that at this same season it was not uncommon to call off the Evening Hour, and at that time there would be a large section of the evening for such intimate gatherings to be held in the various rooms of the Choir Houses. At that season we may also note that the evenings were longer since the hours of work were shortened by early darkness, and the time for rising seems to have been pushed back by an entire hour. These services appear to have afforded to many a source of intimate communion on a personal level, and unfortunately, it would appear for others just as fruitful a source of rather intimate information about fellow Choir members--in short, of gossip.[1]

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[1] See the Children's Choir Litany in Appendix, pp. 594-98. which illustrates this theme.

[2] Lynar, pp. 105-113.

[3] Ibid., p. 110; Meyer, p. 245, n.

[4] Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, pp. 50-51; Lynar, pp. 107-108; Meyer, p. 139.

The final congregational meeting of the day finds its setting once more in the Prayer Hall and is the occasion for the singing services which were made famous by the Herrnhuters. This Evening Hour, held generally at nine o'clock, is composed entirely of music, either in free form of a combination of hymn verses woven together by the ingenuity of the liturgist into what was called a Singing Hour, or in a more formal structure of an entire hymn or established group of verses usually in printed form, called a Liturgy. Because of the lateness of the hour and the problems of heating, these services were in a number of congregations abandoned during the winter months.[2] Such practice was, however, frowned upon by many in positions of authority in the Unity, and in any case, we have seen that the void left by this deletion was generally filled by a more active devotional life within the Choirs.

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[1] This fact is apparent from the nature of the relationship itself as well as from the warnings which were issued against the retailing of such information. Lynar, p. 108; "Verlass," par. 85.

[2] "Bethlehem Diarium," February 10, 1783: ". . . die Singstunde welche wegen der Witterung eine Zeitlang ausfiel, mit erneuerter Freuden davon, wieder gehalten."

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The practice of the Singing Hour must be looked upon as the capstone to the devotional functions of the entire day in a Brethren settlement. In the words of Christian David, "the day through, wherever brothers and sisters in their callings come together, today's Watchword is then spoken of, and we remain ever in its consciousness and contemplation."[1] That function of the Watchword which has been characterized as "the penetration of the whole day with the word of life,"[2] reached its epitome here, for the Watchword generally furnishes the theme.[3] This service in which "that text which has been the basis for the edification of the day is sung about in sundry illustrative verses,"[4] and in which

> nothing is done besides singing . . . is called a Singing Hour (Sing-Stunde). The Preacher begins a verse, and scarcely has he sung the first word when he is joined by the members of the congregation who know all the verses by heart and therefore need use no hymnal, and the organ also joins in immediately. And thus it goes from one verse to another from various old Lutheran, Gerhardian, and other hymns of the Renewed Brethren, and from one melody to another. They have, for the most part, the most beautiful melodies. In such a service a single and entire theme is dealt with in such a manner that it all holds together.[5]

Thus in such a "sermon of song" (Liederpredigt)[6] is the devotional theme of a single day brought full circle from its first sounding in the homes and Choir Houses of the settlement fifteen hours before.

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[1] Renkewitz, p. 8.

[2] Ibid., p. 10.

[3] Spangenberg, Nachricht, p. 67. For an example of this practice see the record of a Singstunde in Appendix, infra, pp. 625-27.

[4] Spangenberg, Nachricht, p. 67.

[5] Lynar, pp. 77-78.

[6] Christian Gregor (ed.), Gesangbuch, zum Gebrauch der evangelischen Brüdergemeinen (Barby: Lorenz Friendrich Spellenberg, 1778), "Vorbericht," p. a.5. Hereafter cited as Gesangbuch.

The brethren return almost immediately from this Evening Hour to their residences where at ten o'clock, services very similar to those with which the day begins take place. With song, reading, and perhaps a short exhortation, the day in the Choir House ends.[1] The streets of the settlement are empty after the close of the Evening Hour and soon become dark as the lights which line them are extinguished.[2] Although there is no requirement to that effect, a majority of the brothers and sisters retire almost immediately after the Evening Benediction in the Choir prayer hall, for most of them are tradesmen and must rise once more quite early[3] to begin yet another time that busy cycle of devotional and vocational acts which constitutes a day in the life of a Herrnhuter.

Herrnhut sleeps, but her sleep is an extremely watchful one. In the street is to be heard the steady tread of the night watchman as he goes about his rounds, and the darkened thoroughfares and alleys echo from time to time with the tone of his voice as one hour after another is announced with its accustomed verse. At the same time within the dimly lighted dormitories and hallways of the Choir Houses the brothers and sisters to whom the nightly firewatch had fallen pass silently among the narrow beds of their sleeping charges, engrossed the while with thoughts of God, devotional exercises, and perhaps some incidental piece of handiwork.

In the sleeping homes and Choir Houses there is yet another watch, that one with which this chapter began and which is most clearly a "watch upon the Lord." From hour to hour the brothers and sisters whose responsibility the Hourly Intercessions are take their respective turns in prayer before the Saviour, watching, as it were, not only over this little settlement and its sisters but over the entire world of man. Thus passes the watchful night, to be broken as morning nears by the ringing of the bells, the singing of the brethren of a chorale, the entry of the brothers from the kitchen with steaming pots of water for tea, and finally by the Morning Blessing at which is sounded the Watchword for the new day in a Brethren congregation.

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[1] Lynar, p. 105.

[2] Frohberger, p. 289.

[3] Lynar, p. 108.

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CHAPTER VII

A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF A CONGREGATION

As each day in its general sameness followed its neighbor, only to be superseded by another, then together with them being woven into weeks, an essential variety emerged in the devotional character of each which justifies, indeed necessitates our discussion here of the weekly cycle followed in the religious life of a Brethren settlement. It must be borne in mind at the outset that in reconstructing a week with no holidays or special observances we are dealing with a somewhat ideal quantity, for as we shall see in the next chapter, the special days observed by the Herrnhuters were indeed numerous and frequent, and any one of them might cause considerable adjustment in the daily and weekly schedule of services.[1] Thus the week which we construct may be seen as participating in more of an "ideal" than an actually "typical" character. In making this representation it is necessary to disregard the calendar and tradition, and begin with the second day and end with the first; in short, we will follow the religious logic of the week and move from a beginning on Monday to its climax on Sunday, or as it is here called, "the Lord's Day."[2]

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[1] Lynar, pp. 80-81.

[2] It was the custom to refer to Sunday as the Lord's Day but never as the Sabbath. In this literature the latter term always indicated Saturday, or the seventh day of the week.

The understanding will here be presupposed that each day begins and ends with the special devotional benedictions in the homes and Choir Houses[1] and that on each day except Sunday the Children's Hour will be held at around eight-thirty or nine o'clock in the morning. Our main concern will be with the scheduling of the services which vary in their character from day to day or are only held on one or two days during each week. Thus our attention must be directed first toward the form of the evening congregational services which stamped a unique character on each of the individual days of the week.

A discussion of the Congregation Hour as it was generally practiced on Mondays brings us to the direct consideration of one of the main documentary sources for our knowledge of the Brethren during this period. The service as it is described by Count Lynar proceeds thus.

> After the singing of a couple of verses, accompanied by the organ, and which are sung in the same beautiful and harmonious manner as in the Children's Hour, either an unpublished address of Count Zinzendorf's or of a member of the Direction[2] based on a Biblical text is read, and the service is closed with a couple more verses. This type of address is available in great number and the selection is left to the Preacher.[3]

In Reise durch Kursachsen we read that "on Mondays, reports from the congregations and missions are read."[4] Thus we observe the variety which time and local circumstances may bring to bear upon the substance of any particular service. On the other hand, these two specific types of content have a basic similarity in the source from which they were drawn. I refer here to the so-called "Gemein Nachrichten," a document which was dispatched by the Unity Elders' Conference in weekly installments, thus constituting a sort of official periodical for the Unity.[1] This artifact has been called here a chief documentary source, and indeed it is that, but if we see it only as such we have missed entirely its true nature and function within the historical and religious context which produced it. It has with deep perception been described as "an intimate familial correspondence of the entire Unity."[2] During the period of our scrutiny no part of this "report" was produced by any means other than by handwriting. For this purpose there was a Scriptorial College (Schreiberkollegium) at Barby whose members gave their time entirely to the work of copying the materials which made up the "Gemein Nachrichten," as well as several other manuscript publications of the Unity. Their work was supplemented by the services of the students at the Seminarium, some of whom earned their way through that school by this means.[1] The publication itself was designed for use in the structure of communal and individual piety which it is our task to describe here. For this purpose it was composed of many different types of material which may, however, be seen under several general heads. It contained a great number of addresses by various members of the Unity Elders' Conference, designating the occasion upon which they had been first delivered.[2] There seems to have been no particular pattern or system by which all of the different services which took place in a congregation would be represented, but by means of an apparently indiscriminate collection over a number of years, all special occasions and regular services tended to be covered. A second general type of material may be seen in the liturgies which were incorporated from time to time. These included all types of services for which no established form had been issued. Thus we find Singing Hours, Bible Readings set to music, special Choir liturgies, liturgies for ecclesiastical holidays--to name only a few. A third type of literature, and this constitutes the largest group, is that of summary reports of the various congregations, Diaspora societies, mission churches, and mission posts. From each congregation would generally be included a bi-monthly report plus a summary of the activities of the entire year which had been a part of the New Year's Eve service in that place.[3] The other reports tended to be somewhat less frequent, but were not for that reason

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[1] The exceptions to this would be those occasions where the Evening Benediction was celebrated in the Prayer Hall for the whole congregation.

[2] This is another term for "Unity Elders' Conference."

[3] P. 77.

[4] P. 353.

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[1] As a result of an action of the General Synod of 1764, the name of the weekly publication of the Unity was changed from "Gemeinhaus Diarium" to "Gemein Nachrichten" ("Verlass," par. 952.1), and in the following year it began to appear in three sections, each with a weekly issue. "Gemein Nachrichten," I. Theil, incorporated mainly letters to and from various persons and congregations relating to the world-wide work of the Unity. It also included the bimonthly reports and annual "Memorabilien" of the various settlement congregations. Finally it included a large number and wide selection of liturgies, litanies, and Lovefeast odes from various congregations and occasions. "Gemein Nachrichten," II. Theil, was almost completely made up of sermons and addresses by the leaders of the Unity and especially included a large number which had been delivered by Zinzendorf before his death. In this part we also find a few more liturgical compositions. "Gemein Nachrichten," Beilagen (known as "Gemeintags Lectionen" from 1805-1813 and afterward as "III. Theil"), contained the Personalia or so-called Lebensläufe, extracts from the diaries of mission congregations, and mission and Diaspora reports. In 1819 for the first time, part of this publication appeared officially in printed form, and after 1848 the manuscript parts were discontinued.

[2] Meyer, p. 30.

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[1] H. Plitt, p. 51; see point six of Bishop Spangenberg's report of 1779. See also "Verlass," pars. 547; 557.

[2] From 1779 to 1789 the custom of publishing such speeches anonymously was unfortunately adhered to, thus it is difficult to make judgments as to their authorship. Speeches were only included on the approval of the Lot. "Verlass," par. 952,3.

[3] Lynar, p. 98.

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less detailed. These reports were prepared in each congregation with the assistance of the local "Diarium" and thus are highly authentic. Also among the mission reports we must note that entire segments from the personal journals of missionaries were often incorporated, and an especial attention was given to the native culture and religions in the mission field as well as to the work of the missionary himself.[1] In addition, in this general class should be placed a great number of public and private letters relating to the life and work of the Unity. A final type is made up entirely of a genre of writings designated as Personalia and constituting a collection of spiritual biographies and autobiographies, preferably the latter.[2] These so-called Lebensläufe, like the other writings in the "Gemein Nachrichten," were written neither with contemporary curiosity nor the future historian in view; they were written as devotional materials.[3] Used first at the funeral services of the persons in question, they may best be seen as a sort of "last will and testament" by means of which the spiritual heritage of the individual Herrnhuter was passed on to the community and the members thereof.[4] That they--like medieval lives of the saints--shared a similarity one with another, and tended to become somewhat stereotyped, is a result certainly of the fact that they were written by people who had spent many hours in reading like accounts of those who had gone before, but also, and perhaps more essential, they had a common source in the communal life of the Brethren congregations and sprang from a common philosophy (or perhaps more correctly theology) of life.[1] We find such biographies and autobiographies from people of every station and age in life--from the child of only a few years to the aged patriarch or widow. Individually and collectively they were an almost universal favorite as devotional literature among Herrnhuters, both young and old.[2] It has already been noted that the "Gemein Nachrichten" were not designed for the enlightenment and information of outsiders, and it should be added that not only was this the case but they, like most of the other materials that were transmitted by manuscript, were not open to the examination of outsiders, nor could they be examined and copied even by members of the Diaspora societies without express permission of the Unity Elders' Conference.[3] They were what we could call "classified," and thus not intended for the eyes and hands of strangers. It should further be noted that the arrival of a new packet of these reports or papers in a settlement of the Brethren, especially one beyond the sea, was an occasion for special rejoicing, and the members of the Elders' Conference would immediately set to work sifting the new arrivals for materials which could be directly applied in the devotional meetings and special days and observances which constituted the life of such a settlement.[4]

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[1] "Verlass," par. 959,3.

[2] Ibid., par. 955.

[3] Ibid., par. 959; ". . . ihrem eigentlichen Zweck der Erbauung. . . ."

[4] Ibid., par. 955; Lynar, p. 126.

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[1] Warnings were directed especially by the Synods of 1764 and 1775 against the use of overly fanciful language and reporting of facts in these reports; "Verlass," pars. 952,9; 955.

[2] See the Lebenslauf of Charlotte Schleiermacher in Nachrichten aus der Brüder-Gemeine--1834 (Gnadau, 1834), p. 524, where she tells of her collection of such accounts and its use. See also, "Verlass," par. 964, for reference to their popularity among children.

[3] Ibid., par. 964,1; "Wöchentliche Nachrichten" (1783), No. 4.

[4] "Verlass," par. 952,9.

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We must not suppose, however, that only new or recent material would be used for such purposes. Especially in the case of the addresses which Count Lynar describes as having been the meat of the Monday evening Congregation Hour, the "Gemein Nachrichten" were constantly being searched by the Elders to whom the duty fell to hold such services for speeches which would be appropriate to the specific condition of the congregation at that particular time. The selection would finally be based on a thorough knowledge both of the spiritual condition of the prospective audience and the extensive body of literature available.

The Evening Hour for Monday evening was customarily a Singing Hour, as it was described in the last chapter, with its theme taken from the Watchword and Text of the day and devised personally by the liturgist who had been selected well in advance so as to have ample time to prepare and arrange the hymn verses and chorale tunes which were to make up the service, and to spiritually prepare himself for the task.[1]

At the twilight Congregation Hour on Tuesday evening we encounter for the first time a type of service which, as we shall see, reaches its full bloom in the Holy Week. I refer here to the so-called Bible Lection.[2] Bishop Spangenberg gives us a general description of such services in both long and short perspective, thus:

> One or more of these meetings are dedicated to the public reading of the Bible before the whole congregation, which has proven a blessing. From Christmas to Easter The History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,[3] as it has been drawn together out

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[1] Ibid., par. 47.

[2] Infra, pp. 349-51. Such services were to be held at least once each week in all congregations; "Verlass," par. 4.

[3] Samuel Lieberkühn (ed.), Die Geschichte unsers Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi aus den vier Evangelisten zusammengezogen

> of the four Gospels, is generally read from publicly several times each week, and is concluded at the end of the period. From Pentecost on, the Acts of the Apostles, and in the remaining time in the year, the Epistles of the Apostles and also likely the Psalms and prophets are presented. The Apostolic Epistles are read in the chronological order in which they were written because this greatly facilitates understanding. Neither are only short passages or chapters read at a meeting, but the whole subject or story which is dealt with therein is taken together.[1] If in the course of the reading an appropriate hymn stanza occurs to the reader, then the stanza may be sung at that place in the reading for the enlivening of the congregation. He is also free, in the case that he is particularly struck by a matter, to address a few words concerning it or to interject a few remarks for the exposition and illustration of the meaning. It is only required that all be done with spirit and grace.[2]

Such services, begun and concluded as all others with the singing of several verses, were generally studded with numerous musical presentations, which as is indicated by the venerable bishop, served to the illumination of the text itself and its meaning. As a result of this practice a liturgical character was taken on by such services through which they transcended a mere reading of the Scriptures, or even a Bible study, as might be suggested by the freedom of the reader to add explanatory and exegetical remarks. It will also be readily seen how this practice actually grafted the use of these services into the mainstream of the liturgical piety of this movement. On the other hand, this systematic and gracious presentation of the Scriptures, particularly of the New Testament, can readily account for a thorough and uniform view and knowledge of the Bible among the Herrnhuters and would likely have contributed much to the

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(Barby: Heinrich Detlef Ebers, 1769); a Gospel harmony, hereafter cited as Die Geschichte unsers Herrn. It was required that such readings be read and thought through beforehand at home; "Verlass," par. 4.

[1] See ibid., par. 6. It should here be noted that extended readings from the Old Testament were discouraged in such meetings and were regarded as tending to exhaust the congregation. Ibid., par. 5.

[2] Nachricht, pp. 68-69.

control of the kind of individual speculation and imaginative exegesis which often marked such movements.[1]

In the Tuesday Evening Hour we confront yet another type of service in which

> instead of as usual singing separate verses of various songs, an entire song of praise or Hymnus is sung. Of this type a number are available and the selection of one is the duty of the Preacher. At one place in the hymn the congregation will fall upon its knees and sing while kneeling.[2] For example, in just such a hymn, which is directed especially toward the Father of Jesus Christ, is sung:
>
> No Seraph is so lofty made
> That trembles before thy majesty
> At thy feet, oh! Abba Jehova!
> Lay we too in the lowly dust![3]
>
> During the singing of this, the congregation kneels for several moments. These hymns are accompanied not merely by the organ but by several musical instruments. The music is beautiful, soft and devotional. . . . This meeting is called a Liturgy (Liturgie).[4]

Spangenberg adds to this picture several interesting details when he reports that

> at these liturgical meetings the Kiss of Peace is imparted by each to those standing next to him, on the brothers' as well as on the sisters' side. This takes place during the singing of such words in the psalm as touch on the covenant of love and peace among each other in the Church (Gemeine).
>
> Also in these liturgical psalms the brothers and sisters alternate so that several lines are sung by the former, then several by the latter, and then again others are sung by both at once. By this means the grace of song and the presence of mind are accomplished.[5]

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[1] The single exception to the privilege of free commentary seems to have been made with relation to the Apocalypse of John, on which no such comments were tolerated; "Verlass," par. 6.

[2] Various physical postures were assumed in the course of such a "Liturgy" among which might be "standing, kneeling, or lying prostrate in reverence and supplication"; ibid., par. 913.

[3] This passage appears to come from "Lobgesang zum Vater," Liturgische Gesänge der Bruder-Gemeine (newly revised; Philadelphia: Heinrich Miller, 1770), p. 28.

[4] Lynar, pp. 79-80.

[5] Nachricht, pp. 71-72.

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There was, as Lynar's description indicates, a wide variety of such liturgies available for selection by the liturgist. There were ten such in the newly revised book of Liturgical Songs of the Brethren Congregations[1] issued in 1770--three to the Trinity, one to God the Father, one to God the Son, a setting of the Lord's Prayer, one dealing with the Incarnation, one with the Passion (O Sacred Head now Wounded), and finally one concerned with the Church Victorious. This collection represents only a part of the material that was available.[2]

At the singing of a Liturgy it was customary that only communicant members should be present,[3] and it was at this Tuesday evening gathering of the communicants once every four weeks that the forthcoming Communion was announced and the congregation was addressed with the admonition to prepare themselves for that event.[4]

On Wednesday evenings the Congregation Hour featured a short address based upon a Biblical text, likely the Text for the day. This service was opened and closed with the singing of a number of appropriate hymn stanzas, and, as on other occasions with these evening services which lasted a mere half-hour, the speaker or reader, as the case may be, delivered his discourse while seated at the chair which stood behind the liturgist's table.[1] It may be noted in passing that on Wednesday evening at eight o'clock was held the regular weekly assembly of the Single Brothers' Choir which generally consisted, as indicated in the last chapter, of an exhortation by the Preacher or Choir Helper, or of a special Choir liturgy.[2] Then at nine o'clock back in the Prayer Hall the whole congregation gathered itself once more for the celebration of a Singstunde in the Evening Hour.[3]

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[1] Liturgische Gesänge der Brüder-Gemeine.

[2] There were thirty-seven such liturgies in Liturgische Gesänge der evangelischen Brüdergemeinen (newly revised and expanded; Barby, 1791), and many appeared from time to time in the "Gemein Nachrichten." It should further be noted that the liturgist always remained free to alter or abbreviate these liturgies at any time; "Verlass," par. 913.

[3] Ibid.; Reise, p. 353.

[4] Also at this service announcements of official rulings received by means of the administrative organ of the Unity Elders' Conference, the "Wöchentliche Nachrichten," would be made to the communicants. It was the rule that any announcements were to be made before rather than after the liturgy. "Verlass," par. 915.

The Congregation Hour on Thursday evenings was designed only for the communicant members and was like the later service on Tuesdays, a Liturgy.[4] Thus once again one of the Liturgies or Psalms of Praise would be selected and executed with the full assistance of instruments as well as on some occasions of the choral organizations of the community. The Evening Hour on Thursday was as that on the preceding day, once more a Singing Hour.[5]

The Friday evening Congregation Hour, like that on Tuesdays, was a Bible Lection, followed in the Evening Hour by the special Friday evening Liturgy or Passion Vesper. Each Friday evening the communicants gathered in the Prayer Hall to sing the liturgical setting of their special arrangement of "O Sacred Head now Wounded" (O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden) which is in the Appendix reproduced beside a generally current form. At this Liturgy the congregation followed the sense of the words in both spirit and body--rising, sitting, kneeling, even prostrating themselves and dispensing the

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[1] Lynar, p. 80; Reise, p. 352. [2] "Verlass," par. 125.

[3] Lynar, p. 80. [4] Ibid.; Reise, p. 353.

[5] Ibid.

Kiss of Peace with relation to the mood expressed.[1] This service, in its emphasis on the Passion, amounted to a conscious weekly celebration of Good Friday in memorial of the events which then transpired.[2]

The service schedule on Saturday was, as shall be seen in the next chapter, certainly the most frequently interrupted in the entire week. Two out of each four Saturdays accommodated a special observance of some kind. The second Saturday in the four-week month was the occasion for a so-called Children's Congregation Day, and the fourth that for the regular Communion celebration. On our "ideal" Saturday, however, it was customary during most of this period to hold the weekly Meeting of the Intercessors (Beterversammlung).[3] As a result of a ruling of the General Synod of 1775, all communicant members of a congregation were to be looked upon as Intercessors and thus were to participate in the weekly meeting thereof.[4] Actually, a small as well as this large Society of Intercessors was maintained. The former made up the "Hourly Intercessors" who carried on in most places the function described in the last chapter, and the latter made up the whole congregation of communicants and attended these regular meetings of the prayers.[5] Such a meeting was in most places held at around eight o'clock[6] and in it, as described by Count Lynar,

> aside from the singing of several verses we find sometimes the reading of the weekly reports described above ("Gemein-Nachrichten"),

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[1] Spangenberg, Nachricht, pp. 70-72; Lynar, p. 80. "Verlass," par. 929, reflects a desire in the Synod of 1775 to alter this repetition week after week.

[2] Lynar, p. 80.

[3] Ibid.

[4] "Verlass," par. 901.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Reise, p. 355, gives this hour for Saturday evening service.

> and from them are gleaned various matters which are commended to the congregation for special intercession, each member being assigned a certain time. Thus they are called Meetings of the Intercessors.[1]

In some places the Saturday evening service is rather a Singing Hour, as the Intercessors' Meeting is held on another evening, and on such occasions it is not uncommon that a special communal Evening Benediction close the service rather than the individual observances in the homes and Choir Houses.[2] In any case, as Count Lynar, whose account is certainly the most authentic for this period and has for that reason been followed here, was careful to point out at both the beginning and end of his detailed description of the week,[3] this schedule was no iron rule but rather an example to be altered for any substantial reason, either for convenience or improvement.[4]

Even as Friday evening was marked by a commemoration of the Passion of Christ--a sort of weekly Good Friday, the whole of the Lord's Day or Sunday was in the fullest sense a weekly Easter.[5] And even as the climax of the yearly cycle was for every Herrnhuter the Feast of the Resurrection, so was the Lord's Day the occasion for the most festive devotional observances of the entire week. Probably the most thorough and authoritative description of the events of this day as it was then celebrated is to be gleaned from the small, popularly designed *Kurzgefasste historische Nachricht der gegenwärtigen Verfassung der evangelischen Brüderunität*, published in 1774 by the classic figure among the Herrnhuters in this period, Bishop Spangenberg, then seventy years old. We thus feel compelled to reproduce that description here in translation.

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[1] P. 80.

[2] In *Reise*, pp. 354-55, this was the case, and the *Beterversammlung* was held on Thursday evening at Evening Hour rather than the Liturgy.

[3] The schedule in *Reise*, pp. 353-55, apparently reflects later practice and provides for a reading of mission reports and a *Singstunde* on Monday, a Liturgy and a *Singstunde* on Tuesday, a Bible Lection and a *Singstunde* on Wednesday, an Intercessors' Meeting and a *Singstunde* on Thursday, an address and a *Singstunde* on Friday, and a *Singstunde* and Benediction on Saturday.

[4] Pp. 77, 80-81.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

> In the Brethren congregations the entire Sunday is dedicated to edification. The beginning generally takes place in the morning at eight o'clock with the Church Litany which is prayed by the minister and accompanied here and there by the whole congregation with short groanings [responses]. If, for example, the minister prays "Lord God our Father in Heaven!" then the whole congregation responds with a single voice, "hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come," etc., and prays the whole "Our Father." If the minister prays, "From indifference toward thy merit and death": then the whole congregation responds, "Protect us, dear Lord God!" In this Litany the rulers under which the congregation finds itself are prayed for by name and even the local magistrates are remembered.[1] This assembly for the Litany is one of the most blessed meetings of the congregation and is not missed by anyone except as a result of some very pressing hindrance.
>
> At ten in the morning on Sundays is the preaching, which in those settlements where they have a public Church is held there, and in the other congregations is held in the Congregation Halls, as the other meetings, and this by the regular Preacher. He is free to select a text as the basis for the sermon. In most congregations, however, in countries which are of the Evangelical Lutheran religion, the sermon is on the regular Sunday Gospel or Epistle. The sermon itself is begun with a song or several verses from the same and closed with the Lord's Prayer, the Church Benediction, and song.
>
> In the afternoon at two o'clock, and in some places also in the morning between the Litany and preaching, a children's meeting is held in which the daily Text is handled in an address. At three o'clock is the meeting of the married people in which a homily is held for them and wherein the blessing which was won for them through the meritorious life and death of Jesus is commended to their leading of a blessed married life according to the heart of Jesus.
>
> . . . .
>
> At five o'clock a liturgical meeting of the communicants is held wherein a festive Psalm to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is sung communally. These Psalms contain for the congregation their understanding of the gospel as well as the feelings of their heart about the benefits of grace which God has revealed

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[1] "Z.B. in Sachsen: für den römischen Kaiser, für den Churfürsten Friedrich August, dessen Gemahlin, und ganzes hohes Haus. In Pruessischen: für den König Friedrich von Pruessen, die Königin und das ganze hohe Pruessisch Haus." *Ibid*., p. 82.

> and allowed them to enjoy in Christ. Therefore they accompany their psalm of praise and thanksgiving also with outward expressions of worship (Ehrerbietung), either standing or kneeling, or lying on their faces.[1]
>
> Towards evening a meeting of the whole congregation is held wherein according to the guidance of the Watchword or Text an especial address is designed to express how highly blessed by God a church of Jesus Christ and all its members are, and how they should walk before Him according to this heavenly calling, holy and blameless until the day of his coming. And this is called the Congregation Hour.
>
> Finally the celebration of Sunday is concluded, generally at nine o'clock, with an Evening Benediction of the entire gathered congregation.[2]

Thus by shortly after nine o'clock ended as thorough a celebration of the "weekly Easter" as could reasonably be desired, a truly exhaustive and also exhausting array of communal devotional expression, which was, to be sure, accompanied by yet another collection of individual and group activities--aimed at the satisfaction of private devotional needs--in the homes, Choir Houses, gardens, and parks of a Brethren settlement. But at this point let us return for a more intensive look at several elements in what might be called the public observances of the Lord's Day as Spangenberg described them.

Although any one of several litanies might be used at the eight o'clock service on Sunday mornings, these including the Te Deum and a Litany to the Life, Suffering, and Death of Jesus,[3] the usual practice was that the so-called Church Litany be used. This litany, sometimes also called the Kyrie Eleison,[4] was actually an expansion of a litany of Luther's which had been in use among the Herrnhuters during the early decades of their existence.[5] This rather lengthy service (easily lasting the full half-hour that was customarily set aside for it)[1] appeared in printed form both in litany books and in the regular hymnals of the time. It is reproduced in the Appendix in an English translation from the 1783 edition of Christian Gregor's hymnal.[2] A careful scrutiny of this document gives us several insights into the ecclesiastical stance assumed by the Brethren, and in a more specific way, the position which was held with relation to the living of a Christian life in one of their semi-monastic settlement congregations. One would naturally expect to find the traditional Brethren emphasis upon the salutary effects of the life, suffering, and death of Jesus, and this theme is strongly sounded in the two sets of petitions which follow immediately a group of petitions for deliverance from physical and spiritual perils with which the main body of the litany begins. The catholicity of their ecclesiastical position is reflected also in this litany with petitions for the peace and unity of the "holy Christian church," and their political orthodoxy by the petitions for the peace and safety of all governments and magistrates. The most striking feature of this litany is to be found in its demonstration of the quality and depth of the ecclesiastical piety of the Herrnhuters toward the Unity of the Brethren itself, and toward their own congregations, missions, and societies. Their conception

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[1] On Gemein Tag, held one Sunday each month, no Liturgy was held.

[2] Nachricht, pp. 69-71.

[3] Reise, p. 353; see also infra, p. 353.

[4] Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 36.

[5] Fred Purser, "Our Church Litany," Biographical Notices

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of Hymn Writers with Other Papers (Belfast: Alexander Mayne & Boyd, 1901), pp. 9-30.

[1] There was a concerted effort to produce an abbreviated form of this litany at the Synods of 1775 and 1782 which apparently bore fruit, as we see in the English hymnal of 1789 a short form appears immediately after the regular form; "Verlass," par. 934. Swertner, pp. 231-35.

[2] *Gesangbuch* (1783), pp. 706-716.

of their own mission emerges in the petitions for the conversion of all nations (especially the Jews), which acts as a bridge between the pleas for the church as a whole and those directed toward the spiritual and physical needs of the congregations of the Brethren. Among the latter we find the congregations themselves, the ministry of these congregations, the political rulers over and the nations and communities around them, their economic and social needs, their moral responsibilities, and at last the particular needs of the specific Choirs all dealt with in a more or less systematic manner. When the whole litany is read against the background of the thorough religious life, both devotional and ethical, which the Herrnhuters pursued in those settlements in which they resided, the full meaning of these various petitions tends to illuminate the whole, and then becomes apparent the true significance of this service early on a Sunday morning.

The fact that it was a service of worship brings us back to the realization that the Church Litany cannot and must not be studied primarily as a literary document. It was prayed by the congregation in a particular fashion, so special attention should constantly be paid to the rubrics therein and to the peculiar manner of the musical-liturgical style of the Herrnhuters. Count Lynar describes the service in these terms: "At certain points the Preacher prays alone, at others the whole congregation rumbles forth, these interspersed by the singing of the congregation, or, as in the 'Liturgies,' by the choir."[1] This litany must be seen thus, as performed by the living congregation, in order to be truly seen at all.

The author of Reise durch Kursachsen gives us several inter-

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[1] Lynar, p. 81.

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esting details which will contribute to our understanding of the ten o'clock preaching service. First he describes the service almost exactly as did Spangenberg, then he goes on to explain that

> it is well known that in the meetings of the Evangelical Brethren no regular pulpit is used, but instead there is a simple table on which a lectern is placed during the sermon. This table, behind which the Preacher sits, stands on a platform which stretches the entire length of the hall. In the middle of this platform, to the sides of the table, sit the Elders and Eldresses of the congregation. At the reading of the Gospel the Preacher stands up, accompanied by the whole congregation. After the Gospel has been read the congregation sits down once more and the Preacher then delivers his sermon standing. In the other meetings where short addresses are held the Preacher speaks while sitting. Also it is only for such public preaching that the Preacher generally appears in a black suit. For the other meetings this is not required.[1]

With regard to the over-all length of the service, Lynar informs us that "the whole meetings lasts somewhat longer than the usual, perhaps three-quarters of an hour."[2] Thus well before eleven o'clock the benediction would have been pronounced and the hall silently emptied.

The Children's Hour on Sunday afternoons as well as the meeting for the Married Choir appear to be relics from the earlier practice, still observed on holidays as we shall see in the chapter on the yearly cycle, of having the Choir quarter-hours on Sunday afternoon, one following the other.[3] Already by the time of Spangenberg's description, however, all except the liturgies of the children and the liturgy or homily of the Married Choir were "held in the week days."[4] The service for the children was very similar to that held each week day morning, except that in some places it was more customary to hold the Children's Choir liturgies on Sundays than on week days.[1] The service for the Married Choir was appreciably the same as those held for the other Choirs, as discussed in the preceding chapter.

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[1] Pp. 351-52. [2] P. 82.

[3] Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 49 (1762).

[4] Nachricht, p. 70 (1774).

The final service of the day, as it was described by the venerable Spangenberg, was the communal Evening Benediction--a service which though similar to the nightly practice in the Choir prayer halls would be somewhat more elaborate. On some occasions it would be composed only of an exhortation and the singing of several hymn stanzas. Probably a part of this service, however, would be the festive benediction which customarily ended the celebration of the great holidays of the Christian year, namely that the choir should sing the regular Church Benediction ("The Lord bless thee and keep thee," etc.) with the accompaniment of the organ and an ensemble of musical instruments.[2] After the conclusion of this blessing the brothers and sisters turned directly to their places of abode to seek the refreshment of sleep after a full and exhausting day of religious exercise--to prepare themselves to undertake, in the very early hours of the coming day, yet another week thus filled with the demonstrations of their calling in faith through actions both devotional and ethical.

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[1] "Elders' Conference Protocol," January 6, 1783, par. 5.

[2] Lynar, p. 88. The moral and religious state of the choir was taken into consideration as a determining factor as to whether they should be allowed to sing the benediction; "Verlass," par. 922.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MONTHLY DEVOTIONAL CYCLE

In each period of four weeks we find moving yet another cycle of devotional observances which might best be denominated the monthly schedule of a Brethren settlement. In dealing with this monthly cycle we will not, of course, go from day to day, or even from week to week, as has been the procedure in the preceding chapters. Rather, the religious functions of the month must be seen against the general background created through the last two chapters regarding the day and the week. There are two basic types of services which fall into this class of monthly occurence, coming at nearly equal distances of two weeks: the first of these--the Congregation Days--falling at the end of the second week (again the week is considered from Monday through Sunday),[1] and the second--what we will call the Communion Festival--almost completely filling the fourth such week. It should be here noted that like the services of a day or of a week, these too were subject to alteration in schedule if at any time they should fall in the orbit of one of the great holidays of the Christian year or the chief memorial days of the Brethren.

There are ideally two regular Congregation Days in each four-week period, these occurring on consecutive days--Saturday and Sunday--of the second week. The first is the Children's Congregation Day, the other the observance for the whole congregation. The Congregation Day, or Gemein-Tag, may be seen as a monthly festival commemorating and celebrating the work of the Brethren in all corners of the world and at the same time assuring the spiritual unity of all its parts.[1] In this sense it marks the culmination of numerous corporate and individual acts of ecclesiastical devotion and piety which for the most part centered about readings from the "Gemein Nachrichten," both public and private. It will be remembered from the previous chapter that such readings about the life and work of the many groups which make up the Unity constituted the substance of the weekly Meeting of Intercessors, and also that such materials could be and were in some places regularly used at the ordinary Congregation Hour on one or more evenings of the week.[2] Besides this public use it must be noted that these reports, letters, etc. constituted one of the favorite sources of devotional material, being regularly read in the various societies, whether formal or informal, which functioned within the several Choirs, and were often copied carefully by individual brothers and sisters into their own private prayer manuals for reference and devotional reflection.[3] All of these practices may be seen as corollary to a central theological theme of the Brethren, which has already been noted in our discussion of the Church Litany and which will be dealt with in the section on theology. This accumulation of devotional and theological content may be seen as reaching a religious climax each month in these Congregation Days.

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[1] The arrangement of the month is made quite clear in Part I of the Register of Days at the back of the annual Text Book: "Tageregister, 1783," in Text Book--1783 (Philadelphia: Melchior Stainer, 1782.

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[1] Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 38. [2] Reise, p. 353.

[3] This use on the part of Friedrich Schleiermacher's sister Charlotte has already been noted. Such devotional manuals may still be examined in the museums and archives of the Herrnhuters.

Children's Congregation or Prayer Days carried somewhat the **same** significance for children as did Communion Day for their elders. In the last days before its celebration the children were expected to open their hearts before the Helpers of their Choirs in a so-called Speaking, and their participation in the full celebration of this day was based upon their state of conscience at that time.[1] As has been stated, the Children's Congregation Day regularly fell on the second Saturday of each four-week month. On these occasions, rather than the usual address in the Children's Hour, this morning service consisted of the singing and praying of one of the several children's litanies.[2] The second special service of the day was held in the afternoon and its content might vary, but its core was made up of readings chiefly from the "Gemein Nachrichten" of "spiritual autobiographies and deathbed scenes of children from other congregations, and reports and letters of children," to which were added "the full circumstances thereof" and which were "commended to the children for their imitation."[3] From this character one may easily judge the educational object of such readings. However, it may not be easy for us to understand and approve of the emphasis upon--even the impatient anticipation of--death in the spiritual life of the children in these communities, for it can hardly be denied that it often verged upon what would certainly be called abnormal today.[1] But one need only visit one of those eighteenth century burial grounds to realize that we are dealing with an age in which the children had as much or more occasion and need to know death personally than did the old. It is a matter of fact that for each row of graves alloted to another age group, two rows were alloted to children in a Brethren Gottesacker.[2]

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[1] "Elders' Conference Protocol," July 21, 1787.

[2] "Choir Litanies" in The Litany Book (1759), pp. 3-15; also Litaneyen für die Chöre in den Brüdergemeinen (Barby, 1773), pp. 5-18.

[3] Lynar, p. 92.

Besides these readings and narrations it was possible that on some occasions we might observe yet another type of service, one which was perhaps most typical of the effort among the Herrnhuters to recover the devotional life of the primitive Church. I refer here to the Lovefeast (Liebesmahl or Agapen), an observance which they directly related to primitive Christian practice thereof and which was a favorite among groups large and small in the Brethren congregations.[3] A children's Lovefeast is described for us in the following terms by Reverend John C. Ogden, a Protestant Episcopal clergyman who visited Bethlehem in 1799.

> After a suitable time was spent in singing of hymns alternately in German and English, four women entered, with two large baskets filled with cakes. After them came two men bringing another basket with the same contents.
>
> One of these cakes was presented by the women to every person in the assembly, whether old or young. This task being performed, these attendants immediately brought in an half pint of coffee, to each person.
>
> During this serving of the company, the singing continued.

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[1] The attitude of these children towards death may be characterized as a keen anticipation thereof as a culmination of their religious life, a sincere longing for the complete union with the Saviour which it was expected to bring. See the "Lebensläufe einiger in Niesky heimgegangenen Kinder im Jahr 1786" in "Gemein Nachrichten" (1787), Beilage, I. Woche, I; Spangenberg, An die Kinder, pp. 28-29.

[2] This fact may be observed by a careful examination of Der Gottes-Acker zu Herrnhut and its accompanying chart.

[3] Lynar, pp. 94-95.

> A pause gave an opportunity to enjoy the repast, and the coffee-dishes were taken away, in the same order in which they were brought in. No accident, no confusion and no conversation foreign from the singing took place.
>
> After certain psalms, and hymns were sung, the company dispersed. About one hundred persons were present.[1]

The motivations for Lovefeast on Children's Congregation Day might be various. On one occasion the entire day was given over to thanksgiving after a severe smallpox epidemic was safely past, and a Lovefeast was held by the children and their parents.[2] At yet another time when a Children's Congregation Day fell on May 10 (the day following the anniversary of Count Zinzendorf's death), the special theme was the life of the "blessed Disciple" with particular attention naturally given to his childhood of piety towards God. On this day was held a children's Lovefeast, the liturgy for which was the antiphonal singing by the boys and girls of "the verses learned by them at Passion time."[3] The culmination of a Lovefeast came not so much in the eating together, which was, of course, important, but in the Kiss of Peace which followed that partaking of food and drink.[4]

Whether or not Lovefeast was held, the Children's Congregation Day ended in the afternoon, following the other functions of the day, with the ultimate act of abject worship in the catalogue of the Herrnhuter's devotional life--the "Prostration before the Lord," or so-called Anbeten.[5] It was participation in this action, in which the children prostrated themselves on the floor in humility and thanksgiving during the prayer for the gifts of grace and unity, which marked the status of full membership in the Children's Choir and reception of children from outside into the congregation.[1] This rite may be seen as a full parallel within the devotional life of the children to the Holy Communion among their elders. It was to this rite that the child was admitted by the nomination of his Choir Helper and by the Lot. It was from this that he would be excluded or exclude himself if in the examination of conscience and in the Speaking some scruple of conscience emerged.[2]

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[1] Excursion into Bethlehem and Nazareth in Pennsylvania in the Year 1799: with a Succinct History of the Society of the United Brethren Commonly Called the Moravians (Philadelphia: Charles Cist, 1805), p. 57.

[2] "Bethlehem Diarium," February 7, 1783.

[3] Ibid., May 10, 1783.

[4] Lynar, pp. 95-96.

[5] See Plate XI of Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht.

Adults whose business made it possible were allowed to attend any or all of these services, and the observation of these functions of the Children's Choir seems to have been very popular in this period among the Herrnhuters.[3] This is especially true with the Anbeten. There appears to have been some connection between this fact and the New Testament emphasis upon childlike faith, a motif which suffered some considerable abuse in the earlier history of the Brethren.[4]

The day following such a Children's Congregation Day was Sunday and the occasion for the Congregation Day for the whole settlement. On this day in the early service the Church Litany gave way to the reading of reports from the "Gemein Nachrichten," and such was the case also with the five o'clock Liturgy.[1] These reports related to all phases of the life and work of the Unity throughout the world. It was customary that at such reading services certain areas of interest should predominate, as for example, Russia, the West Indies, Labrador, Surinam, Switzerland, or one of the other missions, settlements, or societies. The material itself would be made up of letters; diaries, both personal and official; travel accounts; and spiritual autobiographies;[2] all would be woven together at the discretion of the Elders' Conference and the readers. It should be remembered that the "Gemein Nachrichten" were designed with just such services in mind.[3] The reading services were opened and closed, according to the rule for all services of the spoken word, with the singing of several appropriate stanzas. If it had been decided in the Elders' Conference held on the previous day that some person was to be admitted as a member of the congregation on this "Church Day," a special announcement would be made at the end of this reading service that "in the coming meeting our dear brother N.N. will be received into the congregation."[4]

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[1] This judgment is based on the language consistently used in description of this first participation in "Bethlehem Diarium."

[2] "Elders' Conference Protocol," July 21, 1787; "Verlass," par. 945,4-5.

[3] Lynar, p. 92.

[4] I refer to the so-called "Sifting Time" in the 1740's; see Uttendörfer and Schmidt, pp. 136-45.

The Congregation Day was each time closed with the Sunday evening Congregation Hour at which an address was delivered on the nature of the Church of Christ and the privilege which one enjoys by being a member in a living congregation thereof.[5] Some of these addresses reveal a very deep and well thought out ecclesiology.[1] It was at this service that new members would be admitted to a congregation, but it should be noted that such admission did not qualify a person to participate in the Lord's Supper. This was rather a middle step between being allowed to reside in a settlement and being admitted to the Congregation of the Supper.[2] Directly after the evening address based upon a Biblical text the candidates seat themselves on the pews directly opposite the Preacher who "addresses to them a short speech concerning the reception--that one is bound thereby to participation in all cares of the congregation but also receives a right to all blessings and saving benefits which Jesus imparts to his Church, and that the congregation binds itself to care, so much as it is able, for his salvation and to work with him to that end."[3] At this point all stand and a special liturgy is sung. Already at this time there were several such liturgies from which to choose. One of the two contained in the English hymnal of 1789 seems especially appropriate to the service as described by Lynar,[4] and thus recommends itself for inclusion here. It reads:

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[1] Lynar, p. 91.

[2] The type of literature and the special concern dealt with on such a day was generally noted in "Bethlehem Diarium."

[3] This fact has already been noted, *supra*, pp. 221-25 but is especially apparent from the fact that in the first years of the next century the third part of this periodical was renamed "Gemeintag-Lectionen."

[4] Lynar, p. 102. [5] *Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht*, p. 38.

1. This flock of Christ receiveth thee,
Whilst conscious of her poverty,
She weepeth often contrite tears,
When 'fore her Saviour she appears.

2. But yet she can in truth rejoice,
Because she hears her shepherd's voice,
And owns that he, her Lord and Head,
Her gently govern'd train'd and led.

3. While we the kiss of peace impart
We own thee one with us in heart,

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[1] See for example: "Rede in der Gemeinstunde d. 17ten Aug." "Gemein Nachrichten" (1783), II. Theil, 34. Woche.

[2] Lynar, pp. 100-103. [3] *Ibid*., p. 102.

[4] Although Lynar quotes two lines from the "Reception-Liturgy A." in Swertner, No. 493, p. 157, the alternate liturgy seemed better to fit the context of the service as described by him and has thus been used here.

In Jesus who's the only ground
That in one cov'nant we are found.

4. Enjoy then with the church, Christ's spouse,
The privileges of his house;
And in our joy, and grief, and care,
With us take thy allotted share.

5. As his redeem'd from this world's thrall,
Seek to make sure thy blessed call:
That when the Bridegroom comes we may
Be found wise virgins in that day.[1]

Lynar continues:

> During this liturgy the reception takes place with the Kiss of Peace--if the candidate is a brother, by an Elder, and if a sister, by an Eldress. At this point the Preacher offers a prayer for the newly received persons. This is offered while he and the congregation are kneeling, and finally a hymn is sung in closing.[2]

Whether or not there were any new members to receive, the services of this special day ended with such a prayer, offered by the Preacher in behalf of the entire congregation, all kneeling. It was directed particularly to the needs of the local congregation, more generally to the necessities of the Unity as a whole, and finally for all children of God everywhere.[3] It should be noted that by means of schedules printed in the back of the Text Books there was an effort to assure that this monthly cycle of services should be, so to speak, "synchronized" in order that at the same time "all congregations and children of God" should seek his grace upon their knees simultaneously.[4]

The matter of reception of members on the Congregation Day brings us to a fact that will be treated further with relation to the yearly cycle--that the second day of each of the three major

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[1] "Reception-Liturgy B," ibid., No. 494, pp. 157-58, is sung to choral tune No. 22. This liturgy is indicated to have been translated from the original German.

[2] Pp. 102-103. [3] Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 38.

[4] Ibid.

Christian festivals (Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas) was also generally a Gemein-Tag. It is noted, at least in the "Bethlehem Diarium," that these festive days were in every sense like their monthly counterpart, except that they tended to be much more popular occasions for reception of new members. It should be added that the occurrence of such "festival" Congregation Days seldom had any influence on the regular monthly practice, even if they fell very close to a scheduled Congregation Day.[1]

The devotional crescendo which marked the climax of each monthly cycle in the life of a settlement of the Brethren and in the truest sense formed the keystone of its whole cultic structure began at a service which every fourth week replaced the regular Tuesday evening Liturgy. Although we know that the prospective dates for the Holy Communion of the entire year were incorporated in the yearly Text Book,[2] on that evening near the beginning of the fourth week a solemn gathering of the Congregation of the Supper was held at which the approaching celebration of the Holy Supper was announced. This service which may be seen as the beginning of each Communion Festival and of the exercises and observances which would last for almost an entire week was apparently a very weighty affair in that it was designed to begin and to set the pitch of this time of preparation for the enjoyment of the body and blood which then extended from Wednesday to Saturday; it was also to this service that the rite of confirmation was added by the Synod of 1782. As to the content of the Communion announcement we may gain some information from the account of one which took place on Tuesday evening, March 18, 1783, in Bethlehem. Of it we read:

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[1] This fact is noted in "Bethlehem Diarium" and may be observed in the Annual Calendar included, infra, pp. 296-97.

[2] The dates for Communion were announced in the Text Book as early as 1749.

> In the evening was announced the approaching congregational Communion, and a homily was presented over the Watchword for the Communion Day, "have your joy in the Lord," etc. The single sisters were especially charged to take to heart the text, "I sanctify myself for thee," etc.[1]

In this meeting a keynote was established for the entire festival, and for this purpose the Watchword[2] of the Communion Day was used as a point of departure. Another function which was fulfilled in this instance was the corrective and directive one of guarding against possible abuses which might be suspected to have crept into the observation of the Communion week. The business of the service is clearly outlined by Spangenberg as he speaks of it thus: "As a matter of fact, in the week before the Supper the genuine and true preparation for this great matter is urgently laid upon the heart and recommended by the Preacher to all communicants according to the admonition of Paul: 'Let a man examine himself,' etc. (I Cor. 11: 28)."[3] Thus such a meeting was to serve in directing the mind of the communicants as individuals and groups to the forthcoming examination of conscience--a small but all important part of which was the Speaking between the Choir Helper and the communicant. The role which preparation for Holy Communion and particularly the Speaking played in Brethren discipline has been thoroughly treated elsewhere, so it remains for us here merely to call into remembrance something of the structure and significance of those practices which filled the days between this formal announcement of the Supper and the actual coming of the Communion Day itself.

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[1] "Bethlehem Diarium."

[2] "Bethlehem Diarium," March 18, 1783.

[3] _Nachricht_, p. 76.

Communion discipline was for the Herrnhuter an extremely serious matter. His participation from month to month in the Sacrament was by no means a foregone conclusion but was altogether contingent upon the sustenance in his life of a very high level of devotion toward and intercourse with the Saviour (Umgang mit dem Heiland). The presence of this state of devotion was to be determined in consultation with his Choir Helper, an official chosen for his talent and skill as a religious person and consultant.[1] This determination took place against the background of a very deep and cumulative knowledge of the inner life of the individual and immediate knowledge from a confession, or perhaps better, a consultation --the Speaking[2]--which was made during these days directly before the Communion itself. A decision of excommunication might be voluntary on the part of the individual on account of some scruple not made known to the Helper, might be voluntary at the suggestion of the Helper, or it might be mandatory as a result of the action of the Elders' Conference on the morning of the Communion Day. Such excommunication could take place as a result of any transgression--from hardness of heart, to theological error, to moral turpitude. Inner religious problems, however, generally led to the voluntary rather than mandatory absence from the Supper.

Thus were the brothers summoned one by one from their rooms or sleeping halls in the Choir Houses to enter the small chamber of their Choir Helper, there to engage in the mutual confession which took place between a brother and his spiritual guide. This "confession" should be seen in a double sense for its true significance to become apparent. It was first of all a confession of faith, and only in the secondary sense a confession of sin. The Choir Helper was thoroughly trained in the art of spiritual introspection and at least ideally was a master at the task of making his brothers feel at ease in his presence. It must not, however, be supposed that these interviews were merely a time for religious chit-chat. The Choir Helper and his charges got down to discussion of the every day practical and devotional problems which troubled the life of the congregation, the Choir, and the individual. The peculiar weaknesses of each brother were to be a matter of personal and intimate knowledge to the Choir Helper, and on the basis of their close relationship it was possible for him to bring the discussion around to those specific areas in which the brother with whom he was presently dealing was most likely to be in need of spiritual guidance and help. Then on the basis of these discussions it was the Helper's responsibility to counsel his charges concerning the possibility of their worthy participation in the Holy Supper. In this task he might proceed variously, as has already been indicated. In particularly difficult cases where scruples of questionable validity arose, the advice of the Choir Helpers' and Elders' Conferences might be solicited, and even the Saviour might be consulted by means of the Lot. In the final analysis, however, except of course in cases where mandatory excommunication was involved, the decision of whether one might participate in the Sacrament was not made by the Elders' Conference, the Choir Helpers, or even by the externally expressed will of the Saviour, but rather on the basis of that inner testimony of the pleasure of the Saviour. In all of the sundry exercises of prayerful self-examination and spiritual communion which characterized this period of preparation the final object was the joyful assurance that it was the Saviour's will that one receive him and be received by him at the altar--that one by the grace of God receive worthily the body (Leichnam) and blood of the Saviour to the edification of his own body and soul. Thus the ultimate test of worthiness in the enjoyment of the Communion was that inner witness of faith called by the Brethren Freudigkeit, or Joy. In attendance at the Supper, as in his acceptance of a spiritual calling or of a mate, the Herrnhuter was not afforded the luxury of a father confessor or a religious superior, but was directed back upon himself to survey his heart's condition. The ultimate decision was made there. The intensity of this preparation period did not end with the coming of the Communion Day, nor with the celebration of the Sacrament, but rather it ended *in* that participation. In short, it was fulfilled in the enjoyment of the Supper--the Communion in and with Christ. It must be seen as a part of the whole Communion Festival--as a part with the Lovefeast, the Absolution, the Supper itself, and the Post-Communion Singing Liturgy which did not take place until the morning of the Lord's Day. Keeping in mind the unity of all its parts we may move on then to this climactic day of the festival.

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[1] Lynar, p. 107; "Verlass," pars. 233-61.

[2] Supra, pp. 124-33.

Communion Day began early, as did every other day in a congregation of the Brethren. The night before was spent in the usual services: a Bible Reading in the Congregation Hour, and the Friday Evening Liturgy at Evening Hour, which was, of course, the singing of "O Sacred Head Now Wounded"; all was brought to a close in the Choir Houses with the Evening Benediction by a quarter after ten.[1]

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[1] See for example "Bethlehem Diarium," October 3, 1783.

There must always have been a special excitement in a Choir House on the eve of such an observance--an excitement of anticipation which was a natural effect of the great amount of emotional capital that had been expended for the festival. And on this new day, before the sounding of the rising bell, perhaps by as much as an hour, an excited group of musicians--singers or players, or both--would almost certainly be stirring, making final preparations for the special awakening of their fellows with the singing and playing of passion and communion chorales.[1] The whole life of the Herrnhuter was filled with music, and Communion Day was no exception. Perhaps the most enchanting characteristic of Herrnhut piety is the abundance of such loving plots and schemes to surprise and please one's brothers or sisters in Christ. Unfortunately, it is also the most difficult to depict without distorting it in the mind of the reader --without making it in some way maudlin or saccharine. To the sympathetic reader, the single work which may best be calculated to bring home this side of life in a Moravian settlement is a diary written by Mrs. Beatrice Stebbing Batty and published anonymously under the title, Moravian Life; or, an English Girl's Account of a Moravian Settlement in the Black Forest. This book is in the form of a journal reflecting life in the settlement of Königsfeld, youngest daughter of Herrnhut, in the middle of the nineteenth century. Although this falls more than a half century after the period of our study, as nearly as it is possible to discover, the settlement at Königsfeld was very primitive in its spirit and practices, almost at no point deviating from those of the late eighteenth century. In this work we find a description of the August Communion Day--the commemoration of the rebirth of the Unitas Fratrum in the celebration of the Sacrament at Berthelsdorf in 1727. The young English school girl describes it to her diary:

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[1] Lynar, p. 109.

> 13th (August, 1856) This has been a day on which I shall ever look back with joy and delight. It is now nearly bedtime; but I will write down my impressions while they are fresh. At six o'clock Helene and I were aroused by the mellow sounding of trumpets, and arose, breakfasted together, and arrayed ourselves in white. The whole community wear white today. At nine we attended morning prayers. Brother C. prayed that a blessing might rest on the festival, and then delivered an address on the subject of it--"Peace on earth and good will towards all men." Two new members were then received into the community--Sister B. and Brother D. Brother C. first addressed them, then offered up a prayer in their behalf. Then followed the Liturgy appointed for receiving members into the community. Sister R. then came forward and kissed Sister B. Brother M. did the same on the Brothers' side with Brother D. Two young Sisters of the girls' room told Louise that they had overheard this Brother praying aloud, and most fervently, in the forest a few days ago. He has much to struggle with; he is deformed and sickly, but has an earnest desire to become a missionary. He offered himself once before; but, on account of his small stature and weak health, was not accepted. When we returned from church, Sister Z. talked to me for a long time, and in the kindest manner.
>
> We dined at twelve, as usual. At about half-past one Brother C. sent over to us a list of the verses we were to sing in the course of the Communion service. There were about thirteen, and they were all to be learned by heart, as no one takes a hymn-book to the Communion. I sat on the sofa, and learned the verses till half-past two. We then made ready for the Love-feast, to which all went who were about to receive the Sacrament. It began at three, and was over at four. Brother W. sang a beautiful solo. Pauline was in the Sisters' choir.
>
> After the Love-feast I returned to my verses, and then chatted with Helene, or paced up and down the corridor, now and then exchanging a word or two in passing with one or another of the Sisters. I then sat with Sister Z. till Sister P. came, whom Sister R. succeeded in her office. She is a little, short old lady, of kind and pleasant manners, and she kissed me, and said Sister Z. must take me to visit her in her room some day.
>
> At seven, all the girls who were going to receive the Sacrament assembled in the music room. There were seventeen of us, including Helene, and one of the number offered up an extempore prayer. Then a hymn was sung, and at its conclusion Sister B. entered, and kissed us all round, and we kissed one another. The Lord's Supper was administered at half-past seven; we went to it, as to the Love-feast, all in white--with white mantillas, or shawls, white gloves, or white or black mittens.
>
> Brother C., Herr Inspector, Brother M., and another Brother, all of whom officiated wore white surplices, girded with a broad white sash. The communion-table was covered with a white cloth, with a smaller one of red on the top. The white cloth was bound

> with a blood-red ribbon. On it were six bottles of red wine and glass chalices. Brother C. and Herr Inspector brought in the wafers on small red trays; they were cut in small square pieces. The Inspector's wife went round with him on the Sister's side, carrying the wafers, which he took and broke and presented; she also carried one of the cups; so when the Inspector had given one to be passed down our row, which was the first, she presented him with another, and he gave that to the second row, while the Inspectress went to the end to receive the empty one, which she then replaced on the table. The same was done on the Brothers' side by Brother M. and his companion. We were all singing the verses during this time--Brother C. leading. I think he blessed the bread and wine, and used the same form of speech when it was administered to the communicants as in our Church.[1] We kept the bread in our hands till all had received it, and then, when Brother C. said, "Take and eat this," etc., all ate it. Near the beginning of the service, after singing a verse or two, the absolution was pronounced, while we all knelt. Before the bread was given, we exchanged the kiss of peace with our neighbors, right and left, and the same was done after receiving the cup. We received both standing. It was very solemn and impressive; and I trust that Sister Z's prayerful wish for me, expressed when she kissed me before I went, may be fulfilled. Altogether, it has been a singularly interesting day--"a day to be much remembered."[2]

As will soon become clear, young Beatrice has given us far from a well-ordered and logical description of the actual celebration of the Supper itself, and of course the occasion is not the ordinary fourth-weekly Communion Festival, but rather an especial memorial day of the Brethren; but on the whole this description gives us a real taste of that authentic flavor, that unabashedly sentimental piety which filled the life of the child of Herrnhut. The warm-hearted involvement in each other and in the community as a whole marked each step of every day, but particularly a Communion Day.

On an ordinary Saturday Communion Day the life of the community continued in what was from an external view a very usual manner in worship and labor. The brothers gathered in the Choir hall at six clad either in their work clothes or yet in their sleeping gowns for the Morning Benediction--the singing of a few verses and short exhortation. Then it was for each to breakfast and take up his daily occupation; the brothers who followed a trade were soon hard at work in their shops, and the wheels of commerce turned with all coming and going in their accustomed way. In mid-morning the Children's Hour found the youngsters of the settlement, accompanied by a scattering of adults whose occupations did not prevent it, present in the Congregation House--all very much as any other day, yet different in the excitement of festival which charged the whole day, even for those who were not yet able to participate in the Eucharist.

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[1] The young diarist was a member of the Anglican Church.

[2] Pp. 46-50.

In another part of the settlement, or perhaps even in another part of this same building, took place on that morning a very serious spiritual audit of the whole Congregation. The morning of Communion Day was the time for the Elders' Conference to meet and for the decisions to be made concerning members of the congregation whose participation in the Holy Communion and perhaps even in the life of the community as a whole had come into question as a result of the recent Speakings.[1] The Lot would be utilized in the case of some where the issue was not really clear. In the case of others, an exclusion from Communion would take place, or someone might be admitted or readmitted as a Candidate or a Confirmand. Something of the flavor of such a meeting can be gained from a report found in the "Bethlehem Diarium" for January 25, 1783, which was the occasion of the exclusion of a goodly number from the Communion. The report proceeds: "We had a blessed Elders' Conference, united both with pain and sadness, nevertheless not without comforting hope that the dear Saviour will heal our injuries." Actually behind this report stands a virtual crisis of official soul-searching for the whole congregation at Bethlehem which reached a climax in the January Communion and resolved itself in an intensified spiritual life in the congregation during the following months.[1]

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[1] Concerning the Communion Day meeting of the Elders' Conference, see Lynar, p. 103; also "Elders' Conference Protocols" from Bethlehem Congregation on Communion dates.

In mid-afternoon the daily hum of industry came to rest, interrupted by nothing greater than the mellow tones of the brass choir from the balustrade of the chapel tower droning out the sonorous strains of some passion chorale--then perhaps another or two. Those who had for some reason become unconscious of the hour, or of what day it was, would for a moment listen to ascertain if perhaps some member of the Brotherhood had "gone to the Saviour," for the sound of the trombones was by no means a rare one here. At the Congregation House one could see the worshipers gathering, brothers and sisters outside their respective doors, awaiting the opening thereof by the Sacristans. As the bell above sounds the hour, the doors are flung open and the communicants pass in. They are ushered to their usual places, except that directly before the liturgist's table are seated the Candidates who are to receive confirmation. Then the doors are secured by the Sacristans. The whole house remains in complete silence while the Sacristans enter the cubicles where the Preacher and Elders await the signal that all are now present, then they enter, men and women from separate doors to take their places at the head of the congregation. A chorale verse is intoned by the Preacher from behind the liturgist's table, to be taken up at the first word by the swelling harmony of hundreds of voices and the supporting thunder of the organ. Communion-Lovefeast is under weigh; the liturgical celebration of this glorious festival has begun. Verse follows verse, with here and there a solo or an anthem by the choir singing from its place in the loft. At some point amidst the singing one of the teachers of the congregation may launch a short exhortation, or commend a special intention for the intercession of the congregation. This intention might be a member of the congregation who was soon to set forth on a missionary journey, or another congregation which was undergoing especial trial.[1] Always on such occasions the names of the new Candidates for Communion were mentioned, and Candidates as well as Confirmands were commended to the intercession of the brethren.[2] Let us introduce here the description of Lynar.

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[1] See "Bethlehem Diarium" and "Elders' Conference Protocol" for January, 1783.

> The service is opened with the singing of several verses, then the musicians play and sing and also arias are sung, interspersed with verses sung by the congregation. Sometimes the Preacher or another Elder may present an edifying talk. Meanwhile the male Sacristans carry around tea, along with loaves of milk-bread to the brethren and the female Sacristans to the sisters. One can if he so desires have a second cup, and also may take his tea either with or without milk. The whole service lasts a good half hour. Finally a few more verses are sung and during the last of these all stand, as is the custom at all services. But on this occasion, accompanied by appropriate words in song the Kiss of Peace is executed according to a very ancient Apostolic custom. . . . The Preacher kisses the Elders who stand by him and thus does each brother kiss his neighbor and each sister hers.[3]

The intention and practical impact of such Lovefeasts may be concluded, at least in part, from the type of material used in them. Fortunately, there are preserved for us in manuscript form a considerable number of Lovefeast liturgies, or odes, as they were generally called. From them we are able to make some substantial judgments about these services. We also find included in the 1757 Litany Book[1] certain verses which were considered especially appropriate, or even were written for Lovefeast. At Communion Lovefeast, in contrast to the usages for Lovefeasts on other occasions, the emphasis was upon the passion of Christ, and thus was brought into use the rich passion hymnody of the Herrnhuters. It should be noted, however, despite the liturgical resources which we have for reconstructing the "Lovefeast of the communicants," that there was no set nor even suggested liturgy for this service. The choice of the verses to be used was left to the discretion of the liturgist; he might choose whatever chorales seemed to him edifying and pleasing. Of this service in Bethlehem for January, 1783, we read in the "Diarium": "The Lovefeast of the communicants was held by Brother Ettwein, and he entertained the same with a number of beautiful songs from the new hymnal."[2] And for March we read: "In the evening was the Communion Lovefeast, beautifully entertained by passion hymns performed and accompanied by the musicians."[3] Occasionally at such a Lovefeast an entirely new musical composition would be introduced, or a new and clever arrangement of old compositions perhaps mixed with something new. In short, there was to be a preponderance thereof and as little as possible of speaking,[4] and then it should of course be appropriate to the occasion, i.e., to the celebration on that same evening of the Holy Supper.

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[1] "Bethlehem Diarium," May 17, 1783.

[2] Lynar, p. 96.

[3] Pp. 94-96.

Among the Lovefeast odes which are available in the Bethlehem Archives, both printed and manuscript, the majority are in commemoration of the great festivals of the liturgical year for the Herrnhuters. Only a part of an actual Lovefeast liturgy for an ordinary fourth weekly Communion came to light. There were, however, a goodly number of odes for the 13th of August Memorial Day which, as we know, was almost always a Communion Day. Both this single Communion Lovefeast ode and one ode from the Memorial Day of the 13th of August, that from the year 1786, are incorporated in the Appendix. It will be noted that the use of the musicians of the congregation was much more elaborate on the holiday, as should naturally be expected. The intention in both cases, however, is quite clearly to focus the devotion of the worshiper upon the climax of the day, the participation in the body and blood of the Saviour.

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[1] Das Litaneyen Büchlein, pp. 131-36. [2] January 25, 1783.

[3] March 22, 1783. [4] "Verlass," par. 914.

Before we leave the subject of the Communion Lovefeast it is necessary that we recognize that this service was not always held before each and every Communion service. In the paradigm year of 1783 in Bethlehem it should be noted that from the Communion on the 17th of May to that on the 29th of October there was no Lovefeast connected with the Lord's Supper. It may be properly supposed that this deletion during the months of heavy field work would be in consideration of the hours which were then necessary for agricultural folk. That the neglect of this service was not merely a local practice is demonstrated by the concern of the General Synod of 1764 that

> the Lovefeast preceding the Lord's Supper shall take place where it is possible; indeed it shall not be deleted except where need demands. It is essential to the heartiness of our communal life that Lovefeasts take place more than occasionally, for they accomplish much whenever they are held with grace.[1]

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[1] *Ibid*., par. 877.

Consequently, we may see that although at this time it was not by any means a universal practice, the pre-Communion Lovefeast was felt by the leaders of the Unity to be an essential part of every Communion Festival. And any Communion Day would be less than complete without it.

In the above description it has been our assumption that the Lovefeast would be, and was, held in the afternoon before the evening Communion celebration. This seems to have been a fairly general practice, but by no means was it universal. Again we find, as in other matters, a great deal of freedom. In Bethlehem within the year 1783, we find on one occasion the Lovefeast in the afternoon, on another toward evening--actually at 6 o'clock--and on yet another, in the evening.[1] The time for such meetings seems to have been set by the Elders' Conference and to have been regulated with relation to the immediate circumstances of those who were expected to attend and of the community as a whole. The afternoon celebration, however, remained a general norm to be observed when there was no sound reason for deviation therefrom.

As the last strains of the final hymn died away in the Prayer Hall, the Preacher and Elders passed from the platform back into their antechambers, the Sacristans opened once again the doors, and the worshipers filed silently out, accompanied as they stepped into the square by the soft tones of the organ as yet one more passion chorale was played as a postlude. It was now for the brothers and sisters to return to their homes and Choir Houses to finish their preparation for participation in the holy Sacrament of the blood and corpse (Leichnam) of the Saviour. Each was now to complete that task of penance which was so soon to find its culmination and response in the service of Absolution, to take place before the Supper itself.

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[1] See "Bethlehem Diarium" under March 22, May 17, and August 13, 1783.

The traditional practices of absolution among the Herrnhuters were rich and varied. Besides the private usages which have already been discussed in chapter iii there were during this period still two forms or types of absolution before Holy Communion. The first, and apparently more common of these, took place in the open assembly of the communicants and is always referred to simply as Absolution. It will be noted that this form, which had generally been a part of the Communion service itself, became during this period the object of a separate service. The second form was that practiced in the Pedilavium or Footwashing service. This was referred to either as Footwashing or Absolution, or both, and at one time had been used before all celebrations of the Sacrament.[1] However, in this period it was only retained for the Choirs as absolution before the Supper at Choir festivals and for all communicants on the Wednesday of Holy Week as the official absolution before the Communion on Maundy Thursday,[2] and thus it will be discussed as a part of the Holy Week.

The practice of public absolution as a part of the Holy Communion Liturgy itself will be seen in our examination of that service below to be quite at home in the tradition of the Renewed Unity. Indeed, from the descriptions which come down to us, as well as the single actual liturgy from 1755 and the outline of the service given in the English Hymnal of 1801, there would be absolutely no reason to conclude that it had been otherwise. An examination of the decrees of the synods of the period along with a "Congregational Diarium" and "Local Elders' Conference Protocol" for this time lead one to accept a very different picture of affairs. From the synodical decrees we read:

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[1] Spangenberg, Nachricht, p. 77; Cranz, p. 125, n.

[2] "Verlass," par. 894.

> Regarding the Absolution before the Holy Communion, the Synod of 1764 recommended that this not occur, as was before customary, in the very same meeting in which the Holy Communion is held. It was left to the Elders' Conferences to determine according to local circumstances whether it should occur in a separate meeting shortly before the Supper, or even before the Lovefeast.[1]

The presence of such an Absolution Service in at least one settlement is substantiated by the congregational records at Bethlehem where it is clearly spoken of as a separate service on a number of occasions. In that settlement it appears to have taken place some time between the Lovefeast and the Supper itself, and at least on one occasion when there was no Lovefeast, an hour was mentioned with relation to the Absolution--it was to be held at 7 o'clock.[2] We do not know precisely what took place at this service, but from the Synod of 1782 we read: "Whenever the congregation is gathered for Absolution, then the one who holds the meeting and delivers the prayer makes the public confession only as the mouth of the congregation."[3] From this we may judge that an actual prayer for absolution had emerged rather than the chorale verses which had earlier been customary.[4] We must not suppose, however, that this service was made unique by the lack of a liberal use of congregational singing, and may as usual assume the presence of several stanzas both at the beginning and at the end of the service. Already by the end of this period the Kiss of Peace had emerged as a regular practice at the close of the absolution. Spangenberg speaks of the Absolution in 1774 thus: "The Absolution is communal. It is petitioned from the Lord directly preceding the Lord's Supper, and is accompanied by the Kiss of Peace."[1] We find at this point both the prayer of absolution and the Kiss of Peace. Already in 1789 we find the synod speaking in much less compulsive terms of the "separate Absolution" as something which "can" be observed at the discretion of the Local Elders' Conference, thus implying the shortness of this practice's existence.[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, par. 870.

[2] "Elders' Conference Protocol," November 1, 1783.

[3] "Verlass," par. 870. [4] *Infra*, pp. 271-73.

The actual rationale of such a separate service for absolution is nowhere made clear, but the most likely justification may be found in the structure of the self-examination and confession which preceded it. The "Joy" which was to be the ultimately determinative factor in one's worthy participation in the Sacrament could be an extremely elusive possession, and a separate absolution service might spare the conscience of one for whom this inner assurance had been shaken or was lacking. In this way he could participate in the grace of public absolution without at the same time running the risk of unworthy participation in the Holy Supper, for it was the custom that all who attended the Communion Service itself were expected to commune, and those who were of a mind to withdraw themselves must do so beforehand.

There is yet another rite which must be mentioned with relation to the service of absolution--the confirmation or consecration of a person to the enjoyment of the Supper. This rite which included the laying on of hands and a special benediction was carried on at the Absolution until 1783 as confirmation, and even after that date the "consecration" of those who had been confirmed outside the Unity was still practiced at that time just prior to the Supper itself.[1] The prescribed liturgy was not long, and even if there was a great number--as there often was in a large settlement--the service would not be unduly extended by its addition. The confirmations and consecrations appear to have come near the end of the service at which they were held, and thus, since spoken and even also sung benedictions were involved in the rite, it was usually deemed most edifying to close the service with the singing of an appropriate hymn verse,[2] this some time before eight o'clock. At this point the devotional climax was at hand; each member of the congregation was now prepared for, or had decided to abstain from, participation in the body and blood.

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[1] Nachricht, p. 77.

[2] "Synodal Verlass--1789," appendix to Section XX; MS found in Bethlehem Archives. Also note in "Verlass," par. 870.

In the evening hour, after the work of the Saturday was finished and generally after the last shades of twilight had faded from the house fronts bordering the settlement streets, the muted tones of the brass choir, wafted by the springing night breezes from the tower atop the meeting house, were once again audible. The scattering of worshipers moving toward the square before the hall, either from home or from wherever their devotions had led them, became a swelling stream as one passion chorale after another floated down out of the evening sky upon the shadowy and silent scurriers, many still clad in the work clothes[3] of the day as was their custom for the ordinary monthly Communion. As they were admitted to the meeting hall, bright lights and soft music met them. The hall was lighted by the overhead chandelier supplemented by lamps upon the walls, one located at the section designated for each Choir.[1] Musical tones issued from the organ loft in the gallery where the organist had taken up the theme of the brass choir with yet another passion chorale.[2] Any onlookers, such as Candidates and Confirmands or governmental officials, had already been led to their places in the gallery where they might watch without themselves being conspicuously observed.[3] The music ended and the hushed congregation waited as the doors behind which stood the chambers of the Elders and Eldresses swung open and the Preacher strode forth to his place behind the liturgist's table followed by several ordained brethren, each dressed, as he, in a long white gown gathered at the waist by a white girth. They each carried a small basket of wafers which was placed on the table before the liturgist, where already stood the chalices and flasks of wine.[4] Finally the Elders and from the opposite door the Eldresses took their places facing the gathered congregation. The voice of the celebrant intoned the first chorale as the organ and hundreds of eager voices immediately bore it up and out over the starlit rooftops of the settlement.[5] That the Holy Communion among the Brethren was a masterpiece of religious devotion and pious expression is placed beyond all doubt by the enthusiasm with which it is described even by authors of the more hard-headed and rationalistic sort.[1] It was in the fullest sense both "holy" and "communion." But it is best that we turn to one of these authors, in this case the far from unsympathetic Count Lynar.

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[1] Infra, pp. 403-406.

[2] "Verlass," pars. 863 and 864.

[3] Lynar, p. 110.

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[1] C.I. LaTrobe, Letters, p. 32. See also Frohberger, p. 231.

[2] Reise, p. 363.

[3] Only persons who had been admitted as Candidates or Confirmands and governmental officials having the duty to supervise cultic affairs were allowed thus to observe the Holy Communion. See "Verlass," par. 792; also Lynar, pp. 90 and 103.

[4] Reise, p. 363.

[5] C.I. LaTrobe, Letters, p. 32.

> I would like to describe the manner and form for celebration of the Lord's Supper. The Lord's Supper is partaken every month[2] and is celebrated simultaneously by the whole congregation. The service is held on a Saturday evening from 8:30 to 9:30,[3] and as was the custom in the Ancient Church, no one is present in the hall save those who are to commune. If, however, the prince or his representative desires to observe, it is obvious that such is allowed.[4] This is the case with all services of restricted attendance. A sign that not everyone may come into the meeting may be seen in the fact that the bell is not rung for it, but for the Communion as other restricted services, the congregation is called by the playing of spiritual melodies on brass instruments. In each congregation there are at least three or four brothers who have received ordination. These appear at the Supper in long white robes or clerical coats. The Preacher holds the service and sits behind his usual table, and the rest in their places. The service commences with a couple of stanzas, at the end of which the Preacher falls on his knees, followed by the whole congregation, and utters a prayer in which he petitions for forgiveness of all past failure and at the same time for the presence of Jesus Christ to richly bless the enjoyment of the Holy Supper.[5] Then are sung a few verses and the words of institution of the bread are spoken by the Preacher, namely, "Our Lord Jesus Christ, on the night when he was betrayed, took bread, etc." During this the congregation arises. At the words, "this

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[1] Reise, p. 365.

[2] Actually every four weeks except for Maundy Thursday and August 13th celebrations which replaced the nearest regular Communion, the next celebration falling then eight weeks after the last regular celebration.

[3] There was in reality a great deal of freedom as to the hour; e.g., in January, 1784, the Communion was held at 4 o'clock because of icy roads; "Bethlehem Diarium."

[4] "Verlass," par. 792.

[5] The Kiss of Peace is a custom at this point; "Verlass," par. 870. Note that the absolution was not a part of this service during much of this period.

is my Body," the bread is consecrated.[1] When this has taken place he gives it to two of the brothers in gowns who walk about and distribute it to the brothers, and to another brother in a gown, who with his wife walks about distributing the bread among the sisters. Unleavened bread is used, similar to our wafers, only in larger pieces.[2] From these the brother who goes among the sisters breaks off pieces and profers them to the sisters. They also go into the choir-loft to serve the organist. Finally they serve themselves and sit down once more in their places. Meanwhile a continuous "liturgy" is being sung about the Holy Supper. As soon as the distribution and liturgy are over, the congregation arises, and each member of it holds the consecrated bread which has been served to him in his hand; the Preacher says then: "Take, eat, this is my Body."[3] At that moment all eat together, the Preacher too,[4] and all fall on their knees[5]

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[1] An examination of the 1755 Communion Liturgy will show that the consecration is placed after rather than before the distribution. In Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 40, n., we read: "Der Ordinarius Fratrum Zinzendorf lässt in seiner Capelle die Consecration gemeiniglich nach der Austheilung verrichten, zu Vermeidung allerley Scrupel einiger zarten Gewissen."

[2] The wafer is described as "eine längliche Oblate"; Reise, p. 364, as against the later square ones described by young Beatrice. The host was baked by a member of the Elders' Conference; "Verlass," par. 876.

[3] This custom was authorized by General Synod of 1764; "Verlass," par. 870.

[4] There is a question whether the host was partaken standing or kneeling. It is by no means strange that there should have been some confusion in this matter on the part of spectators since all partook together and the association of the acts of eating and kneeling would certainly make it difficult for even a careful observer to be certain which was first. In fact, there was confusion in very reliable sources. In Spangenberg, Nachricht, p. 75, we read that after the blessed bread is distributed to the communicants, it is "Von ihnen solang in der Hand behalten, bis die Austheilung an alle geschehen, sodann von allen aux einmal genossen, und nach dem Genuss kniend, oder auf dem Angesicht liegend der Herr angebetet." But in A Collection of Hymns for the use of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren (Bath: S. Hazard, 1801), p. xxvii (hereafter cited as A Collection of Hymns [1801]), we read: "and when the bread has been distributed to each communicant, the congregation kneels down and partakes of it at the same time, in silence, or while the minister sings a verse expressive of the solemn act." These two sources are impeccable. The only conclusion must be that of variety. The present custom in Bethlehem agrees with Spangenberg, however.

[5] The above quotation from Spangenberg implies the alternative of lying prone on the face rather than on the knees. See also Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 41.

> and the congregation prays for several minutes in silence.[1] Then they stand up again and the Preacher reads the further words of institution:[2] "In the same manner also the cup, etc." At the words, "my blood," he consecrates the chalice and when he says "take, and drink, all ye, of it," he gives a flask and a large glass flagon (Pocal)[3] to the ordained brothers who distribute it in a similar manner as the bread while another "liturgy" is sung. As soon as the distributor comes to a bench and the first person receives the chalice, all on that bench stand up. Each drinks and gives the chalice to his neighbor. Red wine is used for the purpose.[4] The service is closed with a couple of chorale verses of praise. In the case that someone is ill, after the Communion and while chorale verses are being sung and after prayer the invalid is given the bread and cup at home.[5]

Although this description as given by Lynar is certainly the most complete which comes to hand from this general period, there are several points at which it is noted to be either inaccurate for the Sacrament as it was practiced during much of this time, or else incomplete in its description, perhaps because of oversight, lack of adequate observation or interest, or--as is always possible--lack of uniformity in practice. The problem created by disparities of this type is merely aggravated by the almost complete lack of liturgical literature relative to the Communion service. The principle of liturgical freedom seems to have reached its epitome in the matter of a liturgy for the Supper of the Lord. In fact, only one such liturgy has come to light, this dating from the year 1755, and appearing in the German Liturgy Book published in London over that date.[1] At that time a long-standing scruple against an official liturgy for the Supper was noted, which was apparently victorious in that this liturgy was deleted from the Litany Book published in Barby only two years later, and was replaced by a schematic thesaurus of hymn verses and liturgical helps for use in the construction of a Communion liturgy.[2] And under the heading, "Of the Holy Communion," in the 1801 English Hymnal we find the indication that "in the Brethren's church there is no prescribed form used at the administration of the Holy Communion."[3] However, we do have a form for "Post-Communion" in both the 1755 and 1757 liturgy books, which form is to be used for the communion of persons not able to attend the congregational Communion service, and gives us some additional indications of the procedure of the regular Communion.[4] We also have available other descriptions of the Sacrament which are more or less independent of Lynar's account. From these sources we shall attempt to reconstruct the service as it must have been celebrated during the period between the Seven Years' War and the French Revolution.

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[1] In the 1755 Communion Liturgy a verse is provided for the Liturgist to sing during this period. See also quotation from A Collection of Hymns (1801), p. 33, n. 93.

[2] At this point a special "Liturgy of the Corpse" may be sung.

[3] The glass chalice of the Brethren is a very heavy loving cup with large round, almost circular, handles which fit the hand in firm grasp. It can thus be swung safely and tipped readily for drinking.

[4] "Verlass," par. 876; the General Synod of 1764 encouraged the occasional use of white wine so that "damit niemand in seinen Ideen die Nebensache zur Hauptsache mache. Doch ist der rothe Wein vor ordinair beyzubehalten."

[5] Pp. 90-91.

First of all, it should be noted that in none of the accounts do we have a recognizable reference to the practice of

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[1] Das Liturgien Büchlein nach der bey den Brüdern dermalen hauptsächlich gewöhnlichen Singe-Weise (London: gedrukt in der Brüder-Officin, 1755), pp. 195-202. Hereafter cited as Das Liturgien Büchlein.

[2] See infra, p. 221; also Das Litaneyen Büchlein (1757), pp. 246-72.

[3] A Collection of Hymns (1801), p. xxvi.

[4] "Nach-Communion" or "Post-Communion," Das Liturgien-Büchlein (1755), pp. 202-204; Das Litaneyen Büchlein (1757), pp. 273-76; The Litany Book (1759), pp. 251-53.

Absolution as a separate service preceding the gathering for the Supper as we know it to have been used during much of this period. The 1755 liturgy, apparently the one in use in the service described in the 1757 account,[1] has the absolution as a part of the liturgy itself, as is the case in Lynar's account. The notice in the 1801 English Hymnal finds the absolution firmly planted once again in the Communion liturgy,[2] as does the account of Frohberger in 1796.[3] The description by the author of Reise durch Kursachsen seems to be the only one which reflects the separate use of absolution, and then not beyond refutation.[4] Much more important than this question, however, is a matter in which the liturgy which comes into our hands does give us some assistance--the over-all temper and spirit of the service itself.

In Reise durch Kursachsen we read of this service among the Brethren, "The spirit, completely withdrawn from the earthly, is directed upon the heavenly and the spiritual, and at the same time is reminded in a sensual, lively manner of the death of its greatest benefactor, Jesus. . . ."[5] Indeed this two-pronged emphasis which is here related to the Sacrament might also be affirmed of their whole piety. The feeling (Gefühl) which was so important among them was never indirect or general, but always particular. It was not a common way of knowing, but was a peculiar relationship with a particular Saviour. The two points of spiritual elevation and sensual identification must be borne in mind as one reads the Communion Liturgy of 1755 which almost certainly comes from Zinzendorf or someone quite close to him.

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[1] Das Liturgien-Büchlein (1755), pp. 195-96; Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 40.

[2] A Collection of Hymns (1801), p. xxvii. [3] Pp. 364-67.

[4] Pp. 363-67; no mention is made of any absolution in the Communion service but at the same time neither is it mentioned as a separate service.

[5] P. 365.

Communion Liturgy

> A number of brethren have asked concerning a Communion Liturgy. For at least fifteen years we have had scruples against compliance therewith. And if it should become an absolute formula, it would not long be tolerated in a living Church. If on the other hand, it should have no other purpose than to assist one at certain times when he especially feels his weakness and is concerned lest he become burdensome to the congregation in that service, then the following could serve as a model.[1]

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[1] Since the rubrics are here incomplete, the description of the service from A Collection of Hymns (1801), p. xxvii, is incorporated here as a guide:

Of the Holy Communion

Note. In the Brethren's church there is no prescribed form used at the administration of the Holy Communion. The service is opened by singing some verses expressive of a penitent, contrite heart, and a prayer for absolution is then offered up. And after some more suitable verses have been sung, the bread is consecrated by pronouncing the words of the Institution, thus:

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body, which is given for you. This do in remembrance of me."

After this the bread is distributed, during the singing of hymns or verses treating principally of the sufferings and death of our Lord; and when the bread has been distributed to each communicant, the congregation kneels down and partakes of it at the same time, in silence, or while the minister sings a verse expressive of the solemn act. The congregation rising, the singing continues for a short time, when the minister consecrates the wine by pronouncing the following words:

"After the same manner also, our Lord Jesus Christ took the cup, when he had supped, gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; this is my blood, the blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins. This do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me."

The Minister then partaking of the cup, delivers it to the person who is next to him, who again gives it to the next, and this is continued till all have partaken of it; and during this, the congregation sings hymns which treat of the blood-shedding of Jesus, and its blessed consequences, of brotherly love, and of thankfulness for the passion and death of our Saviour.

I. After the Agape, then is sung:

Ere we to our husband go,
  That most holy place to know,
And the wound-tribe its appetite
  Doth hold, and love unite,
Till this well-favored bride
  The martyred body doth divide;
Drink of his most holy blood,
  Feasting all in mutual love.

II. The Beginning:

God, Our God, thee well bless
  With the Testament of Jesus,
Of the man with five wounds red;
  Thou people by him recogniz'ed,
The King turn to thee his face,
  And thy spikenard smell embrace,
That his balm now may for thee
  In hurt and weakness the cure be.
Choir: His dear sweat in penitential battle
    Steam o'er our soul and body.
  Widespread arms, take us!
    Pallid lips, kiss us on the Heart!

III. After the words:
  Pierc'ed hands, show us where our names are written,
The Liturgist sings:

Oh that the right hand here pierc'ed
  May us bless
  With heavenly peace,
  And us absolve!
or may also be sung:

Lord Jesus! be Thou near[1]
  To heed our needy cry;
Absolve us all, our sins clear
  Before the angel's eye!

Cast now up thy priestly hand
  With scar etched by nail,
Upon the Cross stretched for us stand
  So pallid, oh so deathly pale![2]

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[1] This verse is used also for absolution in the Pedilavium Liturgy in The Litany Book (1759), p. 129, vs. 12. See infra, p. 629, vs. 12.

[2] At this point in the later usage would fall the first Kiss of Peace; "Verlass," par. 870, from "Wöchentliche Nachrichten" (1779), No. 6.

Choir: Oh thou holy martyr corpse!
  Once more in Elisha's kind,
Cong.: We would be that child of thine
  Whose mind is as the Lamb's own mind,
And his real corpse in us enshrine.

IV. The Liturgist sings:

Let the little flock, of thee aware,
  In the holy corpse draw near,
In thy arms and in thy breast,
  Feast upon the Sacrament.

During the singing of the above words the element of the Bread is brought, and distributed to us;
During the singing of:

O that the Saviour's faithful She,[1]
Dear Cross's Church, might bury thee
This Moment with the Corpse of Christ,
Whose Love to us Him sacrific'd!

O that SHE who doth us new-bear,
Who leaveneth God's Dough with Care,
Would knead us to one holy Bread
With Him, who for us bow'd his Head!

O that the Members were quite free
From their own Life's Activity!
O did they so fast to Him cleave,
That only He might in them live!

Were they so without strange Desire,
So void of foreign Strength and Fire,
So dead to all Corruption base,
As formerly to Righteousness!

O Thou, who with the two-edg'd Sword,
Hast many a Hold of Sin o'erpow'r'd;
What of our own Mind does remain,
Be by this gentle Dead'ning slain!

The distribution takes place; and if there be numerous communicants this may be repeated sixteen times with instrumental accompaniment.

Otherwise may be also sung:

The body which on the cross,
  Through a strong preserving,
All hell's pestilence
  And death's vile power enduring,
Our eye and mouth and ears,
  Our hand and foot and loins insuring.

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[1] This translation from The Litany Book (1759), p. 133 mentioned in Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 40.

Or

Draw near unto a feast etc.
Bejewel thyself, o dearest soul etc.

And from

O Sacred Head Now Wounded etc.
O Church, look to thy life etc.

Or from the excellent liturgies of the blessed CHRISTEL[1] may be sung.

At this point occurs--

V. The consecration in the reading[2]

Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the same night in which He was betrayed, took Bread, blessed it and brake it, and gave to his Disciples and said:
Take,
eat,
This is my Body which is given for you.

There is then an interval during which the whole congregation eats, then prostrates itself in prayer, then the liturgist sings several times.

O Congregation tremble reverently,
The death of the Lamb penetrates thee.[3]

During the singing of the words:

The unblemished paschal flesh
Keep thy soul and body chaste.

The Brethren stand and greet one another with a Holy kiss.[4]

Thereupon
According to the preference of the Liturgist,

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[1] This refers to Christian Renatus Zinzendorf (September 19, 1727 to May 28, 1752), the only son of Count Zinzendorf to survive childhood.

[2] Supra, p. 267, n. 1.

[3] Mentioned also in Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 41, and in Reise, p. 369.

[4] The Kiss of Peace after partaking of the bread was abandoned after 1779; "Verlass," par. 870, from "Wöchentliche Nachrichten" (1779), No. 6.

VI. *The liturgy which belongs here may be concluded with*:[1]

When you are finished, you carrion bees,
  Tending your rose-garden,
Sing with humid buzzing.
  Ave Latus saucium!

During which words

VII. *The fruit of the vine is brought and then is sung*:

When at the vesper tide[2]
  They the felon crushed,
Into Jesus' own dear side
  A cruel spear was thrust.
Blood and water then were seen;
  From that side they made a stream.

and

VIII. *The consecration is carried out with the words*:

In the same manner took He also the cup after supper saying:
Take and drink ye all of it!
This is His Blood of the New Testament which is shed for us for the forgiveness of sins.

IX. *The distribution takes place during the words*:

Commend the Blood, the Ransom
  For us and for all the world;
Commend the Blood, the dear Ransom
  For me, for thee and for the entire world.

Further:

Thou Death Sweat mix'd with Blood[3]
  Which the Lamb's Body cover'd,
When pale his Face was view'd,
  His Soul by a Thread hover'd,
His Heart together press'd,
  His Eye in Tears was drown'd,
And ice-cold Dew full fast
  O'er all his Hair was found!

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[1] The liturgy mentioned here is spoken of in *Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht*, p. 41: "6.) Dann wird sitzend eine Liturgie über den Leichnahm Jesu gesungen, die man nicht beschreiben kan." A litany which I take to be the one spoken of here, or a modification thereof, is found in English translation in *The Litany Book* (1759) under the section on Good Friday, pp. 121-22. It is incorporated in the appendix to chapter xi.

[2] *Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht*, p. 41.

[3] *The Litany Book* (1759), No. 70; p. 135; vss. 1, 2, 5.

Sweat, which on Head shone bright,
  Death Sweat on clammy Forehead,
Sweat gath'ring round the Sight,
  Which the Brain's Moisture marred;
(O Passion Conflict hard,
  Which his Sp'rit over-heat,
Did tear his Bones like a Sword,
  And his Breath suffocate!)

Flow in this Hall with Haste,
  That thy Church wet it render;
And that, in this Meal blest,
  God-Manhood's Depth most tender,
Which, to the Church quite close
  Brought thro' this Sacrament,
Into her Substance goes,
  Thro' Mind and Blood ferment.
  (or: Both Mind and Blood anoint.)

When on Life's Bundle touching,[1]
  One is a Child, approaching
Still nearer to be ty'd,
  In its true El'ment placed,
When at that meal so blessed
  It lies at Jesus' bleeding Side.

If the passing of the cup takes a long time, may be sung from the song

O Sacred Head now Wounded etc.

which belongs here, or also from the excellent Liturgy of the Wounds, as:

Ave[2]   AGNUS DEI!
Christe   ELEISON!
Gloria   PLEURAE!

Worthy Wounds of Jesus!
    Who shall us hinder, now and for ever to
      you to render deserved Praise?
Wondrous Wounds of Jesus!
    Our God be praised, who spared us for your
      time so blessed, where Substance is.
Jesu's bitter Torture!
    And bloody Passion! Thou'rt, for Heart's
      Cure and full Restoration, infallible.
Cov'nant Wounds of Jesus!
    Who does not love you, and does not give
      his whole Heart up to you; Anathema!

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 250.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 80-83.

Holy Wounds of Jesus!
Your Virtue renders poor Sinners Saints,
and makes Saints poor Sinners, how
wonderful!
Strengthening Wounds of Jesus!
Who dips into you his Rod, and th' Honey
tastes, is chear'd thro' you unspeakably.
Wounds Doctrine of Jesus!
That divine Preacher, who in this Ground-
Trust hath been our Teacher, be ever
prais'd!
Ye bright Wounds of Jesus!
Whom you enlighten, hath a clear Sky, and
sees the Word brighten like Silver-Glance.
Shade of th' Wounds of Jesus!
In this Portraiture, does his Face shew in
true light each Feature; Hallelujah!
Sun-like Wounds of Jesus!
You my Heart render a Torch of God, dazz'ling
with its Splendor the Darkness-Realm.
Purple Wounds of Jesus!
Ye are so juicy, whoe'er comes near you, gets
Moisture spicy, and 's fill'd with Blood.
Gentle Wounds of Jesus!
So mild, so tender, into you happily chuse
to enter all simple Babes.
Bed of th' Wounds of Jesus!
I do love to lie easy and chearful, and soft,
what do I? I creep to Thee.
Thou near Grave of Jesus!
Thou'rt so beloved, that not one Hair's
Breadth I'd be removed from thy sweet Scent!
My own Wounds of Jesus!
Mine, mine ye're surely, it is as if you were
open'd purely for me alone.

Cong.: Lord, thro' thy Blood's Effusion,
Make me thy Property!
Then I have in full Measure
All I can wish for here;
And once expect the Pleasure
To see my Husband there.

Beauteous Wounds of Jesus!
I b'lieve, yes truly;

At the End of all Need,
Be my Unction, Wounds so red!

Holy Side of Jesus!
Can I right pretty one Day return
to my Mother-City, then I'll
rejoice.

1. Till then I'll view by Faith
Those Eyes, that broke in Death
The Foam in Passion's Ferment;
The Corpse's fiery Torment,
The Thorn-crown'd wounded Forehead,
The Back by Scourging furrow'd;

2. Till at that Hour, which HE
Thinks fit, I go to see,
With these my Eyes, that Body
Whereon we lean so steady,
Embracing in Natura
The Nail-Prints and the Pleura.

Ye still unnamed and unknown Wounds,
We greet you all!

Blood-Baptism of Jesus!
Kindle all over, till with thy spreading
Flames thou dost cover the Universe.
Ye deep Wounds of Jesus!
Mercy's wide Ocean! young and old, small and
great with glad Motion swim on in Thee.

Now, Holy Ghost, thou Mother dear!
Anoint us with His Bruises,
And sprinkle us in each Hour here
With His Sweat's bloody Juices;
And bring in soon as Thou shalt please,
Upon their Faith, from all Earth's Face
The rest of thy Elected!

Spacious Wounds of Jesus!
In your Recesses sit many thousand Poor of
all Classes commodiously.
Ivory-like Palace!
There, where He rested, Dwelling of Peace,
Tabernacle blessed! we enter in.
Tears so full of Merit
From those Eyes pressed! you'll be for ever
and ever praised by all who've Breath.

Lit.: Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive
Blessing and Honor and Glory and Power,
Choir: From Eternity to Eternity.
Cong.: Amen.

X. Conclusion:

And now, go thou members dear,[1]
To lie thee down without fear,
And comes that fateful day and hour
When thou by his wounds' own right
To his mansions take thy flight.

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[1] Another translation, ibid., p. 71; vs. 3.

In this particular liturgy the presence of elements of piety usually identified with the so-called Sifting Time[1] among the Herrnhuters during the late 1740's may well lead the reader to judge that the spiritual elevation has been sacrificed to the sensual participation in Jesus' death. And this would certainly be true for many. This emphasis upon the blood and wounds which might justly be called the "crucifix strain" in Herrnhut piety may here be somewhat out of proportion, but in general the disappearance of this factor in Herrnhut religious life was in actuality neither so rapid nor so complete as has often been believed. It was still maintaining itself to a high degree during the Era of Spangenberg, although severely curtailed in the official position as reflected in Spangenberg's Idea and Gregor's Hymnal. The concepts in the liturgy taken as a piece of theological writing are strongly clustered around a very realistic representation of the blood sacrifice of the cross. The imagination is left free play in reconstructing or "commemorating" the Lord's death, following the sacrifice from the Supper, to the Mount of Olives, to Calvary, and finally to Easter morn. The limits of modern bourgeoise propriety are almost completely ignored as the hymnody dallies with the pain-racked and blood-smeared body, or the death-stiffened and decaying corpse of Jesus of Nazareth, the Prince of Heaven. One might say that the "offensiveness and foolishness" of the Gospel of Christ crucified is proudly emblazoned by the

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[1] The so-called Sifting Time was a period in the history of the Brethren closely identified with the settlement at Herrnhaag, Wetterau, and was marked by an almost pathological fixation upon the blood and wounds of Jesus and aimed at a spirit of "childlike" simplicity which verged on a complete abdication of human reason and adult responsibility. The beginning of the period is variously dated from 1742-1745. It is generally judged to have ended early in 1749. The spirit which characterized it lived on for another generation in a modified and certainly more sane form. See Hamilton, pp. 124-25.

Herrnhuters upon their standard most especially in this service.[1] And hardly anything could be imagined which would more specifically emphasize the doctrines of the incarnation and of the substitutionary atonement, which were so difficult for the eighteenth century, than just such a service as this.

Because of the centrality of the Eucharist in Brethren piety, standing as it does at the crossroad of devotion and discipline, and because of the effort of this movement to maintain an ecumenical but orthodox theological position with relation to two religious traditions between which this particular doctrine has historically been the source of bitter controversy, the Brethren doctrine of the Supper has been selected for special attention in this work whose primary interest is in piety rather than theology. It is thus in an effort to show the interplay of thought and action that we undertake an examination of the Herrnhuter's Eucharistic teaching. Indeed, a theology of the Sacrament of the Altar put forward by a body interested in maintaining its doctrinal respectability in the face of both the Reformed and Lutheran Protestants of Germany should either be rather ingenious or rather dull. In some ways the doctrine of the Brethren during this period qualifies on both counts. It was somewhat unadventuresome in any attempt to explain metaphysically the "miracle of the altar" or to solve the mystery, as well as rather disappointing to one well acquainted with the old battlegrounds of Protestant theology and anticipating yet another clash; but on the other hand, extremely straightforward in its interpretation of the words of institution and in its acceptance of mystery as mystery, and even rather exciting in its understanding and interpretation of sacrifice, communion, and, most interestingly, of the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel.

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[1] It is possible to understand some of the extreme elements in Herrnhut piety as an effort to emphasize beyond question certain dimensions in traditional Christian theology and piety which were in the eighteenth century being subjected to concerted attack. Two of these--the humanity and deity of Christ, and the atonement through his death--may be seen as peculiarly related to the emphases on cross, blood, and wounds.

The sacrificial character of the Brethren's Eucharistic practices especially as reflected in the liturgical hymnody which surrounds and fills this Sacrament has already been noted. Thus it should come as no surprise when Spangenberg in his Idea fidei fratrum approaches the doctrine of the Eucharist by drawing a parallel between the deliverance of Israel from bondage and from the visitation of the death angel by means of the passover lamb and the deliverance of the world from bondage to sin and death by the sacrifice of the Son of God. He then takes the obvious next step and relates the feast of Passover and the Lord's Supper as both commemoration of and participation in the saving or delivering event--as re-presentation of that sacrifice offered once for all.[1] Father Spangenberg next turns directly to a consideration of the words of institution and other passages in the New Testament which may be interpreted as referring to the Supper. From the institution as reflected in the Synoptic Gospels and in I Corinthians he first concludes the obvious: "that our Lord and Saviour did institute this Holy Supper, and that he left and bequeathed it to his disciples. Also, that he has appointed it in remembrance of himself."[2] At this point the wily old divine takes what amounts to a very creative and, on the practical side, irenical detour through the sixth chapter of John and thus comes at the whole problem of eating of flesh and drinking of blood by means of the account of events which purport to antedate the institution of the Supper itself and thus should be considered with relation to any comments the Saviour might have made about the eating of his flesh and drinking of his blood. Through this door Spangenberg approaches the Supper as a means of grace and the benefits to be derived therefrom, at the same time relating this to the whole framework of the life of faith.

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[1] Pp. 238-42. [2] P. 242.

> What then doth our Lord say concerning the eating and drinking of his flesh and blood? "whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal Life, and I will raise him up at the last day," John vi.54. And, "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him," verse 56.
>
> We must here observe that the same expression, namely, to have eternal life, and to be raised up at the last day, is not used with respect to those only, who eat and drink the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ, but likewise to those who believe in him; for in this chapter it is said, "This is the will of him that sent me, that every one that seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting Life; and I will raise him up at the last day," John vi.40. See also John iii,16.36. "Christ dwells in our hearts by faith," Eph. iii.17; and, "by faith we put on Christ, and are in Him," Gal. iii.26,27.
>
> Hence there is no doubt, but that in this place, by the eating and drinking of the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ nothing else is meant, but the enjoyment of Jesus Christ, by faith. . . .
>
> . . . .
>
> We stand in need of this bread of life for our daily food; and it is necessary that we pray daily for it.[1]

It was apparently on the basis of this interpretation that the Sacrament was placed within a context of faithful living by the Synod of 1775 three years earlier by stating that

> the eating and drinking of the flesh and blood of the Son of Man is a matter not alone nor even principally of the Holy Communion, but of the daily partaking of the Saviour. It would be a very great shame if a soul would satisfy itself merely with partaking of the Holy Supper. Such people could indeed be clothed by and have the grace which governs the Holy Communion, but not the daily partaking of the Saviour. Whoever is satisfied in the meantime with aridity and indifference, treats the Lord's Supper as an *opus operatum*, as a matter which one does only as a custom, and has not the true blessing from it.[2]

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[1] Pp. 243-45.

[2] "Verlass," par. 28.

At this point the synodical decree launched into a discussion of the preparation before the Lord's Supper--the Speaking and self-examination, etc. Spangenberg, however, follows up his introduction by an immediate consideration of "the words of Jesus, upon which the doctrine of the Holy Communion is grounded,"[1] in short, the troublesome "this is my blood" and "this is my body." The bishop concludes that

> it [the Holy Communion] is therefore a mysterious enjoyment of the body and blood of Christ; that is, when the Holy Supper of the Lord is enjoyed according to the mind of Jesus Christ, the enjoyment of the bread and wine is connected with the enjoyment of the body and blood of Jesus, in a manner incomprehensible to us, and therefore inexpressible.[2]

From this non-metaphysical statement of the mysterious character of the Supper he drives on to the non-controversial statement of Paul:

> The cup of blessing, which we bless, is it not the Communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break (in the Lord's Supper) is it not the communion of the body of Christ? I. Cor. x.16.[3]

The irenic intention of this approach is made very clear when the aged theologian concludes:

> As certain as it is, that we eat the blessed bread, so certain is it that we partake of the body of Christ; and as certain as it is, that we drink of the cup of blessing, so certain is it that we partake of the blood of Christ; we eat and drink, we enjoy one as well as the other; for our Saviour says, "Take, eat, this is my body; take, and drink, this is my blood."[4]

In defense of this position it must be recognized that it did not arise from theological cowardice but rather from a consistent principle which rejected the philosophical approach to theology, and in agreement therewith, rejected all efforts to reduce religious mysteries to metaphysical formulae. The General Synod of 1775 here again gives us the key in its discussion of "secrets" and in particular of the secret of the Trinity.

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[1] _Idea_, p. 245. [2] _Ibid_. [3] _Ibid_. [4] _Ibid_.

> In the presentation of such truths as by general custom are called secrets we must be especially guarded against propounding theses which do not stand upon clear words of the Bible, otherwise we are in danger of being misunderstood or even of being in error. In the secret of the Trinity, therefore, we must not desire to investigate and clarify the depth of the deity or the inter-relationship among Father, Son and Holy Spirit. It is not our desire to explain this secret but we seek to believe, to acknowledge, and to enjoy what Father, Son and Holy Spirit have desired to be to us for our hearts. Thereby, however, one must dissuade from the erroneous concepts which have been accepted by many people or which could yet gain acceptance among children, without exactly becoming involved in their exposure. It is better if one simply says, "I believe it thus, because the Saviour has said so; I enjoy it in my heart but I cannot explain it."[1]

One need but substitute the secret or mystery of the Eucharist for that of the Trinity in this decree to see the very positive and non-speculative position of the Herrnhuters with relation to the "miracle of the altar."

The whole question of worthy participation in the Supper and what part the preparation and life of the communicant or communicants had in the validity of the Sacrament has already entered the discussion incidentally and is of great significance in any consideration of the Eucharist among the Herrnhuters. In light of pietism's rather spotty record on this score, this body made an heroic effort to maintain a healthy balance between law and gospel. The requirements for admission to the Congregation of the Supper must be discussed more fully elsewhere, so let it suffice here merely to say that a changed heart and a changed life were the absolute requirement for one who came to the congregation from the world.[2] Both the grace of God and the signs of its workings were expected. For the maintenance of a position within that select group of communicants, a life must be sustained which coupled the exercise of grace-given strength with an humble recognition of human weakness--a holy life and a contrite heart. It was this that was to be sought in the preparation period.[1] The joy which was the final aim here was a result of a balance between gospel and law in the life and constituted the credentials of one who would approach the Sacrament. Without such the Sacrament would hurt rather than benefit the individual who approached it. The fact that many unworthy communicants in the state churches were spared this hurt was a demonstration of God's mercy toward ignorance,[2] an ignorance which was presumed not to exist in the Congregations of the Brethren.

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[1] "Verlass," par. 27. [2] *Supra*, pp. 118-21.

> We can, in the Holy Communion, if we do not receive it unworthily, certainly expect no less, than what our Lord Jesus Christ has, in the 6th chapter of John, promised to them who eat and drink of his flesh and blood, even when they do not partake of the Holy Communion; for our dear Lord would bestow, by means of the Holy Communion, a particular favour upon us, and provide a feast for his Church.[3]

The benefits to be gained by the faithful in this Sacrament are three-fold in the interpretation of Spangenberg. First, "a new seal of the forgiveness of sins is impressed upon every believing communicant."[4] Second, "if we make a right use of it, [we] become most intimately united with our Lord and Saviour."[5] Third, "believers obtain, by the Lord's Supper, a renewed assurance of eternal life, and of a joyous resurrection."[6] Considering the manner in which the Brethren celebrate this Sacrament, the second of these benefits deserves further clarification--that is, the concept of communion in the Supper as such.

That all communicants go to a single celebration of the Sacrament; that the blessed bread is eaten in the manner it is, together, and that the cup is passed and partaken as it is, from one to another; as well as the complete dominance of the service by congregational song and common action--these all stress the concept of communion in the Supper as a central one for the Brethren. The theological as well as liturgical emphasis upon this theme may be noted in Spangenberg's statement below.

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[1] Spangenberg, Idea, pp. 246-49.

[2] Ibid., p. 249.

[3] Ibid., pp. 245-46.

[4] Ibid., p. 249.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., p. 250.

> How the communion of the faithful is by these means maintained with each other, Paul shows in the following words, "For we, being many, are one bread and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread," I Cor. 10:17.
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> When a man for instance, partakes of wholesome and strengthening food, all the members of his body have the benefit and enjoyment of it, and are strengthened in fellowship. The same is the case with a congregation of Jesus when they eat of that one bread, our Lord Jesus Christ, then do all the members, who in conjunction constitute but one body, enjoy it jointly one with another, and one as well as the other. For this reason, the Lord's Supper is called the Holy Communion; and it is a very proper name for it. The Holy Ghost teaches us by it, how highly we ought to prize our brethren and sisters, and how much we ought to love them; for Christ has loved and valued every one of them so much, as to die for them and now gives them his flesh to eat and his blood to drink. If, at the Holy Supper of the Lord, we consider that Jesus gave himself unto death for our sin, and the Holy Ghost renews in us a living impression of it, we are again zealous to mortify sin, and to continue to do so. The real, as well as mysterious participation of his flesh and blood in the Lord's Supper, strengthens us to mortify every thing in ourselves, which is against the mind of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to follow after that which is conformable to the mind and image of our Lord.[1]

In this expression of their concept of communion we see how the corporeal concept of the church, combined with Christ-mysticism in the ecclesiology of the Brethren, feeds directly into the concept of the enjoyment of the body of the Lord in the Sacrament and also, most certainly, vice versa. The enjoyment of the Sacrament was an important factor in the idea and practice of a Congregation of Christ (Gemeine Christi). And the Congregation of Christ also was vital to the proper celebration of the Supper.

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[1] Ibid.

But the celebration of the Holy Communion was much more than the recital of a formula and that which it conveyed was ultimately beyond expression in ideas, even sublime ones. Each action; each word; the entrance of the congregation, of the minister; the movement of the white-gowned distributors among the worshipers--the one passing the bread to the other by whom it is broken and given to the communicants; the rising to partake together with the solemn words of the celebrant, then the whole, still, company dropping to its knees with all the silent unison of a breeze through a sea of ripe grain; the heavy round-handled chalices swung from hand to hand and from lip to lip; the impartation of the Kiss of Peace; all this to the accompaniment of the singing of a fullness of feeling and of harmony that is difficult to imagine and impossible to counterfeit, the incomparable singing of the Herrnhuters--this is the full fruition of the Freudigkeit, the joy which was the aim and object of the lengthy period of preparation; this is Holy Communion! It was common among the Brethren to speak of the hungry eagerness of the congregation for the Supper,[1] and people deprived of it seem to reflect a sensible loss, a degree of deprivation which goes beyond the social odium that also might unfortunately accompany any absence from the Sacrament. Also we may detect a type of contagion, a sense in which a brother or sister would become lost in the partaking together. In a letter to his daughter, Christian Ignatius LaTrobe reflected upon an experience which occurred while he was a tutor in Niesky, in the year 1783. At the time he had been recuperating from a badly injured and infected leg:

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[1] See accounts of Communion Day Elders' Conferences in the "Elders' Conference Protocol."

> I was confined to the room, with my leg on a stool. I bore it pretty patiently, and went on with my tuition, sitting in my place. . . . But it so happened, that the communion fell on a day which I ought not with prudence to have quitted the house. I felt real hunger after the beautiful worship of the congregation in general, and could not bear the thoughts of being debarred going to the Lord's Supper.
>
> After much entreaty, the surgeon permitted me to walk across the square into the Chapel, under a promise that I would keep my place, and receive the Sacrament in a sitting posture. But when once there, I felt so happy and thankful, and was so much overpowered that I forgot all promises and cautions, and went through the whole of the ceremonial as if nothing had ailed me. The consequence was, that in the following night the inflammation returned, with other unpleasant symptoms, and I was obliged to submit to a confinement to the house for six weeks longer.[1]

From this same brother, father of the English Moravian hymnal, we have one of the most graphic descriptions of the devotional impact which this service could have upon a lad who had been brought up in the bosom of the congregation and who was thus sensitive to its deepest significance. Of this experience he wrote:

> In 1775, I became a candidate for the Lord's Supper, and for the first time saw it administered in the congregation. I was in general little troubled with curiosity in religious and ecclesiastical matters, and had never made inquiry as to the ceremonial of that ordinance. Every part of it was therefore new to me, and the impression made upon my mind was beyond description. On that occasion--as always at the Communion, on the vigils of Good-Friday and on Easter eve--the chapel was lighted with lamps, placed round the walls, shedding a quiet, solemn light on the congregation. The harmonious and devotional singing of between 300 and 400 communicants, all of whom, as I believed, were with their whole hearts waiting for a special blessing, in the participation of the body and blood of Jesus in the holy Sacrament, and with voice and spirit showing forth his death, melted my whole soul within me. I hardly knew whether I was still in the body, and felt myself indeed unworthy of being admitted into the fellowship of such a family of God on earth. The Lord gave me at that time that most desirable of all gifts, a broken and a contrite spirit, and I deeply repented of all my ingratitude, indifference, and resistance to his Spirit, with a compunction that accompanied me in secret for a long time after. And when, at the conclusion of that service, the congregation rose and with united voices sung that hymn,
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> "Praise be given to Christ, our souls' beloved," etc.
>
> the effect on me was such that I thought myself transported

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[1] Letters, pp. 48-49.

> among the saints in bliss, joining in the song of the redeemed. Then, as though remembering that we were still on earth, the minister added, and the congregation sung, in a softened tone of voice,
>
> "Now seal me Thine,--and be Thou mine,
> That naught on earth me ever
> From Thy communion sever!
>
> The organ was played by my dear friend Verbeek, with such incomparable simplicity and attention to the subject, that it was as if he had the art of making even inanimate matter speak the language of devotion. I hardly knew my way out of the chapel. . . .[1]

This extremely subjective account of the devotional effect of the Sacrament among the Herrnhuters may help us to comprehend the waves of feeling, the spark of thorough communion of the congregation with the whole church, both militant and triumphant, and with its Lord, which filled the worshipers as they filed silently out of the chapel as the last tone of the final chorale died away, and moved through the shadowy streets past the flickering street lamps to their homes and Choir Houses where they gathered for the few chorale stanzas and short exhortation which made up the Evening Benediction, then to bed. The street lights were soon extinguished, and the only thing heard was the sound of the watchman's step accompanied by the lesser footfall of his leashed police dog, this punctuated each hour by the singing out of the customary stanza revealing the hour and a devotional thought.[2]

Early next morning, after the Morning Benediction in their residences, those who had to miss the Communion service on the past evening on account of their assigned duties gathered in one of the common halls of the congregation and were given Communion from the remnants of the bread and wine. This service, generally called the

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[1] Ibid., pp. 32-34.

[2] "Verlass," par. 938; Hutton, pp. 217-18.

"Post-Communion"[1] had a prescribed liturgy including everything in the service of the night before except for the consecration of the bread and wine.[2] The Communion was also on this day administered to the sick, and it should be noted that when this was done, or when there was a special Communion for the sick, it was required that some brothers or sisters be taken along "for the sake of communion."[3]

The last act of the Communion Festival then took place at the usual Sunday litany hour when a service made up entirely of Communion chorale stanzas was held by the communicants as a special offering of thanks for the blessings of the Communion enjoyed the night before. This service was called--rather confusingly--a Communion, a Communion Liturgy, or a Thanksgiving Liturgy.[4] It is definitely not to be confounded with the Communion liturgy as a formula for the celebration of the Supper. With this service the Communion Festival is once more at an end, to be begun all over again in another four weeks.

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[1] Also called "Amts-Communion"; see "Bethlehem Diarium" for day after Communion; also Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 42; and "Verlass," par. 871.

[2] Ibid.

[3] "Man nimmt aber solchen Falls billig noch ein paar andre Geshwister mit dazu, um der Communion willen"; ibid., par. 878. See also Lynar, p. 91.

[4] See "Bethlehem Diarium" for days following Communion.

CHAPTER IX

A YEAR IN THE LIFE OF A CONGREGATION

A year in the devotional life of the Herrnhuters is the largest and most complex cycle in that life which can claim strictly defined temporal duration and which may thus be enjoyed simultaneously by all of the congregations or by their various component Choirs. As in dealing with the monthly cycle, we must look upon the several lesser cycles which have been described as the background, so to speak, against which the numerous festivals and memorial days are to be seen. Unlike the devotional schedules of the day, week, and month, however, the ecclesiastical year does not lend itself to an ideal treatment in the same sense. Largely because of the flexibility of the two highest holidays of the year--Easter and Pentecost--in order to work with any firm cycle it is advisable that a particular year be fastened upon and described as it might have been celebrated in any one of these settlements, but finally with relation to the manner in which it actually was celebrated in one such congregation. The year of 1783 has been selected because of its significance in relation to the existence of Friedrich Schleiermacher as a Herrnhuter, being his first year as a resident of such a settlement, and the Bethlehem Congregation has been chosen because of the ready availability to the author of full records for that settlement.[1] This approach further recommends itself as a means to the fitting together of the various lesser cycles which have been described ideally--i.e., as they would occur if the holidays and observances of the broader devotional cycles did not in any way interfere with them--into the real give and take involved in the actual exercise of the wheels within wheels which go to make up days, weeks, and months for this remarkable order of Christians.

Because of the geometric progression of complexity in conceiving of these various devotional practices and observances, as one cycle is superimposed upon another with relation to ever broadening expanses of time, it has been deemed advisable to compile and present an annotated calendar of events for a settlement of the Brethren in the year 1783. This calendar has been arranged first with relation to the Congregation, Communion, Festival, and Memorial Days as they are scheduled in the back of the Text Book for that year, but also has been expanded and altered on the basis of careful examination of the "Bethlehem Diarium" and the "Bethlehem Elders' Conference Protocol" for that and surrounding years. Variations have been noted with especial attention to the possible influence of the peculiar circumstances of Bethlehem thereon. Thus in this calendar, but even more in the narrative description of the year, a degree of effort to hold to the representation of a typical year for any such settlement has been incorporated with an attempt to face the cold reality of dealing with a particular year in a specific settlement.

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[1] The chief manuscript sources for this chapter are the "Diaria" of the Bethlehem Congregation, the Single Brothers' Choir, and the Single Sisters' Choir; the "Protocol" for the local Bethlehem Elders' Conference; and the "Gemein Nachrichten"--all extended serials to be found in the Bethlehem Archives.

Yet another justification for the presentation of such a calendar may be observed in the nature of the phenomena themselves and the structure that their description has impressed upon this section. I refer here initially to the fact that there are actually two levels upon which the yearly cycle may be seen to operate. For the congregation as a whole there is a festival of the changing year at the traditional new year which has been taken as the natural beginning and ending for the temporal devotional cycle as a whole, but for each of the several Choirs there is a separate festival of the changing year which may be seen as an almost complete parallel to the congregational New Year Festival. Thus it seems advisable to treat separately the congregational year and the Choir year in the narrative, dealing first with the former, and then with the latter. Within the annual devotional life of the entire congregation, however, one particular festival season stands out both in its complexity and in its significance with relation to all others--either in the several Choirs or in the congregation as a whole--so as to suggest that it be systematically treated in a manner hardly possible within the chronological structure of the entire year. This festive season, denoted here as Holy Week and including the period from the day before Palm Sunday to the Third Day of Easter, has for the sake of maintaining proportion in this chapter on the devotional year been made the subject of a separate chapter. And because of its crucial significance as the keystone to the whole year, it has been placed at the end of this discussion on the yearly cycle, after the chapter on the Choir year. Thus the presentation of a calendar in which these various annual cycles are collated, along with indication of the revolutions of monthly and weekly cycles, should greatly facilitate a clear comprehension of a very complex religious phenomenon, a year in the life of a Brethren congregation.

Apart from their innate theological significance, the various festivals and memorial days celebrated each year fall into several general categories strictly relative to the manner in which they are likely to be observed. On this basis, all such holidays may be divided into those of the first magnitude whose observance, like that of the Holy Communion, extends over more than a single day; those of the second magnitude whose celebration, like that of the Lord's Day, involves an entire day of services; and those of the third magnitude which may at times and in some places be observed like those of the second magnitude, but might also be marked only by a single solemn festive meeting, generally the Congregation Hour. A final class of holidays consists of those festivals which have a particular significance to only a part of the congregation, but are not a part of the Choir year, nor a function of any of the various Choirs as such. This class we will refer to as "special holidays" since they involve only a part of the congregation.

It will greatly contribute to the brevity and clarity of this chapter if we speak at the outset about the general structure of the individual holidays which we will be considering and of several of the services which constitute these celebrations. The most characteristic type of service held on a holiday is one appropriately designated a Festival Gathering (Festversammlung), sometimes called the First Gathering because in holidays of the first and second magnitude it generally replaces the Church Litany when seen with relation to a Sunday schedule, and is thus held early in the morning. In holidays of the third magnitude, however, it may be called a "Solemn Congregation Hour." Although a Festival Gathering might vary in its composition from time to time, it usually followed substantially the same form. It naturally opened with music--generally an anthem by the choir and several stanzas by the congregation. The second portion would consist of either an address, which might be original or read from the "Gemein Nachrichten," or of the reading of a particular passage of Scripture or a prepared historical statement. These various types of oral presentation had but a single purpose--to represent by spoken word the event which was commemorated, or indeed re-presented in the holiday or festival as a whole. A generation later we find emerging an official book of readings for use at the special Memorial Days of the Brethren, which were of course not dealt with in the Scriptures.[1] In this period, however, the individual Preacher had the responsibility of devising or selecting his own material on such occasions, although historical accounts which were then appearing--as Cranz' history, for example--seem to have been depended upon heavily.[2] It was the practice during such readings, particularly if they came from the Scriptures, to insert appropriate hymn verses from time to time after the manner of a Bible Lection.[3] This usage, as we will see, plays an extremely important role in the Holy Week observances and reaches a climax therein. Insofar as these services are actually Bible readings, they should constantly be seen within the structure of the annual regimen given for Bible Lections and quoted from Bishop Spangenberg in the chapter on the weekly cycle. It will be recalled that the reading of the

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[1] F.L. Kölbing.

[2] "Bethlehem Diarium," January 19, 1783 and November 13, 1783.

[3] Lynar, p. 88; also supra, pp. 225-26.

Gospel harmony[1] began at Christmas and ended at Easter, the reading of Acts began at Pentecost, and the reading from the prophets concluded during Advent.[2] The readings for the various holidays must be seen as merely the keynotes for this process which was going on from week to week throughout the year.

Immediately following the address or reading in such a Festival Gathering the minister leading the service would fall upon his knees, followed by the entire congregation, and deliver a free prayer of thanksgiving for the grace of God demonstrated to the Church on that day commemorated, and of humble supplication for a renewal of that grace on this its festival. Sometimes the spoken prayer was accompanied or even replaced by one which was sung, in much the manner of one of the shorter of the Brethren Liturgies, by the congregation or choir, or by both antiphonally. The meeting would close with the pronouncement or singing of a benediction.

On the traditional holidays of the Christian year this Festival Gathering would be followed at ten o'clock by a sermon, generally on the prescribed Gospel lesson for this day, an exact parallel to the usual Sunday observance.[3] This morning sermon appears to have been consistently absent from the so-called "Memorial Days" or holidays commemorating events in the history of the Brethren and not shared by the church as a whole.

The afternoon schedule for festivals of the first and second magnitudes might vary. As we will note with regard to the specific holidays, certain types of services tended to be identified with particular occasions. Most usual among the services are Choir homilies, or liturgies, and Prostration before the Lord (Anbeten) in the several Choirs, beginning with the children. At other times there might be a meeting for the reading of reports or diaries from other congregations, or a festive Liturgy. At certain festivals a special Lovefeast was the invariable occupation of the afternoon, or the Cup of Covenant service which will soon be described.

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[1] Lieberkühn, Die Geschichte unsers Herrn.

[2] Supra, pp. 225-26.

[3] Reise, p. 357.

The evening of such a day would likely be celebrated with a festive Congregation Hour at which the choirs would sing, the trombones be played, and an address be delivered upon the Watchword or Text for the day. On other occasions, however, a Liturgy might be sung, likely one designed for that specific holiday. And on yet other and more rare holidays the Holy Communion would at this evening service crown the day of devotion and commemoration. The festival then concluded, as on the Lord's Day, with a congregational Evening Benediction in the Prayer Hall.

It should be remembered at every point that such days--particularly the major ones--would be literally saturated with special signs of festival. The Choir Houses and Prayer Hall were generally submitted to some sort of festival decoration at such times;[1] the residents of the Choirs would almost invariably be awakened by a small chorus of their fellows going from chamber to chamber singing the festive chorales; and these in turn would have awakened to the strains of chorales played by the trombone choir in the Prayer House tower and in the streets.[2] The residents themselves were often seen to turn out in some special garb for such days, or at least the ladies appear to have been so inclined, wearing their white dresses, or perhaps black with white aprons.[1] Even the diet and social-religious practice of group dining in the Choirs and homes appear to have experienced a festive plenitude and fever of activity at such times.[2] It must certainly be said that the Herrnhuters fully comprehended the significance and value of "Holy Days" and could keep them well, drawing the last degree of devotional value from each of them. Precisely how thoroughly and well the year was used to this purpose may only be seen by a direct examination of the phenomena themselves --by accounting for the days which bejewel a year in the life of a Brethren congregation.

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[1] Batty gives full descriptions of such preparations for the various holidays of the year.

[2] Lynar, p. 109.

The scene is the same as that of all the great celebrations of the year, only now the Prayer Hall is still gaily festooned with the signs of the just past Christmas Festival, and brightly lighted by chandeliers and candles all about the large room. It is already late. The Lovefeast and reading of the annual memoir of the congregation are long over. This last--and first--meeting began just half an hour ago. But now all rise;

> with the stroke of twelve o'clock the new year is announced by the melody, "Now thank we all our God," accompanied by full organ and horns, then all kneel for the prayer. After the Watchword and Text for the day are read, the service is closed.[3]

Thus began a year in the life of the Herrnhuters, with the harmonious thunder of a classic hymn of praise delivered by the entire congregation in a manner unique to the Brethren, played and sung in a single surge of thanksgiving and devotion. It must be seen as completely typical of their view of religion that the second motion--or better, the second part of this same motion--was the humble kneeling and praying for the benediction and grace of the Saviour in this new year. Here we mark a devotional antiphon between praise and contrition which was so clearly sounded in the music of the Herrnhuters and discussed in the first chapter of this section on devotional piety,[1] and has been and will be seen as carrying through to every level of Brethren devotion--a motion which began the year and permeated every moment of it.

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[1] Batty, pp. 46, 107, 221. Ogden, p. 33, notes the custom of wearing white dresses even on Sundays at Bethlehem.

[2] Batty, pp. 140-47.

[3] Reise, p. 373.

The festival of the new year, known among the Herrnhuters also as the **Feast** of the Circumcision and Naming of Jesus, must be looked upon as a holiday of the first magnitude since its active celebration involves two days--December 31 and January 1. Due to the fact that the turn of the year divides these two days, we will deal in detail with the second of them here, and with the first at the close of the year, where it chronologically falls. The conclusion of the Watch Night has already been described, insofar as it marks the first festive event of the year. At nine-thirty o'clock on the following morning the congregation finds itself once more gathered in the Prayer Hall for singing and the festival Liturgy, to be followed by the sermon on the Gospel or Epistle of the day at ten o'clock.[2] The Te Deum laudamus was commonly used for this first service of the new year, but might be replaced by any one of several liturgies or litanies of praise.[3] The activity of the afternoon was generally a series of Choir meetings, the Children's Choir at one o'clock, followed at three by the other Choirs, one after the other. At these services, usually held by the Preacher of the congregation, the opening hymn stanzas would be followed by a short exhortation and then by an extensive free prayer expressive of the thanksgiving and need for blessing of the Choir involved for the living of the new year.[1] In some cases the exhortation would be dispensed with entirely, leaving only the prayer which would certainly be executed at least on the knees, but more likely while the entire Choir was prostrated entirely on the floor.[2] In either case, the service would be closed with the singing of several appropriate verses. The evening service might merely parallel the usual Sunday Congregation Hour with an address based on a Biblical text and followed by a general Evening Benediction,[3] or it might be a service more festive in nature.

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[1] Supra, p. 182.

[2] Lynar, p. 83.

[3] Ibid.; "Bethlehem Elders' Conference Protocol, December 30, 1782; and "Bethlehem Diarium," January 1, 1783.

In Bethlehem in 1783 this last main observance of New Year's Day introduces us to yet a different type of service, the so-called Cup of Covenant (Bundeskelch)[4]--a rite more closely guarded from outsiders than any other, not because of its intrinsic importance but primarily because of a danger that it might be misinterpreted by outsiders as a garbled celebration of the Holy Communion.[5] Participation in or observation of these services was strictly limited to communicant members of the Unity,[6] and it was possible for a person to be on very intimate terms with the congregations of the Brethren for many years without knowing a great deal about this Cup of Covenant.[1] The name of the rite itself implies both its function and the chief action involved therein. Although we will find it from time to time utilized by the various groups and Choirs within the congregation, on this festival the Cup of Covenant was enjoyed by the whole Congregation of the Supper. The object of the service was a renewal of the covenant which bound these men and women together as a church of Christ, and it was not uncommon on such occasions that some document stating the central principles of that union should be read.[2] Among the Synodical Decrees of the General Synod of 1775 we find a list of thirty-five basic principles concerning the calling and ordering of such a congregation.[3] This kind of a statement would be a good candidate for reading at a Cup of Covenant service, and might or might not be accompanied with a free prayer by the Preacher. The chief action, however, would be consummated during the singing of appropriate hymn verses,[4] as one of the great glass loving cups, otherwise used only in the Sacrament of the Altar,[5] and filled with wine, was passed from hand to hand and from lip to lip. The cup would then be followed by the solemn Kiss of Peace and the close of the service.[6] The problem of avoiding the wrong popular interpretation of this service should be quite obvious when the actions therein are compared with the description of similar actions at the Lord's Supper in the preceding chapter. Among the Herrnhuters themselves the distinction seems to have been quite clear, and this cup which appears to have been conceived of as the "first" cup at the passover in the upper room rather than the "second"[1] with which Jesus instituted the Eucharist became the instrument of an extremely meaningful and beloved service among the Brethren, whose significance and popularity do not seem to have depended upon its similarity with the Eucharist.[2] Although our sources do not specifically indicate it on this occasion, it is highly probable that the entire congregation gathered at around nine o'clock for a united Evening Benediction complete with choral and instrumental accompaniment. Such might very much depend upon the state of the weather in the particular settlement involved.[3]

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[1] "Bethlehem Diarium," January 1, 1783; "Brothers' Diarium," January 1, 1783.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Lynar, p. 83.

[4] "Bethlehem Diarium," January 1, 1783; also called a Verbindungskelch.

[5] "Verlass," par. 793.

[6] Ibid., par. 880.

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[1] This is almost certainly the case with Count Lynar who discusses this rite as if it were practiced only in the mission fields, thus revealing the source of his knowledge thereof to be the mission reports rather than actual observation; Lynar, p. 153. Hegner, p. 36, was critical of this point in Lynar.

[2] "Verlass," par. 880.

[3] _Ibid_., par. 65.

[4] _Ibid_., par. 880. It should be noted that these verses were not to deal with the themes of Holy Communion.

[5] Special Covenant Cups of less ample dimension were sometimes used when this rite was practiced, especially in smaller companies.

[6] This element in the service has in present custom been replaced by the exchange of a handshake between participants.

Epiphany, falling less than a week later, on the sixth of January, was celebrated by the Brethren as Heathen Fest (Heiden-Fest) and took its place as a special missionary festival. It was, however, what has been designated a holiday of the third magnitude (i.e., it might be celebrated like a holiday of the second magnitude in a similar manner to Sunday, or merely with a single Festival Gathering at Congregation Hour). If it was given its full celebration, the Festival Gathering would be held in the morning, with the address on the meaning of the festival--and thus about the work among the Brethren and others, and the opportunities which yet existed among the un-evangelized peoples of the world.[1] This would be followed by a free prayer led by the Preacher, the whole congregation kneeling. Then at ten o'clock would come the sermon on the Festival Gospel lesson, thus about the visit of the Magi.[2] The afternoon would likely be taken up with the reading of letters and reports from the mission congregations, either in Choirs or in the congregation as a whole. The sermons of indigenous ministers, called National Helpers, appear to have been popular in such readings.[3] The day would be ended with an address or a special Liturgy in the Evening Hour.[4] In Bethlehem in 1783 the celebration of the Heathen Fest was limited to a Solemn Congregation Hour held in the evening which was in substance the Festival Gathering which has already been described, but opening with a special choral anthem. The Gospel and Epistle lessons were read; the Watchword and Text were the basis of an address; and at the close the congregation joined in prayer on their knees for the various mission congregations and posts and those who served them.[5] Thus might such a holiday be extended or abbreviated in its celebration.

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[1] Fries, p. 56.

[2] This observation must be conditioned by the fact that the Cup of Covenant was sometimes used at times when the celebration of the Eucharist was for some reason impossible and is thus in some cases closely related to that sacrament in its use. Ibid., p. 55, and "Elders' Conference Protocol," February 2, 1783.

[3] The tendency to abandon the late evening services during the bitterest part of the winter has already been noted; supra, p. 215.

The first of a dozen so-called Memorial Days (Gedächtnisstage) of the Herrnhuters[6] fell on the nineteenth of January, this in commemoration of the foundation of the Brethren mission in Greenland on that day in 1733. This, a festival of the third magnitude, would in any case differ from general ecclesiastical holidays in that if it were celebrated throughout the whole day there would be no Gospel and Epistle lessons and thus no ten o'clock sermon after the Festival Gathering in the morning. In 1783 this Memorial Day fell on Sunday, and in Bethlehem was celebrated by special attention being given to the Greenland mission in the appropriate part of the Church Litany[1] at the first service of the day, and the Festival Gathering at which the full circumstances of the holiday were related and an address was delivered on the Watchword and Text for the day was held at the regular Lord's Day Congregation Hour, which, as it will be remembered, generally came an hour later than on week days and was the only full length service on that evening. This service would be closed with the usual free form of intercessory prayer, in this case both for the congregations in Greenland and for the missionary spirit in the home congregations.[2]

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[1] Lynar, p. 84. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

[4] Batty, p. 157. [5] "Bethlehem Diarium," January 6, 1783.

[6] "Tageregister, 1783."

Candlemas--the Feast of the Purification of Mary--on February 1, was known in these communities as the Feast of the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple and definitely falls into the third class of holidays. Count Lynar describes the schedule in a manner suggesting that its only variation from the usual daily regimen of services was the ten o'clock sermon on the Gospel lesson of the day. Otherwise he merely notes the Children's Hour beforehand, and the usual Congregation Hour in the evening with an address on a Biblical text.[3] It must not be supposed, however, that the presence of a holiday was ignored even when no special services are held and no mention is made of it in the "Diarium." Even the ordinary daily services could furnish a quite adequate vehicle for the emphasis of special holiday themes and need only receive this peculiar content to be made over, with no change of form, into services appropriate to the holiday function. Candlemas fell on Sunday in 1783 and there do not seem to have been any special services held in Bethlehem on that occasion. It will be noted later that this day was also set aside for special functions of the widowed Choirs.

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[1] "Bethlehem Diarium," January 19, 1783. [2] Ibid. [3] P. 85.

The second Memorial Day of the Brethren was celebrated on the first of March in commemoration of the foundation of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum, then generally dated in 1456.[1] This is another festival of the third magnitude and in Bethlehem in the specific year selected was celebrated on a Saturday evening with a Festival Gathering at which the circumstances of the event were recounted, and the service was, as usual, concluded by the congregation on their knees while the Preacher offered a prayer for the renewal of those graces and that spirit which gave birth to that parent movement of the Herrnhuters, and in which the present work of the Brethren was not neglected.[2]

In 1783 the day immediately following--Sunday, the second of March--was the first Sunday in Lent and celebrated as the beginning of the Passion Season. At Bethlehem it merely involved the substitution of the "Litany of the Life, Suffering, and Death of Jesus" for the usual Church Litany.[3] Beyond this, however, this whole season marked an especial quickening of devotional life of the Herrnhuters, with a peculiar emphasis upon penance for sin over against the sacrifice of Christ on the cross.

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[1] Ibid., p. 92. By the Jubilee of its 400th year, however, it had been corrected to 1457; see Batty, p. 176, which gives an account of the celebration on that occasion. See also Müller, Geschichte, I, 70-71, for recent view.

[2] "Bethlehem Diarium," March 1, 1783.

[3] Ibid., March 2, 1783.

The Feast of the Annunciation, referred to in Brethren circles as the Festival of the Incarnation of Christ,[1] falls on the twenty-fifth of March and is our first example of a holiday of the second magnitude, meaning that the whole day (this time a Tuesday) was given over to its celebration. It must, however, be noted that this day was also the occasion for the festival of all Choirs and the annual Festival of the Older Girls' Choir, thus considerably complicating its celebration.[2] The Festival Gathering was held at around the hour of the Sunday litany, followed at ten o'clock by a sermon on the Gospel of the day. Choir meetings would follow dinner as they did on the afternoon of New Year's Day.[3] The theme of these, as of the preceding services, would be the commemoration of the coming of God in Christ, a theme which would naturally be complicated by the Lenten motifs and the approaching Easter season. In the Congregation Hour that year in Bethlehem an address was read from the "Gemein Nachrichten" which had been delivered two years before at Barby on the same occasion.[4]

The next festival in this year which we here describe must certainly be ranked as of the first magnitude according to our classification. In truth, it almost defies classification with relation to any other observance of the year, and as such has been made the subject of a separate chapter in which its various observances have been noted in detail. I refer, of course, to the Holy Week, generally called the Marter-Woche[1] by the Herrnhuters. In actuality it is a succession of either ten or eleven consecutive holidays of various magnitudes. Let it suffice here merely to classify them as such, leaving all detail to that separate chapter constructed for that purpose.[2] From the Saturday before Palm Sunday through the following Tuesday, with the exception of Palm Sunday itself which is definitely of the second magnitude, each day was itself a holiday of the third class and celebrated by a Festival Gathering in the evening. From Wednesday through the Monday or Tuesday following Easter each day qualifies as a result of the intensity of its celebration as a holiday of the second magnitude. To thus cavalierly treat the foremost festival of the entire year in which the antiphony of contrition and thanksgiving noted in the first moments of New Year's Day reaches its devotional climax is only excused by the necessity of maintaining the order of this chapter, and only redeemed by the attention which this epitome of the devotional year receives elsewhere.

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[1] Lynar, p. 92.

[2] "Tageregister, 1783"; "Bethlehem Diarium," March 25, 1783.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.; "Gemein Nachrichten" (1781), II. Theil, 13. Woche.

On the two Sundays following Easter were celebrated the first examples of our fourth class of holidays--that of observances for special groups. The former of these was a so-called Teaching Day for all those who had since the last Easter become members of the congregation and also for any adults who had been baptized during the year. On this Lord's Day a Lovefeast was held for the new members in the afternoon, and they were especially commended to the care and fellowship of the congregation at the evening Congregation

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[1] Also called Charwoche.

[2] Infra, chapter xi.

Hour.[1] In Bethlehem in 1783 the new communicants whose Teaching Day was on the following Sunday shared in the Lovefeast of this day. It must be supposed, however, that this was merely reflective of a relatively small number participating on this occasion and that at other times, and almost certainly more desirably, a Lovefeast would be held for them on the second Sunday after Easter, followed in the evening by a special service for them consisting of an exhortation and a prayer, during which all knelt, petitioning the renewal of the grace of the Eucharist and in which a particular benediction was pronounced over them.[2] The use of the Cup of Covenant might also be looked for on such occasions.[3] In 1783 these two special holidays fell on the twenty-seventh of April and the fourth of May, respectively.

The twelfth of May was another Memorial Day of the Brethren which commemorated the foundation of the first Prayer House at Herrnhut in 1724 and the agreement on the first congregational order there in 1727. Although at Herrnhut this holiday would certainly rate in the second class, the fact that it was of somewhat local nature in the "mother house" of this Christian order meant that it was not so thoroughly celebrated in some other congregations. The Festival Gathering was held at Bethlehem in the paradigm year as a Solemn Congregation Hour, opened with an anthem by the choir and featuring, as usual, an address on the day or days commemorated and a prayer of thanksgiving for "the wonders of this time of grace" that God had so greatly prospered and blessed the work of Herrnhut, that a "city of God" had been there created which radiated over the world far and wide, finally followed by an humble plea for the continued presence of the Saviour in this work.[1]

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[1] "Bethlehem Diarium," April 27, 1783. [2] Ibid., May 4, 1783.

[3] There is no indication of its use at Bethlehem for this festival, however.

In this year the Feast of the Ascension fell on the twenty-ninth day of May and as usual was celebrated as a holiday of the second magnitude. The Festival Gathering, held at nine o'clock in the morning, featured the last, short installment of the Passion Week Manual which will be discussed below with relation to its use in that week. Suffice it here to say that the whole manual was merely the last part of the Gospel harmony[2] which was the material for Bible Lections held at least once each week from Christmas to Easter, and that the ascension narrative therein was its conclusion. As on other occasions this reading was accompanied by the singing of appropriate hymns and anthems which led to a high degree of participation and attention on the part of the congregation.[3] This reading service would be followed at ten by a sermon on the Gospel or Epistle lesson of the day. The afternoon might be variously spent, generally either by successive meetings of the several Choirs as on New Year's Day, or by some sort of public gathering.[4] At Bethlehem in this year a meeting was held for the reading of the "Lititz Diarium" for April and of semi-annual reports from the "town and country congregations."[5] The holiday would be concluded with the Congregation Hour on the usual Sunday schedule at eight o'clock, which might either feature an address on the Watchword and Text, or, as Lynar indicates, a special Liturgy of the Ascension of Jesus Christ.[6]

Naturally, following close on the heels of Ascension Day is a third holiday of the first magnitude--Pentecost. In 1783 the Feast of Pentecost fell on June 8, and of course was on Sunday. The day was literally filled with indications of its import, from the heralding before its dawn by the trombone choir to the Evening Benediction with which it ended in the Congregation House or in the Choir prayer halls. Its first common service was the usual Festival Gathering at which was begun the reading of the book of Acts with the Pentecost narrative, accompanied as were all Bible Lections by a musical setting and followed after the manner of such festival meetings by a prayer of thanksgiving and contrition delivered by the Preacher, all kneeling.[1] This service which began at eight o'clock was followed at nine-thirty or ten in the morning by a sermon on the festival Gospel or Epistle lesson.[2] Immediately after dinner, promptly at one o'clock, began services of the individual Choirs--children first, to be followed at half-past two by the others. These meetings, as on the New Year's Day, were dominated by the Prostration before the Lord (Anbeten) in which the Preacher delivered a thankful and penitent prayer while the entire Choir and its leaders were lying prone upon the floor as a sign of complete contrition and obedience toward God.[3] The Evening Hour at eight o'clock was the occasion for a special Liturgy of the Holy Ghost and as such was only for the communicant members. Lynar indicates that this Liturgy might at times rather be used in the early morning service,[4] but in Bethlehem this was not the case.[5] Being a holiday of the first order, the following days also were generally involved in some way in the celebration thereof. At Bethlehem this meant a Congregation Day on the Second Day of Pentecost, to which was added a sermon at ten o'clock on the Gospel.[1] In other places, apparently on the Continent especially, the celebration extended through the Third Day as well. The Second and Third Days would include in the morning the Children's Hour as usual, but followed at ten o'clock by a sermon on the Gospel. The afternoon of Monday included a Liturgy, probably like Sunday's, at five o'clock, and in the Congregation Hour an address on a Biblical text. Tuesday evening at the same hour (eight o'clock) would be held a Liturgy concluding with the Church Benediction sung by the choir or minister and congregation.[2] This last act seems to have been a fairly normative practice at the end of a festival of the first magnitude and was one which carried much significance in the minds of those who practiced it.[3]

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[1] "Bethlehem Diarium," May 12, 1783.

[2] See infra, p. 350, n. 3.

[3] Lynar, p. 88.

[4] Ibid.

[5] "Bethlehem Diarium," May 29, 1783.

[6] Lynar, p. 88.

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[1] "Bethlehem Diarium," June 8, 1783.

[2] Lynar, p. 88; "Elders' Conference Protocol," May 26, 1784.

[3] "Bethlehem Diarium," June 8, 1783.

[4] P. 88. This liturgy is the "Lobgesang zum Heiligen Geist," Liturgische Gesänge der Brüder-Gemeinen (1770), No. 7, pp. 34-36.

[5] "Bethlehem Diarium," June 8, 1783.

The following Sunday was naturally commemorated as Trinity Sunday and must be seen as of the third magnitude since its observance involved only the replacement of the usual Church Litany at eight o'clock before the sermon with a Litany to the Holy Trinity at which, of course, only communicant members would be expected to be in attendance, and which would be concluded with the Kiss of Peace.[4]

Only two days later was the celebration of another Memorial day of the Herrnhuters, this in memory of the beginning of the building of the "mother house"--the felling of the first tree for the construction of Herrnhut on June 17 in 1722. It must be noted that there is no particular mention of any observance of this day at Bethlehem in 1783, but as was already indicated, this does not mean that it was ignored entirely, for it was listed in the Text Book published in America and thus was likely commemorated within the framework of the regular services.[1] On the Continent, however, and especially in the congregations of Saxony, the celebration of the Congregation Festival of the "mother house" was certainly thorough enough. Yet the holiday as a whole must be seen as belonging to the third class at which a minimal celebration was acceptable.

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[1] Ibid., June 9, 1783.

[2] Lynar, p. 88.

[3] "Verlass," par. 922.

[4] Lynar, pp. 88-89.

With the twenty-fourth of June began a two-day rash of festivals in the congregation at Bethlehem which may be seen as at least a partial demonstration of the way such celebrations might complicate one another by their coincidence. The first day in question was the Feast of John the Baptist, a holiday of the third magnitude in itself but complicated by the fact that the twenty-fourth was also the festival of the Small Boys' Choir. The following day was numbered among the festivals of the Brethren as a Memorial Day of the Lutheran Reformation--the submission of the Augsburg Confession in 1530--and was a holiday of the third class.[2] This combination was further made complex by the fact that the twenty-fifth of June was the annual Congregation Festival commemorating the establishment of the Bethlehem Congregation and was thus a holiday of the second magnitude.[3] How then would they be celebrated?

The Feast of John the Baptist could either be celebrated with a sermon in mid-morning on the Gospel of the day, or merely by a Festival Gathering in the evening. In the involved situation described above, however, its celebration does not even rate mention in the "Diarium."[1] It is probable, however, that the Gospel and Epistle lessons were read at the Congregation Hour in which on this occasion was read a sermon delivered by Brother Baumeister, head of the Seminarium in Barby in 1781, on the subject of Luther's Reformation,[2] and the service was particularly directed toward the Memorial Day of the Augsburg Confession on the morrow.[3] The celebration of the Small Boys' Choir seems to have remained undisturbed by all this.[4] On the twenty-fifth, both holidays were celebrated, which is only to be expected because it should be remembered that the Memorial Day of Augustana was already in the picture when this day was chosen to dedicate the new settlement in 1742.[5] The usual procedure of reading the Confession in public before the congregation, practiced in Lutheran countries,[6] does not appear to have been followed here, however. Yet the day was as full of services as anyone could wish, for this was indeed one of the most festive of all days in the individual congregation. The decorations in

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[1] "Tageregister, 1783." [2] Ibid.

[3] "Bethlehem Diarium," June 25, 1783.

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[1] Ibid., June 24, 1783.

[2] "Gemein Nachrichten" (1781), II. Theil, 26. Woche, 1.

[3] "Bethlehem Diarium," June 24, 1783.

[4] "Brothers' Diarium," June 24, 1783; "Elders' Conference Protocol," June 23, 1783.

[5] Joseph Mortimer Levering, A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania--1741-1792 (Bethlehem: Times Publishing Co., 1903), p. 137.

[6] Lynar, p. 92.

Prayer Hall and houses were quite imaginative and ornate, and the music literally filled all hours of the day.[1] The Festival Gathering was held at nine o'clock; here the circumstances surrounding the foundation of the congregation were narrated, and a prayer was offered thanking God for past mercies and for continued blessing.[2] Since this was a dual holiday, however, the theme of the Reformation was woven into this service as well, and thus it served a twofold purpose.[3] The Festival Gathering was followed in the afternoon by a Lovefeast, the liturgy for which distinguishes itself from those which have been discussed in this work. The "Elders' Conference Protocol" states that a printed "Psalm" or ode was prepared and used,[4] but the "Diarium" indicates that this was supplemented at the beginning by the reading of reports from the mission of St. Croix in the West Indies, an interesting variation on this feast day of the local congregation.[5] The two o'clock Lovefeast was followed at four by the Congregation Hour at which an address was held on the daily Text. This in turn was followed in the early evening by a Liturgy at which the Cup of Covenant was dispensed.[6] The final act of this day filled with public and private acts of devotion was a common Evening Benediction which replaced those in the homes and Choir Houses and was held, rather than in the Prayer House, out in the early summer evening, in the square before the Congregation House in Bethlehem.[7]

Only a week later, on the second of July, the Feast of Visitation of Mary was celebrated. This holiday, like several others, falls in both the third and fourth categories in that it was a minor holiday for the entire congregation but was also a holiday for a specific group therein. I refer to the fact that this festival and that of Christmas were set aside as special Teaching Days for the pregnant sisters on which they were instructed in their responsibilities and reminded of the blessing brought upon this state by the fact that the Saviour lay beneath a human heart. The general festival itself would likely be celebrated by the usual services with the addition of a sermon on the Gospel lesson and a special Liturgy replacing the Evening Hour.[1] The pregnant sisters would be the recipients of a special address, either original or read from the "Gemein Nachrichten," designed to their needs, this generally in the afternoon.[2]

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[1] See Batty, pp. 106-108.

[2] "Bethlehem Diarium," June 25, 1783. [3] Ibid.

[4] "Elders' Conference Protocol," June 23, 1783.

[5] "Bethlehem Diarium," June 25, 1783. [6] Ibid. [7] Ibid.

The sixth of July was set aside as a Memorial Day for the Martyrdom of John Hus in 1415, and its celebration falls within the third class of festivals. In 1783 it occurred on Sunday which naturally gave a peculiar character to its celebration. On any week day there would be no sermon, but merely a Festival Gathering, probably at the Congregation Hour, especially in consideration of the harvest season in which it fell. No specific mention was made in the records of the Bethlehem Congregation of any particular emphasis in that year, but it must be supposed that some mention was made of those events in Constance several centuries before, and that the day was thus observed as a commemoration thereof.[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, July 2, 1783.

[2] There are a number of such addresses to be found in the "Gemein Nachrichten" of the period. See for example (1782), II. Theil, 27. Woche, No. 1.

After more than a month completely devoid of annual holidays we arrive at the most important of all the Brethren Memorial Days, the commemoration of the special visitation of grace on the congregation of Herrnhut at Holy Communion in the Berthelsdorf Church on the thirteenth of August, 1727, a date which is looked upon as the spiritual birthday of the entire movement. This day and Maundy Thursday are the only arbitrarily set Communion Days for the entire congregation, and this is the only one which may fall on a Sunday. Since this festival invariably involves the Holy Eucharist, it must be regarded as a holiday of the first magnitude, and we should recall that, as at other celebrations of the Sacrament, there would be several days of preparation, and a service of thanksgiving on the following day.[2] All of the musical and decorative amenities of any other high-holiday would be observed also on this day. Being a holiday unique to the Brethren, however, it would not include the feature of public preaching unless perchance it did happen to fall on Sunday. At eight in the morning came the regular Festival Gathering at which was recited the story of the day and its meaning, followed by a prayer led by the Preacher, the entire congregation kneeling, in which the blessing at the Berthelsdorf Church was the main theme.[3] As soon as the congregation arose the Watchword and daily Text were read once more, and the meeting ended.[4] At three in the afternoon the festival Lovefeast was celebrated; this was the only pre-Communion Lovefeast of the year which might be attended by the whole congregation.[1] The ode for one of these Lovefeasts is reproduced for the preceding chapter.[2] This gathering for the spiritual sharing of physical food and drink was on some occasions followed by a special meeting of the communicants for absolution, and in the year following the one which is here reconstructed, it was the service at which an ordination for Acolytes took place.[3] The celebration of the Eucharist was held at seven in the evening for the congregation of communicants, and somewhat later for those who because of their responsibilities could not be present with the rest of the congregation.[4] This day, like so many of its fellows, would almost certainly be concluded with a general Evening Benediction accompanied by the musical organizations of the congregation and led by the Preacher. It was precisely this holiday as it was celebrated in the mid-nineteenth century and described by a young English girl which was used to form a general picture of a Communion Day in the preceding chapter. This account is again commended to the attention of the reader here.[5]

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[1] See "Brothers' Diarium," July 6, 1784. [2] *Supra*, pp. 248-90.

[3] "Bethlehem Diarium," August 13, 1783; August 13, 1784.

[4] *Ibid*.

It will be noted that from the thirteenth of August on into the autumn, the devotional pace of the congregation perceptibly quickens. On the twenty-first of August falls the Memorial Day of the first of the Brethren mission efforts on St. Thomas in the West Indies (1732). This day, like that for Greenland, was a holiday of the third magnitude and at Bethlehem in 1783 was only observed in a Festival Gathering at the Congregation Hour.[6] At this particular meeting was read a section from a work by Bishop Spangenberg on the missionary efforts of the Herrnhuters and their methods.[1]

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[1] See account ibid., August 13, 1784. The fact that this was primarily a Festival Lovefeast and secondarily a Communion Lovefeast explains this deviation.

[2] Infra, pp. 610-11.

[3] "Bethlehem Diarium," August 13, 1784. [4] Ibid., August 13, 1783.

[5] Supra, pp. 253-54. [6] "Bethlehem Diarium," August 21, 1783.

Less than a week later came yet another Memorial Day, as the foundation of the Hourly Intercession at Herrnhut in 1727 was commemorated on the twenty-seventh. This too was celebrated only in the Evening Hour. An interesting fact is to be noted with relation to this celebration in 1783 at Bethlehem, however. At that time there was no Hourly Intercession in Bethlehem, and the Lot had been consulted concerning its resumption. The Lot had been negative in its result, which was considered a matter for humiliation in that congregation, and shame was expressed at the Festival Gathering.[2] This service itself was attended only by the communicants and consisted of the reading of an address for the day; the distribution of the Cup of Covenant, accompanied of course by singing and the Kiss of Peace; and finally of a prayer delivered while kneeling, fully expressive of the shame of the congregation for their backwardness in the matter of prayer and petitioning for "new grace" that their lack might be mended.[3] The following year it might be noted that the Lot was more favorable, and the service led by Brother Johannes, son-in-law to Zinzendorf, then on a visitation in the New World, was of a much more joyous manner.[4]

The so-called Dienerfest or Memorial Day for the Servants of the Congregation was a commemoration of the acceptance of the Saviour as the Chief Elder of the Brethren at the Synodical Conference at London on the sixteenth of September, 1741. This is another example of a holiday which falls both in the third and the fourth classes, being celebrated by a special group as well as the entire congregation. It was observed by the whole congregation at a Festival Gathering in which the usual address took place accounting for its origin and concluding with prayer; this might be held either in the morning or in the evening.[1] The members of the College of Overseers and the Elders' Conference, along with all other servants of the congregation, celebrated in a special manner, spending the day in penitence for their lacks and inferiority and in prayer for a renewal of obedience and compliance to the wishes of the Chief Elder, Jesus Christ.[2] The crowning act of the day for this group would come with the celebration of the Cup of Covenant by which they vowed anew their loyalty to the principles of the Brotherhood and the wishes of its Head.[3]

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[1] August Gottlieb Spangenberg, Von der Arbeit der evangelischen Brüder unter den Heiden (Barby, 1782).

[2] "Elders' Conference Protocol," August 24, 1783; "Bethlehem Diarium," August 27, 1783.

[3] "Bethlehem Diarium," August 27, 1783.

[4] Ibid., August 27, 1784.

This general festival with an especial emphasis upon the Elders was followed by one of a similar nature in less than two weeks. Reference here is to Michaelmas, or Engelfest, as it was called. This time, however, the special group involved was that of all the children. In Bethlehem in 1783 this festival was the occasion for a Children's Congregation Day with a children's Lovefeast in the afternoon.[4] The description presented in the last chapter was of such a Lovefeast on Michaelmas in Bethlehem in 1799.[5] A special emphasis was placed in this festival upon the guardianship of angels, particularly over children.[1] In the Congregation Hour the general subject of angels would likely be dealt with before the whole congregation on the basis of the Gospel or Epistle lesson of the day. This day was also a time for renewed dedication on the part of those who had charge over the children of a congregation. The evening would find these persons involved in consideration of their responsibilities therein, likely culminating with a Cup of Covenant.[2]

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[1] Ibid., September 16, 1783. [2] Ibid.

[3] "Elders' Conference Protocol," September 14, 1783.

[4] "Bethlehem Diarium," September 29, 1783; also called a "day of Prayer" in "Brothers' Diarium," September 29, 1783.

[5] Supra, pp. 241-42.

The Reformation Fest on Allhallows Eve which was so popular in Lutheran Germany was also a Memorial Day of the Brethren. It was celebrated as a holiday of the third magnitude by a Festival Gathering in the Congregation Hour in which thanksgiving for the benefits of the Protestant Reformation was the theme. In 1783 it fell on the day before a Communion Day and was thus fitted in before the Bible Lection on Friday evening.[3]

This commemoration was followed on November 1 by the traditional All Saints Day, celebrated among the Herrnhuters as the Teaching Day of our Fellowship with the Church Triumphant.[4] The main feature of this day is the singing, in the evening, of a special Liturgy of the Church Triumphant[5] which praises the fortune and happiness of those who belong to the heavenly Church and carries forward the resurrection theme of the Easter Morning Litany which will shortly be discussed. In this particular year at Bethlehem, however, this Liturgy was displaced by the Holy Supper and so was sung on the following morning, replacing the Church Litany and serving also as a Liturgy of thanks for the blessings of the divine presence in the Supper of the Lord.[1]

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[1] Lynar, p. 89; "Bethlehem Diarium," September 29, 1783.

[2] Batty, pp. 89-91.

[3] "Bethlehem Diarium," October 31, 1783.

[4] It should be noted that this is a Teaching Day rather than a Festival; "Tageregister, 1783."

[5] "Lied von der vollendeten Gemeine," Liturgische Gesänge der Brüder-Gemeinen (1770), No. 11, pp. 45-48.

The last annual Memorial Day of the Brethren fell on November the thirteenth in commemoration of the day in 1741 when the Chief Eldership of the Saviour was announced and celebrated in the congregations. The Elders' Festival (Aeltestenfest) must be regarded as a Memorial Day second in importance only to the spiritual birthday of the Brotherhood on August thirteenth, rating slightly below the great festivals of the ecclesiastical year in significance in the devotional life of the Brethren. Here again we find all the trappings of a high feast day--in music, in decorations, and in general activity among the Choirs and private societies. The Festival Gathering was held, as usual on Memorial Days, at nine o'clock in the morning. It included an account of the events which were to be remembered--in short, the facts surrounding the assumption by Christ of an especial direction of the Brethren at London in 1741, only a few days before Count Zinzendorf set sail for America.[2] This was, as was customary, followed by "an opening of the heart" by the people in prayer on their knees before their Chief Elder.[3] In the afternoon were held meetings of the several Choirs, first the children, then the others. These were in the form of the so-called Anbeten or prayer in a prone position, and the theme of these prayers was a renewal of the covenant between the Saviour and his church (Gemeine).[1] At six o'clock was a festive Lovefeast for the entire congregation in which, as always on such occasions, bread was broken and drink partaken of by all, this accompanied by a thematically arranged succession of hymn verses and chorale melodies, the theme of course being furnished by the holiday itself.[2] The Lovefeast in turn gave way to a Congregation Hour with an address on the Watchword or daily Text, all then concluding with a festive Evening Benediction in the Prayer Hall, accompanied by instruments, organ, and choir.[3]

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[1] "Bethlehem Diarium," November 2, 1783.

[2] Ibid., November 13, 1783 and November 13, 1784.

[3] Ibid., November 13, 1784.

With the coming of Advent the Bible Lections turned more and more toward the Messianic promises from the prophets in anticipation of the joyous celebration of the Christmas Festival.[4] It is always difficult in a life so thoroughly saturated with religious devotion as that of the Herrnhuters to say precisely when the celebration of any particular one of the festivals therein began or ended. In a sense, they never did so, but were constantly being celebrated, yet the very nature of "holy-day" implies a particular climax in emphasis upon and consciousness of the principle or truth celebrated--and in the Judeo-Christian tradition, a recognition and commemoration of the historical nature of revelation of such principles and truths--in short, of the revelatory actions of God. Thus there was generally some definite action on the part of the community which could be pointed to as the beginning of a major festival. In the case of Christmas, or the Feast of the Nativity, we may observe that on the Sunday before Christmas, thus in 1783 the twenty-first of December, the broad petitions of the Church Litany gave way, as on Palm Sunday, to the "Litany of the Life, Suffering, and Death of Jesus";[1] this liturgy, to be found in the Appendix, is oriented, as its name indicates, very much to the concrete historical claims for the revelation of God in Christ. The specific Christmas celebrations, however, transpired for the most part on Christmas Eve and the first three days of the Festival. The reputation of the Herrnhuters for their Christmas Festival does not come primarily because they named one of their American settlements after the City of David; indeed, the reasoning might better be traced in the opposite direction. In any case, the most interesting of these observances was the so-called Watch Night which took place on the eve of the festival.

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., November 13, 1783.

[4] "Verlass," par. 5.

This famous service was held in the Prayer Hall of the congregation which had been decorated with greenery and wreaths, and gaily festooned all about the chalk-white walls with brightly colored lamps.[2] The whole was designed for the awe and joy of young and old alike, when, after the trombones had summoned them, the congregation first caught sight of the dazzling array as the Sacristans swung wide the great doors of the sanctuary.[3] It is best that we turn to the description of one who knew the Brethren well during this period. In _Reise durch Kursachsen_ we read:

> Thus still on the holy eve at the seventh hour is held a special gathering for the celebration of Christmas Eve. When the congregation has assembled, the meeting is opened with the singing of several verses after which all kneel and a prayer of thanksgiving is offered for the incarnation of the Son of God. Then the history of the birth of Jesus is read

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[1] "Bethlehem Diarium," December 21, 1783.

[2] See Batty, p. 143.

[3] Lynar, p. 72.

aloud[1] and finally the Lovefeast is held. During the latter is sung a musical cantata composed of a combination of chorales sung alternately by the choir and the congregation. At the close of the Lovefeast, for the sensual remembrance of the enlightenment which was imparted to us through Christ, lighted tapers were distributed among the children.[2] During this distribution was sung the verse:

The Eternal Light comes here below,
And sheds on the world a bright new glow;
[It enlightens well in the midst of night,
And makes even us, the children of light.
Hallelujah!][3]

At the Lovefeast small loaves of milk-bread are distributed and cups are handed about. This meeting on Christmas Eve is one of the most festive of those held by the Herrnhuters and is therefore not missed by a member of the congregation, except for some weighty cause.[4]

By this time it should be relatively simple for the reader to analyze the various component parts of this service and in them to identify certain features, now familiar after spending almost an entire year with the Brethren. Although the elements are somewhat mixed--at least in the account, but very probably in the meeting described as well--what we have in the service up to the beginning of the Lovefeast is the standard Festival Gathering, this time of course designed for the Christmas Festival. Thus we see the material commemorating the event which gave rise to the holiday, obviously the first installment in the reading of the Gospel harmony[5] which is the substance of the Bible Lections from this festival to that of

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[1] Lieberkühn, Die Geschichte unsers Herrn, pp. 8-16.

[2] The interpretation of the candles given here by an "enlightenment man" should not be taken as normative for the period. The original intention seems to have been to symbolize the "blood-red flame of love in every heart, which would burn forever to His joy and our salvation" in response to "the inexpressible blessedness which came through the birth of Jesus." "Gemein Diarium" (title for "Gemein Nachrichten" before Synod of 1764), December 24, 1747; from an address by Br. Johannes (de Wattewille) and translated in Fries, p. 39.

[3] Gregor, Gesangbuch (1783), No. 56.4, p. 28.

[4] Pp. 371-72.

[5] Lieberkühn, Die Geschichte unsers Herrn.

Easter.[1] And we see also the usual prayer of thanksgiving and contrition which generally comes at the end of a Festival Gathering. We are not told whether the reading was interspersed with the singing of chorales and anthems, but we must assume that this "festive" reading would not be less festive than that on any Tuesday or Friday evening of the year, and thus that it was. The passing of the candles, which were generally decorated in some manner either with paper or ribbon,[2] must be seen as the last part of the Lovefeast. The youngest children, i.e., those under about ten years of age, were not present, but would have enjoyed a similar service at three o'clock in the Smaller Hall where the Children's Hours were held.[3] It should be recalled also that those children who did attend this meeting were not scattered about the hall with their respective parents but were concentrated on the front benches according to the traditional seating of their various Choirs, and thus the effect of their lighted tapers within the Prayer Hall, and then as they departed together into the night--in orderly fashion as they had been ushered in--would be and was considered at the time quite impressive and lovely. In passing we should note that in the homes and Choir Houses of a Brethren settlement absolutely nothing was lost and a great deal was added with regard to the rich traditions surrounding a German celebration of Christmas. All of the cherished trimmings, surprises, and goodies which marked this celebration in that land of the Christmas tree and the Christmas cookie were utilized to their fullest extent, but apparently without for a moment losing sight of the occasion for it all.[1]

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[1] _Supra_, pp. 225-26.

[2] Fries, pp. 39-40; Batty, p. 144.

[3] "Elders' Conference Protocol," December 24, 1783. Batty, pp. 141-42, describes such an Infants' Lovefeast.

Early next morning the melodious drone of the trombones was heard once more, and in the chambers of the Choir Houses small choruses of singers and ensembles of players slipped about to waken their sleeping fellows to the joyous day with chorales expressive of that joy and its source.[2] The first festival meeting of the congregation was at nine o'clock when the communicants gathered for the singing of a Liturgy of praise and the greeting therein of the brethren with the Kiss of Peace.[3] At ten the preaching service was held with the sermon based upon the Gospel lesson for Christmas Day.[4] In the afternoon the common holiday procedure of individual Choir meetings in which a festival prayer was offered while all lay prostrate in the position of abject humility and supplication was followed.[5] If, as appears to have been common at this time in Herrnhut, the Festival Gathering was held rather than the Liturgy at nine in the morning, the Liturgy would be sung by the communicants in the late afternoon at five o'clock, as on Sundays.[6] In any event, the single evening service would be a Congregation Hour at eight o'clock featuring an address on the Watchword and daily Text and closing most generally with the congregational Evening Benediction as on Sundays.[1]

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[1] Batty, pp. 127-50. The practice of giving gifts appears to have extended entirely through Advent, a period completely filled with mutual surprises and little plots and plans in the life of the Choir Houses.

[2] "Brothers' Diarium," December 25, 1783; Lynar, p. 109.

[3] "Lobgesang zum Sohne," Liturgische Gesänge der Brüder-Gemeinen (1770), No. 6, pp. 30-33; "Brothers' Diarium," December 25, 1783.

[4] "Elders' Conference Protocol," December 22, 1783; Lynar, p. 89.

[5] "Elders' Conference Protocol," December 22, 1783.

[6] Lynar, p. 89.

At Bethlehem, in the year we are scrutinizing, the Second Day of Christmas was a Congregation Day, in similar fashion to Pentecost and Easter.[2] Although no mention is made of a sermon on the Gospel lesson, there need be no doubt that such took place. Lynar indicates a Liturgy was customary in the afternoon, and a Congregation Hour on the Sunday schedule was the occupation of the evening.[3] The Third Day of Christmas was also generally celebrated with a sermon, a Liturgy, and a Singing Hour in the evening at eight o'clock, rather than an address on a Biblical text. This service was one of thanksgiving for the Christmas Festival just now being concluded. At the close of the last stanza all would rise and the Choir was then to sing the Church Benediction--"The Lord bless thee and keep thee," etc.[4] On this particular year, however, the twenty-seventh of December was a Communion Day, thus causing the thanksgiving for the Festival of Christmas and for that of the Eucharist to be merged and celebrated at the litany hour on the next day, which was, of course, the Lord's Day.[5]

A year in the life of a congregation ended, as did a day in the life of an individual brother, in reflection upon the bounteous mercies demonstrated by God and upon the failures and shortcomings of the self[6]--in short, with a spiritual inventory of the entire year for the whole community.[1] On the eve of the new year, as on that of Christmas, the still gaily decorated Prayer Hall was once more the scene for a holiday Lovefeast. The children had already had their own service in the smaller meeting room at seven o'clock, at which the notable things for their lives in the past year had been recounted to them and they had prostrated themselves before the Saviour in thanksgiving and contrition for the past and in supplication for the future.[2] A few minutes before nine the horns announced that the hour for Lovefeast was at hand, and the inhabitants of this settlement hurried to the Congregation House to be admitted as the hour struck. The singing of choir and congregation began immediately and the Lovefeast proceeded as usual. After the bread and drink had been shared by all and the cups gathered in once more by the Sacristans, the reading of the annual inventory of the community began from the written Memorabilia prepared by the Elders' Conference, later to be submitted to the Unity Elders' Conference for inclusion in the "Gemein Nachrichten."[3] The content of this document has been nicely summarized as "whatever of note happened which interested the community--the harvest and crops; the changes that have taken place [in this settlement] during the year; births,

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[1] The use of this service would depend largely upon the severity of the weather.

[2] "Bethlehem Diarium," December 26, 1783; "Elders' Conference Protocol," December 22, 1783.

[3] P. 89. [4] Ibid.

[5] "Bethlehem Diarium," December 27 and 28, 1783.

[6] "Wenn er sich zu Bette legt, wird er sich allemal fragen,

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ob sein Herz und Sinnen den Tag über bey dem Heiland und dem Gefühl Seiner Wunden geblieben sind, oder ob er sich auf irgend eine Weise in Vorwitz oder Leichtsinn ein gelassen? und ob sich in diesem Falle gleich zum Heiland gewendet, und bey ihm Vergebung gesucht und gefunden, auch einen neuen Anblick Seiner Gnad erhalten hat?" from "Chor Unterricht für die Jünglinge und Knaben," "Verlass," par. 175,12.

[1] I refer to the Memorabilia for the year.

[2] "Elders' Conference Protocol," December 31, 1783; "Bethlehem Diarium," December 31, 1783; Batty, p. 152.

[3] "Elders' Conference Protocol," December 31, 1783; Memorabilia for 1783 found at end of that year in "Bethlehem Diarium"; Lynar, p. 198.

deaths, marriages; the increase or decrease of one or another Choir; and in the school."[1] This reading was followed by a prayer offered by the Preacher in thanksgiving and praise to God for the blessings of the past year and entreating Him for their continuance.[2] Then the meeting was concluded as usual with the singing of a stanza or two. Here we have a situation quite similar to that of Christmas Eve, with the combination of a Lovefeast and a Festival Gathering of classic form, only of course reversed in their order from that a week before. This was, in any case, the first stage of the Watch Night for the new year. The second phase is that service which was partially described at the beginning of our account of the devotional year in a Brethren settlement.

At eleven-thirty the horns once more called the congregation together, this time for the greeting of the new year. The service opened with the performance of an appropriate anthem by choir and orchestra, then followed a short address by the Preacher. When the hour of midnight struck, all else ceased as the congregation rose to sing the hymn, "Nun danket alle Gott," accompanied by the breathtaking thunderings of full organ with the tumultuous support of brass and drums.[3] As the last reverberations rattled through the hall, the deeply moved worshipers sank to their knees and the voice of their pastor was once more raised in the thanksgiving and contrition which set the pitch for yet another year filled with demonstrations of devotion between the Saviour and this his Bride, the Church. Rising once more to their feet, the Watchword and

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[1] Batty, p. 153. The name of the settlement, Königsfeld, has been deleted for literary reasons.

[2] Lynar, p. 89. [3] _Ibid_.; _Reise_, p. 173.

Text were read and verses accompanying them sung, sounding the devotional note for a new day in a new year. This then followed the brothers and sisters as they moved into the silent crispness of a winter night to their places of rest, there to gain the physical renewal for beginning once again this affair of love with the Saviour.

FESTIVAL CALENDAR FOR BETHLEHEM CONGREGATION--1783

JANUARY

1 - New Year's Day--Circumcision and Naming of Jesus
5 - Sunday--Congregation Day
6 - Epiphany--Heathen Fest
11 - Children's Congregation Day
12 - Sunday--Older Boys' and Youths' Choir Festival
19 - Sunday--Memorial Day of the Foundation of the Greenland Mission
25 - Communion Day
26 - Sunday

FEBRUARY

2 - Sunday--Jesus' Presentation at the Temple; Purification of Mary
- Teaching Day for the Widows' and Widowers' Choirs
8 - Children's Congregation Day
9 - Sunday--Congregation Day
16 - Sunday
22 - Communion Day
23 - Sunday

MARCH

1 - Memorial Day of Foundation of Brethren Church
2 - First Sunday of Lent--Beginning of Passion Season
3 - Teaching Day for Single Sisters' Choir
6 - Teaching Day for Married Choir
8 - Children's Congregation Day
- Teaching Day for Single Brothers' Choir
9 - Sunday--Congregation Day
16 - Sunday
22 - Communion Day
23 - Sunday
25 - Festival of the Annunciation (of the Incarnation of Christ)
- Teaching Day for all Choirs
- Older Girls' Choir Festival
30 - Sunday

APRIL

5 - Children's Congregation Day
6 - Sunday--Congregation Day
12 - Beginning of Holy Week Readings
13 - Palm Sunday
16 - Congregational Pedilavium
17 - Maundy Thursday--Communion Day
18 - Good Friday
19 - Great Sabbath
20 - Easter Sunday
21 - Second Day of Easter--Congregation Day
22 - Third Day of Easter
27 - Sunday--Teaching Day for newly received members

MAY

3 - [Children's Congregation Day][1]
4 - Sunday--Festival of the Single Sisters' Choir
   - Teaching Day and Festival for those received among the communicants during the year
10 - Children's Congregation Day
11 - Sunday--Congregation Day
12 - Memorial Day of the Foundation of the First Prayer House (1724) and of the first congregational order in Herrnhut (1727)
17 - Communion Day
18 - Sunday
25 - Sunday
29 - Ascension Day
31 - Children's Congregation Day

JUNE

1 - Sunday--[Congregation Day][2]
5 - Congregation Day
8 - Sunday--Pentecost
9 - Second Day of Pentecost
   - Congregation Day
10 - Third Day of Pentecost
14 - Communion Day
15 - Trinity Sunday
17 - Memorial Day of beginning of first house at Herrnhut (1722)
22 - Sunday
24 - Feast of John the Baptist
   - Small Boys' Choir Festival
25 - Memorial Day of Submission of Augsburg Confession
   - Congregational Festival at Bethlehem
28 - Children's Congregation Day
29 - Sunday--Congregation Day

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[1] The observances enclosed in brackets were not celebrated at Bethlehem although they were scheduled in "Tageregister, 1783."

[2] This Congregation Day for some undisclosed reason was postponed for one full week at Bethlehem.

JULY

2 - Visitation of Mary
- Teaching Day for Pregnant Sisters
6 - Sunday--Memorial Day of the Martyrdom of John Hus (1415)
12 - Communion Day
13 - Sunday
20 - Sunday
26 - Children's Congregation Day
27 - Sunday--Congregation Day

AUGUST

3 - Sunday
10 - Sunday
13 - Memorial Day of Special Visitation of Grace on the Congregation of Herrnhut at Holy Communion in Berthelsdorf Church (1727)
- Communion Day
17 - Sunday
21 - Memorial Day of Establishment of Mission in St. Thomas (1732)
23 - Children's Congregation Day
24 - Sunday--Congregation Day
27 - Memorial Day of Beginning of Hourly Intercession (1727)
29 - Single Brothers' Choir Festival
31 - Sunday--Widows' and Widowers' Choir Festival

SEPTEMBER

2 - Special Choir Communion for Single Sisters
6 - [Communion Day][1]
7 - Sunday--Married Choir Festival
14 - Sunday
16 - Memorial Day of Servants of the Congregation
20 - Children's Congregation Day
21 - Sunday--Congregation Day
28 - Sunday
29 - Michaelmas--Festival of the Angels (for children)
Children's Congregation Day

OCTOBER

4 - Communion Day
5 - Sunday
12 - Sunday
18 - Children's Congregation Day

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[1] This Communion Day was not celebrated because of its proximity to the Choir Festivals of the Single Brothers', Widowed, and Married Choirs and was thus replaced by the celebration of a Choir Communion in the Single Sisters' Choir on September 2. It should be noted that the communicants in the Older Boys' and Older Girls' Choirs communed with the Single Brothers' and Single Sisters' Choirs on such occasion and thus all communicants were given the opportunity to commune in September.

OCTOBER

19 - Sunday--Congregation Day
26 - Sunday
31 - Memorial Day of Beginning of Luther's Reformation

NOVEMBER

1 - Teaching Day on our Fellowship with the Church Triumphant[1]
- Communion Day
2 - Sunday
5 - Teaching Day for the Acolytes
9 - Sunday
13 - Memorial Day of the Blessed Experience of the Elders' Office of Jesus by the Congregation
15 - Children's Congregation Day
16 - Sunday
23 - Sunday
29 - Communion Day
30 - First Sunday of Advent

DECEMBER

7 - Sunday
13 - Children's Congregation Day
14 - Sunday--Congregation Day
21 - Sunday
24 - Christmas Eve
25 - Christmas Day
- Teaching Day for Pregnant Sisters
26 - Second Day of Christmas--Congregation Day
27 - Third Day of Christmas--Communion Day
28 - Sunday
31 - New Year's Eve

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[1] This day, All Saints' Day, was not even listed among the "Festivals" but with the "Teaching and Choir Days among the Brethren" in "Tageregister, 1783."

CHAPTER X

THE YEAR OF A BRETHREN CHOIR

The devotional year of each individual Choir, like that of the whole congregation, must be seen always against the background of the daily, weekly, and monthly devotional structure. Such special holidays as were observed in these various branches of the congregation must be considered as in a sense epitomizing that which took place in the day to day life of a Choir House. It should be recognized that only in the Choir Houses of the single Choirs did this religious phenomenon of the Choir year reach its classic expression, and thus will be borne in mind that among the several Choirs a good deal of latitude relative to specific practice may be expected and observed. The Morning and Evening Benedictions, the communal eating, the cooperative industrial efforts, the Choir Homilies or Liturgies occurring at least once each week, the monthly Communion Speakings, and finally the special meetings for Prostration before the Lord in the high holidays of the Brethren year, along with literally thousands of individual or group acts of devotion--either official or unofficial--all these went to make up a single year in the life of a Choir. Beyond this, however, we must take note of several festival days which generally marked such a year and tended to give to the life of each Choir a particular annual character.

There are three basic types into which these holidays fall.

The first and most important of these types is the so-called Choir Festival (Chorfest) which is actually the "New Year's Day" for the Choir year. This is what we must call, according to the classification set up and used in the preceding chapter, a holiday of the first magnitude, since like the regular New Year's Day it involves more than a single day in its celebration. The second type which must be discussed is not celebrated in all Choirs, but merely in those whose members are all adults. This holiday is designated the Choir Teaching Day (Lehrtag) and may be classified as of the second magnitude. The third type is the so-called House Festival (Hausfest) which may only be celebrated by those bodies which possess a Choir House,[1] as it is generally in anniversary of the start of construction or of the consecration thereof, and is also of the second magnitude. Since there is only a single celebration of any of these holidays in an individual Choir, and in consideration of the fact that they are so few in number, an effort to make a continuous narrative tracing them through the year, as was done in the case of the entire congregation, has been deemed inappropriate. Thus these holidays will rather be dealt with by classes, beginning with the third type, which is naturally celebrated by fewer Choirs than are the first two, and ending with the first type which in each case is the high-holiday of the Choir year.

The date for the House Festival of any particular Choir would have been arbitrarily decided many years before by the date chosen for the cornerstone laying or for the dedication of the completed house. The actual celebration of the day might vary from Choir to Choir and from year to year. The maximal celebration would include a special Morning Blessing in the prayer hall of the Choir, probably led by the Choir Helper, in which the musical contingent of the Choir would generally present an anthem and the liturgist an address and a prayer for which the entire Choir knelt.[1] This would be followed in the early evening at six o'clock by a Lovefeast, the liturgy for which might be composed of an account of the foundation of the house read from the Choir "Diarium,"[2] concluded by a regular Lovefeast liturgy,[3] or--as was the case in the Single Sisters' Choir at Bethlehem in 1782--a special Lovefeast psalm might be composed for the occasion and performed there for the first time.[4] The climax of the day would follow the Congregation Hour when the Choir prayer hall was the setting for a Choir Communion celebrated in honor of this festive occasion.[5] Then on the following morning at seven or eight o'clock the celebration would end with the Communion Liturgy, the service in which the communicants offered their thanks to the Saviour for his presence in the Supper.[6] It should be recalled that this was a maximal celebration, thus we should remember that almost any part of it might be replaced or even dropped. For example, if the Communion was not celebrated it was likely that it would be replaced by a Cup of Covenant for the Communicant Choir (Abendmahls-

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[1] Thus in Bethlehem during the year in question this festival was held by the unmarried Choirs as follows: single brothers--November 16 (1748); single sisters--October 19 (1773). The widows first entered their Choir House on October 12, 1783.

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[1] Batty, p. 120. "Chor Diarium der ledige Schwestern in Bethlehem," October 19, 1783; MS to be found in Bethlehem Archives. Hereafter cited as "Sisters' Diarium."

[2] "Brothers' Diarium," November 16, 1782. [3] Ibid.

[4] "Sisters' Diarium," October 19, 1782.

[5] "Brothers' Diarium," November 16, 1782.

[6] "Sisters' Diarium," October 20, 1782.

Chor), as those of the Choir were called who had been admitted to Holy Communion.[1] And in such a case it is likely that the Lovefeast also would give way to a Choir Homily or Liturgy which would conclude with an humble supplication to the Saviour, often in the form of an Anbeten.[2] It should be noted that in the Single Sisters' and Widows' Choirs the festival services except for the Morning Benediction were almost invariably officiated over either by the Preacher of the congregation or by another of the clergymen who served there, rather than as in the adult male Choirs by their respective Choir Helpers. This was apparently an accommodation to the problem of clerical orders for women and may well account for the fact that among the single sisters the Morning Benediction of a Choir holiday tended to be much more elaborate than the same service with the single brothers. Further, it should not be supposed that these Choir holidays, and particularly the Holy Communion celebrated therein, were in some way second-rate, or passed with little note in the congregation as a whole. Just how much the life of the entire community lent its support to such a celebration may best be observed with relation to the Choir Festivals themselves and will thus be discussed more fully with relation thereto, but let it be said here that barring the coincidence of a congregational festival, the whole settlement took its devotional cue from the festive emphasis of the individual Choir whose day it was, and made that the theme for each of its several worship services. In the matter of the Eucharist, a decree of the General Synod in 1775 indicates that any problem lay rather in over- than in under-valuation of Choir Communion, and that a certain "sectarian" tendency was to be noted in the attitude of the Choirs toward the congregational Communion over against that celebrated in the individual Choirs.[1]

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[1] Ibid., October 19, 1783.

[2] Ibid.

The celebration of a Choir Teaching Day may be seen as almost completely parallel to that of a House Festival. These holidays, set partly by appointment in the Text Book[2] and partly by the Elders' Conference of the local congregation, fell in the year 1783 at Bethlehem in the months of February and March,[3] and but a single theme was appointed for emphasis in all of them. It should come as no surprise that this theme was the use in the Gospel of John of the figure of the vine and the branches[4] applied to the congregation as the body of Christ and the Choirs as its branches.[5] In the Single Brothers' Choir the treatment of this subject delved into the matter of the nourishment of the branches by the vine and the duty on their part to bear fruit, a rather simple and direct application, to be sure.[6] The variation in the schedule of this day follows that for the class just described, in that it might or might not be climaxed by a Choir Communion.[7] A single chief difference must be noted, however, in the fact that instead of commemorating a past event, its purpose was more directly didactic, thus the addresses presented as the Choir Homily and the charge at the Cup of Covenant, or at the

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[1] "Verlass," par. 879,4. [2] "Tageregister, 1783."

[3] "Elders' Conference Protocol," February 2, 1783, set these dates: Single Sisters' Choir--March 3; Married Choir--March 6; and Single Brothers' Choir--March 8. The Widowed Choirs' day set in the Text Book was February 2.

[4] John 15:1-11.

[5] "Elders' Conference Protocol," February 2, 1783.

[6] "Brothers' Diarium," March 8, 1783. This document gives rather complete transcripts of addresses delivered on Choir holidays.

[7] This matter was decided by the Lot in 1783; "Elders' Conference Protocol," February 2, 1783.

Lovefeast, would be clearly concerned with the commendation of the appointed theme rather than commemoration of an historical event and its significance.

By far the most important event of the devotional year for a Choir of the Herrnhuters was that festival with which it both began and culminated--the Choir Festival itself. The date for this observance was set for each Choir by the schedule announced in the annual Text Book, so that its celebration might be uniform for all settlements, and was generally the anniversary of its foundation or of some spiritual event in the life of that particular group among the Herrnhuters.[1] Some of them, however, might vary as to exact date from year to year, according to the day of the week on which they fell.[2] A similarity, both in intention and in celebration, has been recognized between these holidays as observed in the several Choirs and the New Year Festival of the entire congregation. Yet in pointing out this similarity we have not gone beyond the most rudimentary form of these holidays. It must now be our duty to reconstruct a classic Choir Festival, analyzing at each stage therein the numerous refinements and variations which could accommodate this holiday to the use of each of the Choirs and its peculiar needs.

Like its archtype, the Choir Festival may be divided into two main parts--the close of the old year ("New Year's Eve") and the beginning of the new ("New Year's Day"). The conclusion of the year just ending is celebrated in the late afternoon or evening, or in some cases, both. The basic service with which the year closes follows the general pattern of a Festival Gathering, being made up of a verbal review of the blessings of God and the failures of man throughout the past year, followed by a free prayer, generally delivered by the speaker, expressing the thanksgiving of the brethren here gathered on their knees for those blessings, and contrition for their failures.[1] A classic example of such a prayer is to be found in the "Diarium" of the Bethlehem Single Brothers' Choir and was delivered by Brother Jacob Van Vleck, the Choir Helper, on the eve of their 1782 festival. It is incorporated here not merely to show the timbre of such prayers for Choir Festivals but to reflect the type of prayer which might appear at any Festival Gathering of the Herrnhuters. The address based on the Watchword and Text had just been completed; the brethren knelt; and the voice of the Choir Helper continued:

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[1] Lynar, p. 106.

[2] The Older Boys' Choir Festival, for example, fell on Sunday and was altered in date from year to year in order to continue on that day.

> My most beloved Saviour! If we properly felt our evil and unworthiness, we could yet do naught else but bring to you our thanksgiving for the endless demonstrations of thy divine love and patience--indeed, for all that which Thou hast done for us in the past year. Also to entreat Thee to envelop all our sins and trespasses in the depth of the sea of thy mercy, to fill us anew with thy comfort and speak peace to our troubled hearts. Let each one hear that comforting word, "Thou art mine!" and allow that we might cast ourselves believingly into thine arms of love, even as each one now feels that desire.[2]

At this point the brothers all responded with that verse which so often accompanied the Kiss of Peace:

Say, "My peace I leave with you":
Amen, Amen, be it so.[3]

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[1] "Brothers' Diarium," August 28, 1783.

[2] Ibid., August 28, 1782.

[3] Ibid. This translation is that presently used during the "right hand of fellowship" which has replaced the Kiss of Peace in the Communion service; Hymnal and Liturgies of the Moravian Church (Bethlehem, Pa.: Provencial Synod, 1920), p. 92.

And the service was at its end. In most cases this observance preceded the twilight Congregation Hour and would take place in the Choir prayer hall, except of course for the Children's and the Married Choirs whose functions took place in the Congregation House.[1] The only consistent deviation from this scheduling at Bethlehem was with the Single Sisters' Choir for whom this service followed the Congregation Hour and immediately preceded the next part of the festival celebration. In this next service of the festive closing of the year we find the second public use of the rite of Footwashing among the Herrnhuters, the first being that of Maundy Thursday. Practiced only among the adult Choirs, and then only by the Communicant Choir,[2] this rite took place in the Choir's regular meeting place and was executed by members especially selected for that purpose,[3] and the usual liturgy for Pedilavium was directed by the Choir Helper or, in the case of the single sisters, by the Preacher.[4] It was customary that at the end the Choir Helper and the Choir Overseer should wash one another's feet.[5]

At around five the following morning the celebrating Choir would be awakened by the singing of chorales appropriate to the occasion, accompanied by the musicians--likely with violins and other strings;[6] a string quartet or quintet does not seem to have been at all out of the question.[7] The announcement of the festival was made soon after from the tower of the Prayer House by the trombone choir playing the special tunes of the Choir and festival.[1] The holiday Morning Benediction, although held by the single brothers and sisters in their prayer halls at the usual time, was far from the usual service. For all save the Single Sisters' Choir the main body of this service, besides the hymns with which it was opened and closed, was a prayer delivered by the Choir Helper as an invocation of the Saviour's presence and blessing in the whole day.[2] This prayer was, of course, delivered while the whole company knelt. In the Single Sisters' Choir, however, this service was the only one actually directed by the Choir Helper and was nothing less than a full-dress Singing Hour, concluded with the Choir Helper herself singing the so-called Church Benediction.[3] The whole was well wrought from the examples given in the "Diarium" of that Choir at Bethlehem and must have been quite effective.[4] For other Choirs the hour of this function might be adjusted according to need. For example, the Married Choir, since its members must gather from their various homes where there were chores that had to be attended to in the early morning, did not have their Morning Benediction until eight o'clock,[5] while the older boys had theirs at seven.[6]

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[1] Supra, p. 35.

[2] "Brothers' Diarium," August 28, 1783.

[3] Ibid.; a list of those selected is given.

[4] "Sisters' Diarium," May 3, 1783; "Verlass," par. 172.

[5] "Brothers' Diarium," August 28, 1782.

[6] Ibid., August 29, 1783.

[7] Lynar, p. 109.

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[1] "Brothers' Diarium," January 12, May 4, June 24, August 29, September 7 (1783).

[2] Ibid., August 29, 1783.

[3] "Sisters' Diarium," May 4, 1782 and May 4, 1783.

[4] Ibid.; a fairly thorough reconstruction of this service is presented in each case.

[5] "Elders' Conference Protocol," September 6, 1783.

[6] "Brothers' Diarium," January 12, 1783.

If the festival happened to be on Sunday the next service would be the Church Litany at which a special petition would be rendered for the celebrating Choir at the appropriate place therein.[1] On week days, however, the Children's Hour would fall next.[2] It might be supposed that this service would be ignored, except when considering the celebrations of the Choirs therein, but this was far from the case. The Children's Hour invariably plays an important role in the accounts which are given of such festivals in the Choir "Diaria." The fact is that on such days a favorite part for many was the attendance at the "meeting for children" to hear the special verses of commemoration and benediction which would be performed there in honor of the celebrating Choir.[3]

In the Choirs of the Older Boys, the Older Girls, the Single Brothers, and Single Sisters, the Choir Festival was the time for the reception of new members who had been promoted from the younger Choirs.[4] Either on the evening before or with the first hours of the festival morning the process of promotion had begun for the persons who were making the change in Choir status. They had gathered in the room of their old Choir Helper where before the other Choir workers this official performed the final act of absolution through the rite of Footwashing.[5] This private practice of Pedilavium was, as the more public ones, accompanied by the singing of appropriate hymn stanzas and the Kiss of Peace.[1] It apparently also might be accompanied by the presentation of the Lebenslauf or spiritual autobiography of the past life of the person or persons thus absolved.[2] The service of reception itself took place at a meeting of the entire receiving Choir usually held in mid-morning at nine or ten o'clock. This service began with an address directly charging the newly received members with their responsibilities,[3] and was prefaced in the Single Brothers' Choir by the presentation of a Choir Homily based upon the Watchword and Text for the day.[4] The actual reception took place, like that into the congregation, with the singing of a short liturgical hymn, only rather than the Kiss of Peace the act of reception was a blessing by the Choir Helper with laying on of hands.[5] With all Choir reception liturgies involving sisters the service of reception was enriched by the rite of changing the ribbon of the old Choir for that of the new. For example, in the reception of a Single Sister her red ribbon was first removed by the Helper of the Older Girls' Choir, then the pink ribbon replaced it at the hand of the Helper and Overseer of the Single Sisters' Choir. This was then followed by the consecration of the new member as in the Brothers' Choir.[1]

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[1] "Bethlehem Diarium," January 12, 1783.

[2] This also was celebrated in the morning after the litany when Choir Festivals fell on Sundays; "Elders' Conference Protocol," September 6, 1783.

[3] "Brothers' Diarium," August 29, 1783.

[4] Lynar, p. 106. It should also be noted that new members might be added to a Choir by promotion at a Lehrtag, though this does not appear to have been the practice at Bethlehem; see Briefe, I, 32-33 [I,37].

[5] "Verlass," par. 881; a private Pedilavium is described, infra, pp. 403-404.

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[1] Lynar, p. 103.

[2] "Verlass," pars. 881; 892; 893. The Latin Lebenslauf of Schleiermacher presented at the time of his entrance to the Single Brothers' Choir and removal from Niesky to Barby may have been used thus; see Meyer, pp. 147-48.

[3] "Sisters' Diarium," May 4, 1783; "Brothers' Diarium," January 12, 1783.

[4] "Brothers' Diarium," August 29, 1783. This may be a custom peculiar to Bethlehem; see Meyer, p. 149.

[5] Ibid. The complete transcript of the "Diarium" account of the Single Brothers' Choir Festival at Niesky (August 29, 1785), in which Schleiermacher became a member of that Choir, is given.

The noon meal in the Single Sisters' Choir House was an especially festive occasion, apparently due to the fact that many of the members of this Choir were employed as domestics in the various private residences of the settlement and neither ate nor slept on a regular basis at the Choir House.[2] Thus this annual common meal of the entire Choir was one of particular significance.

An invariable component of a Choir Festival was the Festival Lovefeast which took place in most cases at two o'clock in the afternoon. The first part of this service was the reading of the Memorabilia of the past year, or "Changes," as they were sometimes called.[3] This was followed by the singing of a special Lovefeast Ode which had been prepared and generally printed for the occasion.[4] During the singing of this liturgy the buns and cups would be distributed and enjoyed, and the rite would end with the Kiss of Peace. It should be noted that both the reading and the singing were considered vital parts of the liturgy for this service.[5] In all except the Single Brothers' Choir, to whom the Choir Homily had been delivered in the morning, this Lovefeast was followed at four o'clock by a gathering for that purpose at which the address on the Watchword and daily Text would be delivered, followed by a prayer offered after the fashion of a Festival Gathering, while all knelt.[6]

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[1] "Sisters' Diarium," May 4, 1782. [2] Ibid.

[3] "Brothers' Diarium," January 12 and August 29, 1783.

[4] Reise, p. 381; "Elders' Conference Protocol," August 28, 1783.

[5] "Brothers' Diarium," August 29, 1783.

[6] "Sisters' Diarium," May 4, 1783.

Like the Children's Hour, the Congregation Hour was of particular significance in the structure of a Choir Festival. This gathering of the entire congregation which took place at seven o'clock was entirely geared to the participation of the whole in the joys of one of its parts. It was customary at such a service that the Choir involved should be commended to the intercession and benediction of the whole congregation.[1] At this time also verses of blessing were sung by the Choir, or performed by its musical organizations, and the service would close with the Church Benediction sung by the congregational choir in blessing on the celebrating Choir.[2] For those Choirs composed largely of persons not yet old enough to be admitted to Communion, this marked the end of their festival. There are possible exceptions to this rule, however, in that the Choir Elders for the children, as well as any members of such Choirs who might have been admitted to Communion but not yet promoted to the Choirs of the Single Brothers or the Single Sisters, would participate in the Cup of Covenant after the Congregation Hour.[3] Another exception may be noted on June 24, 1783, at the Choir Festival of the Bethlehem Small Boys' Choir. After the Congregation Hour these small boys paraded about the settlement serenading all with their verses of benediction and thanksgiving, this reportedly with the accompaniment of the congregation's violinists.[4]

The more usual function for this time in a Choir **Festival** was the climax of its celebration in all adult Choirs, namely the Choir Communion. After the blessing of the congregation had been pronounced, or rather sung, the members of the festive Choir returned directly to their own prayer hall where the Communion Liturgy would proceed. In the Single Brothers' Choir it was customary that the Choir Helper should celebrate and that the Overseer should act as his deacon in distributing the consecrated bread and wine.[1] It was very popular among the chroniclers of these sacramental celebrations merely to say that what transpired there, and the joy in the presence of the "Founder of the Choirs," the "Prince of the Choir," or even the "Bridegroom of the Choir"--as the single sisters were fain to express it, was beyond the power of words to represent.[2] Thus we do not presume to say what it meant to them, but merely to state that of all the highly significant acts and experiences of the Choir year, this one generally stood out above all the rest when the spiritual account keepers of the various Choirs sat down at the end of each year, before the New Year's Eve service, to write their contribution for the Memorabilia, the spiritual reckoning of the whole congregation.[3] The actual conclusion of such a service, as was the case with all Eucharistic observances, did not yet come until the Communicant Choir gathered in the early morning hours of still the next day for the singing of a Communion Liturgy--the thanksgiving psalm for the Saviour's presence in the Festival just past, but most especially for his nearness in Body and Blood.[1]

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[1] *Ibid*.; "Brothers' Diarium," January 12, June 24,and August 29, 1783.

[2] "Sisters' Diarium," May 4, 1783.

[3] "Brothers' Diarium," January 12, 1783.

[4] *Ibid*., June 24, 1783. It should be remembered that this day was also the Feast of St. John the Baptist and was the eve of the Memorial Day for the Augsburg Confession and the Bethlehem Congregation Festival.

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[1] Ibid., August 29, 1783.

[2] This language was used in "Sisters' Diarium," May 4, 1782; see also "Bethlehem Diarium," May 4, 1783.

[3] See "Bethlehem Diarium," at close of each year; also, "Gemein Nachrichten," I. Theil, where Memorabilia are generally found in the eighth to tenth week of each year for the previous year.

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[1] "Sisters' Diarium," May 5, 1783.

CHAPTER XI

THE CELEBRATION OF HOLY WEEK

The basic orthodoxy of the observance of the Christian year among the Herrnhuters is demonstrated by the position which the Passion Week and Easter hold in their extremely full liturgical calendar. Here, as is the case in their use of Holy Communion, they are in complete accord with the most primitive and venerated customs of the Christian church.[1] Their ecclesiastical year reached its zenith in the commemorations of the Holy Week, and these their crescendos in the representation of Jesus' passion on Good Friday and of his resurrection on Easter Sunday. In our examination of the practices of Holy Week in the Congregations of the Brethren we shall see how the numerous services all directed themselves toward those crucial ones held at three o'clock on Friday and at sunrise on Sunday. As we would see it, there were two controlling factors in the design and arrangement of these services both within and in relation one to another: the first, that they should reflect the observances of the primitive church as nearly as possible; the second, that they should contribute in the highest degree to the edification of the spirits of the Brethren. As the matter was seen by the Herrnhuters, however, this distinction could hardly be made, or at least would not be clear. From their point of view, a practice which qualified on one count would almost certainly do so on the other.

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[1] Hans Liezmann, A History of the Early Church, trans. B. Lee Woolf (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1953), III, 307-311.

The theological as well as liturgical orthodoxy of the observance of Easter season with the Brethren was virtually assured by the traditional role which the canonized passion narratives played therein. We may note during the period under examination the appearance of a printed manual which incorporated The Acts of the Days of the Son of Man from Passion Week to the Ascension,[1] now generally known as the Passion Week Manual,[2] and still used in very much the same manner as it was almost two centuries ago. In the Passion Week Manual of the late eighteenth century Herrnhuters, we find an abstract from the Gospel harmony then in common use among them.[3] This cutting covered the period primarily from the Saturday before Palm Sunday to Easter Sunday, but also incorporated the appearance of the risen Jesus after Easter as well as the ascension narratives. The whole manual was divided into eight very unequal sections, one for each day except Holy Saturday, supposedly describing the "acts" (Geschichte) of that day from Saturday through Sunday of the following week. The reading of these acts furnished the framework for the commemoration of the passion season in these congregations.

The fact has already been made quite clear that the oral reading, and especially the reading of the Scriptures, played a very important role in the cultus of the Brethren.[1] The use therein of the chorale verse and of the anthem as a sort of vocal illumination for the clarification and accentuation of the readings has also been noted.[2] During the passion season this particular form of liturgical service, generally called a Bible Lection (Bibel Lection), furnishes the whole framework for the arrangement and understanding of the functions of the week. As we shall see, in the early part of the festival--which actually lasts for ten or eleven days--the "readings" furnish both the framework and the substance. From Wednesday of Holy Week they continue to furnish the framework, but the substance in the latter part of the week is largely afforded by the liturgical representation of the actions of Christ and his Disciples, and by liturgical functions aimed directly at claiming and applying the actions of the Lord to the individual and communal life of the Congregation and to the church as a whole.

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[1] Lieberkühn, Die Geschichte der Tage. The 1775 edition has been used in the preparation of this chapter.

[2] Presently it is customary for the various choral and congregational musical presentations to be incorporated in the manual itself, and thus in order to facilitate the presentation of local custom, it is necessary that local editions be published, as for example, the "Bethlehem Edition."

[3] Lieberkühn, Die Geschichte unsers Herrn. An earlier harmony had been produced by Zinzendorf in 1757 but probably due to his failure to use the Luther translation therein it did not gain general acceptance. The Lieberkühn harmony was written in 1764 and the Passion Week Manual of 1765 comprises the last part of it; it did not appear in whole until early in 1769, however. See especially Fries, pp. 44-46.

As in other liturgical observances among the Brethren there was a clearly established and prescribed liturgical structure which was accompanied by a generally diminishing freedom in incidental matters and in special ornamentation. The basic freedom to alter practices in accordance with local needs and circumstances was maintained unchanged, but norms of excellence in liturgical form for each service were being little by little perfected and thus was liturgical practice becoming crystallized.[3] Certain classical usages created by liturgical genius or resurrected by historical scholarship had attained a status precariously poised somewhere between custom and norm, a balance which has, to a remarkable degree but with rather uneven consistency and results, been maintained to the present. It is thus possible for us in reconstruction of the activities of this particular season to trace their general structure with a high degree of certainty, and also to point out in general, and sometimes in particular, the embellishments which likely were utilized.

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[1] Spangenberg, Nachricht, p. 68.

[2] Lynar, p. 85.

[3] See supra, p. 271. "Verlass," par. 929: "einem jeden Liturgus frey stehe, sich nach seinem Herzen zuweilen, die Verse selbst zu wählen, damit der Geist in einer lebendigen Gemeine Jesu nicht gedämpft werde; weil aber doch nicht ein jeder die Gabe hat, eine schickliche Wohl zu treffen, so wurde im Synodo 1782 resolvirt; der Unitäts Direction zu empfehlen, das dem neuen Litaneyen-

The celebration of Holy Week was begun among the Brethren not on Palm Sunday, but the day before. On Saturday evening the reading of the Passion Week Manual was begun at the so-called Congregation Hour generally held at seven o'clock. This reading would be introduced only after the hearts of the congregation had been properly prepared to receive it.[1] Such preparation appears to have included the introduction of passion themes by the choir and congregation in musical form, and a general petition for receptive and retentive hearts that "a new blessing [be received] from the hearing of the acts of the Passion Week."[2] The ideal among those who listened seems to have been that these narratives be heard as if for the first time. Great care was taken to avoid the deadliness which can accompany the oral interpretation of written material.[3]

Büchlein . . . eine Tauf-liturgie, Begräbniss liturgien, u. andre dergleichen Gesänge beygefügt werden."

[1] Reise, p. 374. See also Appendix, pp. 616-30, where a group of manuscript Holy Week liturgies from the Bethlehem Archives, and stemming from this period, has been collected and transcribed. There also find a choral arrangement designed for performance at this service after the lection, p. 616.

[2] "Bethlehem Diarium," April 8, 1786.

[3] Spangenberg, Nachricht, p. 68. See a discussion on the function of reading in Brethren worship and the necessity of reading well in Reichel, 4. Rede.

The precaution of prepared listeners is not, of course, to be discounted, but to this we may add a great concern that those who read should do it well and that the reading should be at key points musically illuminated with appropriate chorales or anthems performed by soloists, the choirs, the congregation, or any possible combination of these.[1] Experience and imagination had created among the Herrnhuters a remarkable number of virtuosi at the construction of such "liturgies," and the effectiveness of these services of reading in the excitement of the devotion of the individual brethren as active participants in the liturgical representation of the acts of that week in Jesus' life can hardly be overestimated. The particular reading for the Saturday before Palm Sunday was divided into two pericopes, the first a narrative of the anointment of Jesus by Mary in Bethany (Matt. 26:6-13; Mark 14:3-9; John 12:1-8), and the second recounts the plot against the lives of Lazarus and Jesus (John 12:9-11).[2]

On Palm Sunday itself we find all of the usual Sunday services with only a few variations. It appears to have been quite common that the customary Church Litany should be replaced at the usual nine o'clock hour with the special "Litany of the Life, Suffering and Death of Jesus,"[3] which was much shorter and placed special emphasis on the passion theme of the season.[4] The sermon of the morning would be, as usual, on the Gospel lesson. In the afternoon, however, we find a variation in that the meeting of the Congregation of the Supper took place at which the forthcoming celebration of the Sacrament was announced, and the Brethren were admonished to prepare their hearts to receive the Holy Supper.[1] Of course, after the decrees of the General Synod of 1782 took effect (1785 in Bethlehem), the very important Easter confirmation service took place at that meeting on Palm Sunday.[2] It should be noted that if one were admitted to the Confirmands at this time, he might be confirmed immediately and partake of the Communion on Maundy Thursday without the usual four-week waiting period between admission as a Confirmand and actual confirmation and admission to the Supper.[3] This season appears to have been especially favored for the confirmation of those young persons who had grown up in the congregation and were being prepared in the schools or by special instruction for reception as communicants.[4] The convergence of this last step in admission to the Brethren, the first participation in Communion, with the devotionally charged celebration of Holy Week was often a time of pure transport to one thus reared and trained. The letters of Friedrich Schleiermacher give us a clear insight to the way in which one with whom a strong rational tendency seems to have been native could be, and was, completely enchanted by this experience.[5]

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[1] See Appendix for this chapter, especially liturgies for Good Friday and Easter Sunday Readings, pp. 617-20; 624-25.

[2] Lieberkühn, Die Geschichte der Tage, pp. 3-4.

[3] Gregor, Gesangbuch, No. 585: "Litaney vom Leben, Leiden und Sterben Jesu"; see "Bethlehem Diarium," April 13, 1782, March 20, 1785, and April 9, 1786.

[4] This emphasis is especially strong in the last half of the litany which is completely related to the passion of Christ. This litany may serve as a biographical introduction to the last week of Jesus' life, linking the events of that week with his earlier life.

At seven o'clock on Palm Sunday Evening the entire congregation, the children as well, gathered in the Prayer Hall for the reading of the events surrounding the day of Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem. The children, who as we know were not customarily present at services other than the Children's Hours designed especially for them, appear to have been included in the "readings" of Holy Week and played a particularly important role in this Palm Sunday reading. The "Hosanna" of Christian Gregor, still sung in this service by the children, was introduced during this time and was incorporated in the back of his Chorale Book published in 1784.[1] In 1785 we read that such a "joyous Hosanna" was sung by the choirs at this reading--of course at the point where it is still used, right after the praise of the palm-waving throng has been described in the pericope--and the children are reported to have responded to Jesus' quotation from Psalm 8, "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings Thou hast perfected praise," with a musical composition on the same theme that was their special possession.[2] The reading itself was relatively short, composed of three pericopes. The first described the entry to Jerusalem (Matt. 21:1-11; Mark 11:1-11; Luke 19:29-46; John 12:12-19); the second, the rejoicing in the Temple and remonstrance of the elders (John 12:20-50); and the third, Jesus' departure to Bethany (Matt. 21:17; Mark 11:11).[3]

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[1] "Bethlehem Diarium," April 13, 1783 and April 4, 1784.

[2] Ibid., March 20, 1785, April 9, 1786; "Elders' Conference Protocol," March 23, 1785.

[3] "Verlass," par. 862,5.

[4] Batty, pp. 188-92; Meyer, pp. 140-42.

[5] Briefe, I, 32 [I, 36-37].

Monday of Holy Week was filled with the usual activities of any week day in a Brethren settlement, except that the process of pre-Communion "Speakings" was in full swing in the Choirs. It was quite usual, at least in Bethlehem, that this particular Speaking, rather than taking place individually between the Choir Helper and the individual brother or sister involved, should be conducted within the Choirs by "classes" or "societies," the small intimate devotional groups into which each Choir was divided. This should not be surprising because of the very confessional character of such "conventicles," and in light of the fact that only two days were allotted to the Speaking of Holy Week--Monday and Tuesday.[1] The reading for Monday took place at the usual Congregation Hour and was generally followed by a Singing Hour which would naturally be closely related thereto. As the reading for Monday was quite brief, it was not uncommon that a part of the extremely long Tuesday narrative should also be read on Monday evening.[2] The Monday "acts" included only one pericope, this dealing with the curse on the fig tree, the cleansing of the temple (not mentioned in the Palm Sunday reading), the daily teaching of Jesus in the Temple, and the plotting of the chief priests, etc. against Jesus' life (Matt. 21:18,19; Mark 11:12-19; Luke 19:47,48).[3]

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[1] This anthem is included in the present Hymnal and Liturgies of the Moravian Church, No. 940 as Hosanna Anthem, pp. 648-49. It is dated 1783 and is antiphonally arranged for two parts or choirs.

[2] "Bethlehem Diarium," March 20, 1785.

[3] Lieberkühn, Die Geschichte der Tage, pp. 5-10.

Tuesday, the final day of the Speakings and the last on which the readings were held at the regular Congregation Hour, was very much as the several days which had preceded it, except that the pitch of festival was constantly on the rise. The narrative had suddenly lengthened from a single page to twenty pages, with twelve pericopes in which the events of Jesus' last week were rapidly moving toward their culmination.[1] Tuesday appears to have been the day on which members of the diaspora congregations[2] as well as former Herrnhuters found their way to the settlements for the celebration of the passion festival. Even to the present this is a special time of homecoming in which many outside the normal congregation are drawn from near and far for the festivities. In the readings of Tuesday we find incorporated the major conflicts between Jesus and the Pharisees, Scribes, Saducees, chief priest, Herodians, etc. (pericopes 1-10--Matt. 21:20-23:14; Mark 11:20-12:44; Luke 20:1-21:4), and in the final two pericopes the so-called Little Apocalypse (Matt. 24:1-51; Mark 13:1-37; Luke 21:5-36) and the "Parables of the Kingdom" (Matt. 25:1-46).[3] Thus in this lection are developed the elements of conflict which gave rise to the concrete plots against the life of Christ. All these are set within the broader context of his rejection of and by the old Israel and establishment of the Kingdom--the destruction of the old Jerusalem and creation of a new. The dominical basis for primitive Christian eschatology is reproduced.

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[1] "Bethlehem Diarium," April 4, 1784 and April 9, 1786.

[2] _Ibid_., April 14, 1783.

[3] Lieberkühn, _Die Geschichte der Tage_, p. 10.

On Wednesday of Holy Week liturgical life in the Brethren settlement reached a more elevated pitch. The spirit which had been more and more felt in the days before of intense devotion and increased preoccupation with the passion of Christ reached on Wednesday an expression through liturgical imitation of the actions of the Lord. On the morning of this day was generally held the Elders' Conference at which were discussed the problems arising from the

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 11-30.

[2] "Bethlehem Diarium," April 15, 1783; April 11, 1786.

[3] Lieberkühn, _Die Geschichte der Tage_, pp. 11-30.

Speakings and at which the washers for the Pedilavium were selected.[1] In many, or perhaps even most places, the reading of the Acts for Wednesday appears to have taken place at the individual gathering for Footwashing, but at least in Bethlehem, and we may assume other places as well, this reading took place at a separate gathering before the actual services of Footwashing. This meeting for the reading of the rather short narrative which included only the institution of Footwashing and the account of the plot between Judas and the chief priests (John 13:1-30; Matt. 26:14-16; Mark 14:10,11; Luke 22:3-6),[2] also included in Bethlehem the absolution, and was thus only for the communicants until the year 1786. In that and the following years the absolution was associated once more with Footwashing as had been the earlier tradition, and the entire congregation could attend the lection at three o'clock.[3] The arrangement of Pedilavium was made with relation to the size and composition of the congregation involved. In Bethlehem, for example, there were three services until the year 1787, when a fourth was instituted. Of the three, the first was for those who were to serve as washers for the others as well as for those who for some reason could not be present at the regular service; it was generally called the Amts-Fusswaschen.[4] This was held at four o'clock. The second service was at five o'clock for the sisters, and the last at seven or seven-thirty for the brothers.[1] In 1787 and after, however, the special "mixed" celebration for the washers was eliminated and there were two services for the sisters--at four o'clock and at seven, and two for the brothers--at five and at eight.[2] These practices must be seen, however, as local customs rather than in any sense normative, and it is unlikely that the separation of Absolution from the Pedilavium as it was for a time practiced in Bethlehem was ever widespread. In some places the size of the congregation required a much fuller schedule of Footwashings.

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[1] "Elders' Conference Protocol," April 11, 1781; April 17, 1783; April 7, 1784; March 23, 1785. Generally in the minutes of this meeting was incorporated a detailed schedule for services for Wednesday through Easter Sunday, which lists have been the chief basis for our reconstruction of the frequency and customary hour for such services.

[2] Lieberkühn, Die Geschichte der Tage, pp. 34-37.

[3] Compare "Elders' Conference Protocol" for March 23, 1785 with ibid., April 10, 1786.

[4] Ibid., March 21, 1780 et al.

The service itself was one which was the object of a good deal of curiosity on the part of contemporary observers, so although outsiders were not admitted at its celebration,[3] we are in possession of accounts which give a good and reliable picture of the rite as it was apparently practiced at the time. Also in the Litany Book which was then in use we find a liturgy, or actually, as we would expect, a hymn for use therein, and this has been incorporated in the Appendix for this chapter. Only two contemporary accounts will be quoted here; the first, published in 1762, described the service as follows.

> There is first an address about the institution and purpose of the rite. Then are certain collects based upon John 13 sung, interspersed with hymn verses. During these the priest goes and lays his hands upon the people in absolution; whereupon around twelve, give or take a few, laborers who have been appointed to the washing, begin to wash the feet of that same

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[1] Ibid., ". . . gegen 4. das Amts-, 5. Schwestere-u. ½8 Brüder-Pedilavium.

[2] Ibid., April 2, 1787. "4 Uhr erster Pedilavium für die Schwestern, 5 Uhr erstes für die Brr. 7 Uhr, zweytes für die Schwestern; 8 Uhr, zweytes für die Brr; bey jeder Abtheilung ist die Absolution."

[3] "Verlass," par. 793.

> number of brothers in one row, and to wipe them dry with an apron, and finish with the kiss. Meanwhile a priest performs the liturgy and with each row the customarily appointed collects are repeated. In this same manner, either beforehand or afterwards, it is also done for the sisters by the Eldresses and deaconnesses of their own sex, with the attendance of a priest who holds the liturgy.[1]

To this picture we add a view of the practice two decades later written by Count Lynar who described it thus:

> Footwashing is held once a year, on the day when Christ washed his disciples' feet, namely on the Wednesday before Maundy Thursday. In the afternoon at five o'clock it is held for the brothers and at six for the sisters. While the service is going on, verses are sung which deal with the purification from our sins through the blood of Christ, and during the singing a number of the sisters wash the feet of the rest. Then those who wash, also wash one another's feet. The service lasts around three-quarters of an hour. Those who do the washing have a basin of water and clean napkins. For each person it takes scarcely a minute and then the washed feet are dried off again. When a person sees that the washers have come almost to him and are washing the feet of his neighbor, then he removes his shoes and stockings, then afterwards puts them on again.[2]

It is to be noted that the first account antedates the institution of the Passion Week Manual and that the address which is spoken of in that description of the Pedilavium was in most places replaced by the reading of the Acts of Wednesday. The liturgy which has been placed in the Appendix dates from 1757[3] and beyond a doubt is the one to which the 1762 account refers as "certain collects based upon John 13," and its last two stanzas are likely the "customarily appointed collects" which were repeated with each row. The function for which this service was designed--the absolution before the Sacramental service on the next evening-- is made abundantly clear by the inclusion of the stanza:

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[1] Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, pp. 42-43.

[2] Pp. 97-98.

[3] Das Litaneyen Büchlein (1757).

Lord Jesus, be thou thyself near,
  Give us full Absolution
In Presence of the Angels here.
  And take off each Pollution!
Thy priestly Hand, pierc'd by the Nail
  Stretch'd out by Crucifixion.
That Hand so stiff, and so Deathly-pale
  Give us its Benediction.[1]

This verse is familiar to us as the one used for the absolution in the Communion Liturgy incorporated in chapter viii. The fact that there are certain discrepancies between these two accounts should cause no concern to the reader in view of the general liberty allowed in such matters among the Brethren. It was quite clear that the liturgy used at the beginning of the period had become unsuitable and had passed out of use by 1782 when it was proposed that a body of verses should be collected for use at the Pedilavium.[2] The changes of time and the differences in local custom go far to explain the discrepancies which may be observed.

Actually some rather interesting elements are discovered in the 1762 account which are not mentioned in Lynar's description. I refer to the use of the imposition of hands in the absolution and to the use of a kiss. In regard to the former practice it would be the safest course in view of the rather liberal use of this ritual action in other parts of the Brethren cultus to suppose that it was consistently practiced, at least in some congregations, at the first of this period and may well have been perpetuated into later decades in a few places. At the same time, a movement is to be observed at the General Synod of 1782 whose purpose was to disassociate the Brethren from a clerical or Roman doctrine of absolution,[3] a fact which might easily have led to a discontinuance of a practice so open to misinterpretation as the absolution through a ritual laying on of hands by anyone who might be denominated a "priest." The fact that such a usage was not discussed in that connection seems to imply that it had never been and was not then widespread, or that by 1782 it had largely passed out of use. That it would have been completely ignored in an effort to clarify the non-clerical character of absolution as practiced by the Brethren seems quite doubtful if it had been at that time in general use.

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[1] The Litany Book, pp. 126-29.

[2] "Verlass," par. 897. [3] Ibid., par. 898.

With regard to the statement that the washers finish their task "with a kiss," reference is being made to the use which was still current at the beginning of the Era of Spangenberg of ending the washing of the feet with the traditional kiss on the foot--the so-called _Fuss-Kuss_. This usage was discontinued by the Synod of 1769, however, and was not apparently afterward practiced.[1] Actually neither account clearly refers to the practice of the Kiss of Peace which took place after the process of washing in the _Pedilavium_,[2] by which was symbolized the reconciliation and mutual forgiveness within the congregation which was so essential to a worthy participation in the Holy Supper on the next evening.

Most striking of all in this service, however, was the combination of ceremonial action with the gentle singing of the chorales, the tender intensity with which all was done, the manner in which the service was woven together as a participation in the actions of the Saviour, and directed ahead to the participation in his body and blood and finally in his death and resurrection through the days to come.

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[1] _Ibid_., par. 882,1. [2] _Ibid_., par. 897.

On Maundy Thursday the activities of the week and the involvement of the congregation therein reach a new high. On this day for the first time the reading of the Acts of the day is divided into two parts--the first of these in the afternoon at three o'clock and the other in the early evening from half-past six.[1] The latter of these was followed by the Holy Communion at around eight or eight-thirty. The Acts of Thursday are divided into ten pericopes: the first three of these deal with the Last Supper and the events of the "upper room" (Matt. 26:17-29; Mark 14:12-25; Luke 22:7-20; John 13:31-14:13); the next four (4 through 7) with the events on the Mount of Olives and in the Garden of Gethsemane (Matt. 26:30-45; Mark 14:26-42; Luke 22:24-46; John 15, 16, 17, 18:1-2); and the last three with the betrayal and capture of Jesus, the examination of Jesus before the High Priest, and Peter's denial of Jesus (Matt. 26:47-75; Mark 14:43-72; Luke 22:47-62; John 18:3-27).[2] Each one of these general sections is of extreme significance in the whole fabric of Brethren piety. We have already discussed the importance of the Supper for them, and the emotional involvement of this brand of devotion with the guilty act of Judas and the cowardly act of Peter, as well as the anguish of Jesus before the High Priest, can hardly be overestimated. A broken and contrite heart was indeed the summum bonum for them as a condition of spirit, and these pericopes exercised this tendency to the fullest. The second section of these readings, however, must be seen as incorporating the most ubiquitous and influential themes in Brethren piety. The activities of the Saviour on the Oelberg are the key to the individual communal piety of the Herrnhuters as this finds expression in literally thousands of references. In hymns, prayers, autobiographies, sermons, exhortations, comments, and confessions, the "bloody-sweat" in Gethsemane stands as symbol of the emotional anguish of penitential battle (Busskampf) which was central in the life of a Herrnhuter, and in his conception of atonement. At the same time the High Priestly Prayer of Jesus (John 17) there introduced has become such a universal symbol of the Christ and church mysticism which became characteristic of the Brethren that "John 17" need merely be mentioned in passing, in order that the changes may be rung on the whole gamut of unity, and love themes. The full significance of these passages is often felt in what is not said but is supposed to have been said whenever they are introduced. They were indeed symbolic of the spirit or mind of the congregation, and as such were possessed of tremendous devotional power which exerted its fullest impact as these stories were read within the context of Holy Week's rising climax. The narratives of this day--the description of the Supper itself, the farewell address and "testament" of Jesus, the inner struggle and bloody-sweat, the betrayal, arrest and examination, and finally the denial of Peter--must all be seen as the setting within which on that same evening the most solemn celebration of the Sacrament in the whole year took place.[1] The summons by the trombone choir, the soft passion music and the brightly lit hall, as well as the customary structure of the Supper in a Brethren settlement have already been discussed. The only difference on this occasion would be the festive dress of the people, and of the hall. The people would not be in their work clothes, as usual, but in festive garb. The hall would likely be festooned with garlands and ropes of greenery as was the custom on holidays and special occasions. Accompanied by the soft harmonious singing which was unique to the Herrnhuters, the white-clad figures of the deacons moved silently among the worshipers, distributing the bread and carrying the heavy glass chalice from row to row, stopping from time to time to refill the flagon from small flasks of wine from the liturgist's table. The ever-changing chorale verses supported by the organ received a soft accompaniment from the rustling garments of the worshipers--many with tear-streaked faces --as they rose line by line to receive the body and blood, now and then interrupted by the subdued but clear tones of the liturgist's voice pronouncing the words of institution and consecration or charging the communicants to partake. All was done in grace and good order according to the unique musical-poetical-liturgical tradition of the Brethren.[1] The service must have been an exhausting one, not because of its length or physical exertion, but because of the emotional depth of individual and common participation, for indeed it was a relatively short and quiet service which at the same time demanded and seems to have accomplished a degree of devotional concentration which can only be attained and maintained with great expenditure of spiritual energy. Thus in a state of high spiritual awareness and exercise were the Herrnhuters brought to the eve of the day on which for them quite literally the Saviour was to die. It is necessary always to bear in mind the instrumental function of the passion narratives in facilitating a vicarious experience of the death and resurrection as well as the fact that this extension of the imagination into the events of that week long ago was sharpened and focused during the last days of Holy Week as the very actions of the Saviour and his Disciples were imitated and the very hours of the events in question were re-presented in and through the liturgies of the passion and resurrection.

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[1] The precise hours for services are not always uniform. In 1780 the hour for the first reading was 3:30 and for the second, 6:45; in 1781 the first was at 4:00 and the second at 7:00. From 1782 to 1787, however, the hours remained constant as stated here. "Elders' Conference Protocol," March 21, 1780; April 11, 1781; March 26, 1781; etc.

[2] Lieberkühn, Die Geschichte der Tage, pp. 37-58.

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[1] See for example the use of these ideas and interpretations in the Communion Liturgy and Ode for Lovefeast, supra, pp. 271-79 and infra, pp. 610-12.

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[1] See description of Holy Communion, _supra_, pp. 264-79.

On Good Friday we find the number of services increased from three to four or five, with three rather than two readings. The first event of this holiday was the "Post-Communion" which was generally held at nine in the morning for those who for some reason could not be present for the congregational Communion the evening before.[1] This was followed almost immediately at ten o'clock by the first lection of Good Friday. There appears to have been some freedom as to the amount of the Friday narrative which might be read at this service, but we may judge that probably seven of the thirteen pericopes for Good Friday would be highly suitable. These included the delivery of Jesus to Pilate, the repentance and suicide of Judas, the accusation and trial before Pilate and Herod, the choice of Barabbas rather than Jesus, the sentence of Jesus and his chastening and reviling before the Roman guard, and finally his presentation to the people by Pilate (Matt. 27:21-30; Mark 15:1-19; Luke 22:66-23:25; John 18:28-19:15).[2] The eighth pericope which dealt with the bearing of the cross to Golgotha may often also have been used in the morning reading (Matt. 27:31-34; Mark 15:20-23; Luke 23:26-34; John 19:16-18).[3] The ornamentation of these readings with music from the congregation and choirs may be seen as approaching its climax in the services of this day. The morning reading was for the most part similar to those which had gone before, but on the other hand, it was laying the groundwork for the service of the afternoon whose theme was the crucifixion. That the passion narratives were so well adapted to the liturgical use which was made of them in these passion week lections probably rises from their origin in just such usage.[1] In any case, the pericopes of Friday morning do a remarkably good job of preparing the way for the grippingly emotional service of the crucifixion.

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[1] Supra, pp. 289-90.

[2] Lieberkühn, Die Geschichte der Tage, pp. 59-67.

[3] Ibid., pp. 67, 68. The present arrangement in the Bethlehem Edition of the Passion Week Manual is done in this manner as

At three o'clock on Good Friday afternoon occurred what may well be christened "the Herrnhuters' most devout hour." Here indeed the paradoxical themes of Christian devotion and hymnody of sorrow and joy reach their epitome, and the devotional piety of the Brethren reaches its classic expression. The description which was made of such a service reveals most clearly its goal. Of this service on one occasion we read, "The Acts of Good Friday were read and each single portion of Jesus' suffering was represented anew before our hearts and eyes in such a living manner, that it was as if He were crucified in our very midst."[2] The composition of the service appears to have been very simple, but at the same time therein was utilized the full musical potential of the settlement--choirs, soloists, instrumental ensembles, organ, and congregation.

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is the case in the liturgical arrangements incorporated in the Appendix, pp. 616-25. Thus did the first of the "Seven Words" appear in the morning rather than the afternoon lection.

[1] The thesis that the Gospels in general but the passion narrative in particular were originated and preserved orally as liturgical formulae is hardly new.

[2] "Bethlehem Diarium," March 25, 1785.

The entire setting of the readings, in accordance with the best cultic tradition of the Brethren, was musical. And the key element in this music was congregational participation.[1] Although the congregation was admitted in the usual manner, on this occasion they were met not only by the soft strains of the organ, but also by a moving passion anthem arranged or even written for this service. The Elders and liturgist also were admitted as usual after the members of the congregation had all found their places and the doors had been secured, and the liturgist immediately intoned the first chorale. The stanzas and anthems sung at this service were the cream from the rich and colorful treasure of passion hymnody of the Brethren. After the singing of several such verses, the reading of the narrative was once again taken up. The ninth pericope of the day formed the heart of this service and incorporated the division of Jesus' garments and the inscription of Pilate with last words of Jesus on the cross (Matt. 27:35-37; Mark 15:24-26, 29-37; Luke 23:34-46; John 19:19-30).[2] This pericope ended with the line, ". . . and having said this, He bowed his head and gave up the ghost," and at its end the liturgist and the congregation fell silently to their knees; while they kneeled thus was sung their traditional verse of prayer for this moment:

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[1] The fact that the schedules of music for Passion Week which are incorporated in the Appendix, pp. 616-20 are dominated by choral and solo music should be seen more as a reflection of the nature of the document as a guide to the Collegium Musicum at Bethlehem than as an exhaustive schedule of music to be used. The copy of the 1765 Passion Week Manual to be found in the Bethlehem Archives reflects the much fuller congregational singing which actually existed by the handwritten indications of chorales and liturgies to be sung at the various points in the reading. Also see the full arrangement for the Easter Sunday reading in the Appendix, infra, pp. 624-25.

[2] Lieberkühn, Die Geschichte der Tage, pp. 67-71.

Most holy Lord and God,
Holy Almighty God,
Holy and most merciful Saviour,
Thou Eternal God;
Grant that we may never
Lose the comforts of Thy death;
Have mercy, O Lord.[1]

"Then the Preacher offers a prayer of thanksgiving to Jesus Christ for his death and the atonement for our sins which is accompanied by great emotion on the part of all and the shedding of many tears."[2] Apparently the prayer also might be used alone, as is described: "After the words of his holy departure, the congregation sank upon its knees and accompanied the moving prayer of Brother Johannes [v. Wattewille] with their tears, with supplication that the impression of Jesus' pain of death be indelible in their hearts and the comforts of his death may never fail us."[3] The hymn verse is, of course, the basis also of this prayer, and may actually have constituted all or at least a part of it. It is not at all impossible that Zinzendorf's son-in-law actually sang the verse as a solo on this occasion. As Count Lynar describes this service, the congregation rose immediately after the prayer, sang a closing verse, and was dismissed.[4] There is reason to believe, however, that at least one, and perhaps two more pericopes were read after the prayer, probably with the congregation seated. The tenth reading dealt with the miraculous events which surrounded the death of Jesus as well as the reaction of the centurion in charge of the crucifixion (Matt. 27:51-56; Mark 15:38-40; Luke 23:47-49);[1] the eleventh, which might have been read at this time or with the burial pericopes, described the action of the soldiers in breaking the legs of the thieves and piercing Jesus' side (John 19:31-37).[2] It should be remembered that all of these readings were punctuated and illuminated by musical presentations of various types, and as many as twenty verses, anthems, and solos would not have been unusual for such a service. And, as Lynar indicated, the service would be closed with yet more singing and playing. After the departure of the Elders, the congregation, lost in its vicarious reliving of those death hours, silently departed to take nourishment and prepare for the evening observances yet to come.

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[1] Lynar, p. 86. This chorale verse is still used in the Bethlehem Crucifixion Service. Instead of the last line of the chorale, Lynar indicates the use of a doxology, "Preis, Ehre und Macht, sey Dir von uns armen Erlösten gebracht!" The form used here is to be found at the conclusion of the "Litany to the Life, Suffering and Death of Jesus," Gregor, Gesangbuch, No. 585. It is also in the regular "Church Litany" for Sunday morning; ibid., No. 1464.

[2] Lynar, p. 86.

[3] "Bethlehem Diarium," March 25, 1785.

[4] P. 86.

The heat of grief was high in the afternoon service of Good Friday, and the exertion of the spiritual exercises seems to have led to a peculiarly gentle and relaxed celebration of his burial in the evening. I have no doubt that those who have studied the psychology of grief would be able to supply very cogent reasons why such a reaction was possible and necessary, but it remains only for us to state that this was the case. There might be either one or two services in the evening; in the first case, the two portions of the evening's observances would merely be attached together. The two parts were the reading of the last two or three pericopes of the Acts of Friday which described the burial of Jesus and the precautions taken to guard the tomb (Matt. 27:57-66; Mark 15:42-47;

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[1] Lieberkühn, Die Geschichte der Tage, pp. 71-72.

[2] Ibid., p. 72; according to the musical settings incorporated in the Appendix for this chapter, both pericopes were read at this service.

Luke 23:50-56; John 19:30-42).[1] This reading, as usual, was ornamented with much congregational singing. When held separately, it was scheduled at the time of the usual Congregation Hour which on Fridays featured a Bible Lection at six-thirty or seven o'clock.[2] This was followed at the Evening Hour--when the Friday Evening Liturgy was generally sung, at eight or eight-thirty--by a special Liturgy of the Grave described by one observer as "a meeting in which very well-measured and moving musical pieces alternated with chorales, both dealing with Jesus' death on the cross and his rest in the grave, were introduced."[3] Nothing would be said at such a service, except as it was expressed through song and musical instrument. At this quiet service the themes of grief and of rest which were carried through the following day and which culminated in the annual benediction upon sleep on Saturday evening were liturgically sounded.[4]

The day of Jesus' rest in the grave was known by the Herrnhuters as the Great Sabbath. This is the only day in Holy Week for which there was no narrative to be read. The functions of this day, and also lack of functions, as compared with the day before and the day after, indicate their harmony with the only narrative or "acts" which could have been introduced from the Gospels for the Great

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[1] Ibid., pp. 72-74.

[2] Supra, pp. 229-30. In Bethlehem the services were held separately in 1780, 1781, 1783, and 1784, and together in 1782, 1786, and 1787; see "Elders' Conference Protocol."

[3] Reise, pp. 378-79.

[4] One such liturgy is found in the English translation of the 1757 Litaneyen-Büchlein--the Litany Book (1759), pp. 121-22--but is not to be found in the German edition. See Appendix, pp. 620-21. Such litanies are to be found also in manuscript in the Bethlehem Archives; one such has also been included in the Appendix for this chapter, infra, p. 620.

Sabbath--simply that "on the Sabbath they rested according to the commandment" (Luke 23:56b). Only one or in some places two general communal services were held in the Brethren settlements on this day. These services were entirely musical in their liturgical composition. The universally celebrated service of this day was the most festive and ornate Lovefeast of the entire year; held at two o'clock on the afternoon of the Great Sabbath, it was obviously the object of months of preparation. For this occasion a special Lovefeast Liturgy was generally printed,[1] and utilized therein was every kind and degree of musical organization and form in the whole settlement. All stops were out, and the entire musical tradition and art of the Brethren was exercised.[2] The only Lovefeast which approached it was that for the annual Congregation-Fest,[3] and the setting of the Holy Week and the participation of numerous brethren from the Diaspora placed that of the Great Sabbath in an entirely different class. Unlike the congregation Lovefeasts which accompanied the regular fourth-weekly Communion, this Lovefeast included not merely the communicants, but all within the congregation, and visitors might be admitted who were not even of the Diaspora by giving proper notice to the Elders.[4] On the other hand, it was like the Communion Lovefeast in its heavy use of passion music, and like all Lovefeasts in its emphasis upon the mutual participation and love of the church of Christ (_Gemeine Christi_) in the primitive religious rite of fellowship--eating and drinking. At this Lovefeast, as any other, a special intention of intercession or thanksgiving might be announced and observed.[1] The real themes were, however, thanksgiving for the atoning death of Christ on the cross and vicarious participation of the community in his rest in the grave. The themes of grief and of rest sounded in the Liturgy of the Grave the night before were clearly continued in this service with its very ornate and complex musical background. It must be noted that the quietness and general aspect of simplicity was gained through rather than despite the use therein of an extremely various musical setting and company. A rich yet subdued harmony, rather than a confusing profusion of color and great volume, was attained thereby.

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[1] _Reise_, p. 379.

[2] See one of a large number of manuscript liturgies examined which has been included in the Appendix, pp. 621-23.

[3] _Supra_, pp. 313-14.

[4] Lynar, p. 95.

In some settlements a Solemn Liturgy to the Corpse (Leiche) was held in the evening of the Great Sabbath at which the entire congregation would be present. There was a motion to introduce such a liturgy at Bethlehem in 1786 but it ran into difficulties in the Servers' Conference and was never adopted.[2] It may be reasonably supposed that any motion to complicate this "day of rest" was strongly resisted especially by those who were already bearing an almost exhausting load of responsibility for arrangements during this week. We are told nothing about this service as it was celebrated elsewhere, but it was almost certainly an altogether musical liturgy, as were most services called by that name among the Brethren, and of course would deal with that beloved but recognizedly dangerous object of Herrnhut piety, the corpse of Christ. It is not to be supposed that at such services in this time the extreme verse of the so-called "Sifting Time" could have been introduced, but at the same time the "corpse" and "crucifix" piety of that day was not altogether dead[1] and this defeat of an effort to introduce such a service in Bethlehem may be seen as a clear victory of those who opposed this line of Brethren piety.

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[1] "Bethlehem Diarium," April 10, 1784. The special "intention" of the Great Sabbath Lovefeast was thanksgiving for the safe arrival of John von Wattewille in the West Indies. See supra, p. 257.

[2] "Elders' Conference Protocol," April 10, 1786 (note).

The epitome and most explicit expression of the Great Sabbath's rest theme is to be observed in the ceremonial conclusion of that day. In that evening, for each Choir was held a Solemn Evening Benediction. Now as we already know, there was each day a very brief devotional service directly before retiring, at which a couple of stanzas would be sung, the Text of the day read, and a short exhortation based on that text presented.[2] This Evening Benediction on the Great Sabbath, however, was an altogether different matter. For this service the Children's[3] and the Married Choirs met in the Prayer Hall, the former generally first, at perhaps seven, and the latter at seven-thirty. Thus we see that the service would be quite short, probably not exceeding a quarter hour--the usual length for a special Choir service. The Benediction for the other Choirs was held afterward in the prayer hall of the respective Choir Houses.[4] This gathering is briefly described by one observer: "In the evening the Choirs have a special evening benediction which has connection with Jesus' rest in the grave, through which our rest is sanctified."[5] The Bethlehem diarist described it: "In the evening the meritorious rest of our Lord was applied in particular to the daily rest of our safe-keeping in sleep, by all the Choirs in their respective Choir Evening Blessings."[1] Thus in this service was the sanctification of Jesus' rest in the grave applied to the nightly rest of the brothers and sisters in the sleeping chambers of the various Choir Houses and individual residences of the settlement. This rather incidental-seeming ritual carried on in each Choir had an important role in the Choirs' understanding of their function as residential units given over entirely to the following of the Saviour and the vocation given by and through him. Even the sleep of this religious community was sanctified by the manhood of God.

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[1] See supra, pp. 279-80. [2] Supra, p. 217.

[3] It is clear that at least in the 1770's there was a separate Lovefeast especially for the children on the Great Sabbath. This practice seems to have disappeared soon, and was at least in part replaced by this formal benediction.

[4] See "Elders' Conference Protocol," April 8, 1786; April 2, 1787.

[5] Reise, p. 379; Lynar, pp. 106, 119.

The rest which was thus blessed, at least on that night, was not to last long. The signal for rising would sound on this highest of holy days at a half-hour before sunup. This signal might apparently be either the bell or the brass choir, or probably both. The use of the trombones and trumpets playing chorales from the tower of the Prayer Hall on special or festive days has already been noted, and Easter Sunday certainly was no exception.[2] But even before that time, by as much as an hour, small groups of brothers and sisters were up and about in their various Choir Houses, even as on Communion and other special days, plotting a pleasing surprise for the awakening of their fellows. Here the diary of a young English girl of several decades later gives us some insight as to the actual experience of that morning.

> Easter Day . . . Oh, happy, holy day! It is now only six o'clock in the morning and yet I have been up two hours and a half, and have done a great deal in that time, though not all

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[1] "Bethlehem Diarium," March 26, 1785.

[2] Supra, pp. 188-89; Lynar, p. 109.

> that I wished; for, I regret to say, a thick drizzling rain is pouring down, which has prevented our going to sing among the graves. Pauline called me at half-past three, and I went with her and Sister K., Sister H., Leuchen W., and Amelie, to sing the Sisters and girls up.
>
> "All about let music breathe,
> Above, around, and underneath,"
>
> is certainly the rule in this place. We went to the dormitory, to the sick room, to the new dormitory, to Sister Z., and Sister R. Sister K. gave the first greeting at each door, singing--
>
> "The Lord is risen!"
>
> Then we took up the strain responding--
>
> "Yes, verily he is risen!"
>
> and then all joined in the Easter hymn. The stars shone brightly through the windows as we passed up and down the broad staircases and along the corridors; and with beating hearts, Pauline and I expressed to one another in whispers our hopes of a fine day; but, alas! they were not to be verified. The church was full at the Litany. The girls are now preparing to breakfast altogether in the dining-room.[1]

The great event of Easter Sunday in the cultus of the Brethren, paralleling the significance of the Crucifixion Service on Good Friday, was what might be called the Resurrection Service at the hour of sunrise on Easter. As will be quite apparent in its description, this service was a remarkable one in its symbolism--and indeed stands alone, at least in Western Christendom. It is generally referred to, as Beatrice has in the quotation above, as "the Litany," or more fully, the "Easter Morning Litany." Count Lynar describes the service most adequately.

> Very early on the first day of Easter, or on the Feast of the Resurrection, when the sun rises, the time when Jesus is supposed to have arisen, the first meeting is held; if it is bad weather, however, the bell summons the people a half hour to an hour later. The congregation gathers in the customary hall and they are met with the full sound of music. The preacher declares: "The Lord is risen!" and the congregation replies: "The Lord is risen indeed."[2]

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[1] Batty, pp. 194-95.

[2] In Reise, p. 379, the service in the Prayer Hall ends at this point.

The choir sings:
Christ is arisen
From the martyr tomb,
Let us all therein rejoice,
Christ will our comfort be.

Then the congregation sings:
Jesus my dear Saviour liveth,
Life for me doth now appear,
Where my Redeemer presence giveth,
Why should I remain in fear.
As ever with the head, the body;
So to Him are we not near?

Thou Lamb for us art slaughtered,
Take thou praise and honor,
Laud and thanks from myriad choirs,
For thou art worthy!
Let all "Amen" say
To praise the Lord,
Who here on earth and Heaven above,
Have breath
(or perhaps other verses of similar content)

Then the preacher goes forth from the hall followed by the whole congregation, two by two--the brothers first followed by the sisters, the helpers and administrators with their Choirs. In this procession they arrive at the Churchyard and draw into a circle. The choir and orchestra [who had led the procession] go on beyond the congregation and continue the music. Usually a great number of outsiders have gathered outside the Churchyard where they stand and look on. The special Easter Morning Litany is then prayed alternately by the preacher and the congregation, punctuated by the musicians at the prescribed intervals.[1]

The full significance of the consistent use of the designation Gottesacker among the Herrnhuters for their burial grounds is brought home to the observer. This term, whose translation as the Acre of God, or God's Acre, is unfortunate--completely aside from any consideration of Erskine Caldwell's highly descriptive prose--could better be translated as God's Field or Garden,[2] for in the Easter faith of the Brethren and of the Church in general such a place is seen as a seed-bed sewn against the Resurrection and of which Christ is the first fruit. Indeed, even the various plots for the individual Choirs were generally called beds (Beete).[1] The Litany itself has been called a sort of "Confession"[2] and thus it is as we shall see--for it must be introduced here in full.

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[1] Pp. 86-87.

[2] Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 58: ". . . ihre Gottes-Aecker ordentlicher und zierlicher als irgendwo, wie einen Garten des Herrn anlegen. . . ."

Easter-Morning Litany[3]

(The bishop or minister saith or sings:)

> I believe in the one only God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost; who created all things by Jesus Christ, and was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself.
>
> Chor. I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth! that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes.
>
> Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight.
>
> Min. Father, glorify thy name!
>
> Cong. Our Father who art in heaven; Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us, And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, and the power and the glory for ever and ever. Amen.
>
> Chor. O Father, love us; because we love thy Son, and believe that he came out from thee.
>
> Min. I believe in the Name of the only begotten Son of God, by whom are all things, and we through him:
>
> I believe, that he was made flesh, and dwelt among us; and took on him the form of a servant:
>
> By the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, was conceived of the virgin Mary; as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same, was born of a woman:
>
> And being found in fashion as a man, was tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin:
>
> For he was the Lord, the angel of the covenant, whom we desired; the Lord and his Spirit had sent him, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord;
>
> He spoke that which he did know, and testified that which he had seen: As many as received him, to them gave he

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[1] Lynar, p. 126. ". . . in gewisse Beete nach den Chören abgetheilt. . . ."

[2] Spangenberg, Nachricht, pp. 78-79. "Es wird darauf von dem Lehrer ein Bekenntnis des Glaubens oder die sogennante Osterliturgie gebetet und darinnen die ewig Gemeinschaft mit denen, im vergangenen Jahre, im Herrn Entschlafenen erinnerlich gemacht."

[3] Swertner, No. 132, pp. 46-49.

power to become the sons of God.

Behold the Lamb of God! which hath taken away the sin of the world,

Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried;

Went by the spirit and preached unto the spirits in prison,

The third day rose again from the dead, and with him many bodies of the saints which slept;

Ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the throne of the Father; whence he will come, in like manner as he was seen going into heaven.

Chor. The Spirit and the bride say: Come:

Min. And let him that heareth, say: Come!

Cong. Amen, Come, Lord Jesus! do not long tarry,
With longing hearts we are waiting for thee;
Come soon! O come!

Min. The Lord will descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the arch-angel, and with the trump of God, to judge both the quick and the dead.

This is my Lord, who redeemed me a lost and undone human creature, purchased and gained me from all sin, from death and from the power of the devil,

Not with gold and silver, but with his holy precious blood, and with his innocent suffering and dying;

To the end that I should be his own, and in his kingdom live under him and serve him in eternal righteousness, innocence, and happiness;

So as he, being risen from the dead, liveth and reigneth world without end.

Cong. This is certainly true.

Min. I believe in the Holy Ghost, who proceedeth from the Father, and whom our Lord Jesus Christ sent us, after he went away, that he should abide with us for ever.

And that he should work all in all, dividing to every man severally as he will.

To him be glory in the Church, which is in Christ Jesus, the holy universal christian church, in the communion of saints, at all times, and from eternity to eternity;

Cong. Amen.

Min. I believe that by my own reason and strength I cannot believe in, or come to Jesus Christ my Lord.

But that the Holy Ghost calleth me by the gospel, enlighteneth me with his gifts, sanctifieth and preserveth me in the true faith;

Even as he calleth, gathereth, enlighteneth and sanctifieth all Christendom on earth, and keepeth it by Jesus Christ in the only true faith;

In which Christian church he forgiveth me and all believers all sin daily and richly.

Cong. Amen.

Min. I desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better; I shall never taste death:

Nay I shall attain to the resurrection of the dead; for my body which I shall put off, that grain of incorruptibility, shall put on incorruption; my flesh shall rest in hope. And God will also once quicken these bodies here interred, because the Spirit of Jesus hath dwelt in them.

Cong. Amen.

Min. I believe, that our brethren N.N. and our sisters N.N. (Here the names of those are mentioned in each congregation, who went from among them into their eternal rest since the last Easter.) are gone to the church made perfect, and entered into the joy of their Lord; their bodies are buried here.

Cong. They are at rest in lasting bliss,
Beholding Christ our Saviour:
Our humble expectation is
To live with him for ever.

Cong. We poor sinners pray thee to hear us, O dear Lord and God!

Min. And to keep us in everlasting fellowship with the church triumphant; especially also with those servants and handmaids of the whole church, whom thou hast called home within this year, as N.N.[1] and to let us once rest with them in thy presence.

Cong. Amen.

Cong. Grant us to lean unshaken
Upon thy faithfulness,
Until from hence we're taken
To see thee face to face.

Min. Glory be to him who is the Resurrection and the Life!

He that believeth in him, though he were dead, yet shall he live.

Glory be to him, in that church which waiteth for him, and in that which is about him,

Chor. For ever and ever.

Cong. Amen.

Cong. Lord, grant me thy protection;
Remind me of thy death
And glorious resurrection,
When I resign my breath:
Ah then, though I be dying,
'Midst sickness, grief and pain,
I shall (on thee relying)
Eternal life obtain.

Min. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.

Cong. Amen.

After this final "amen" the congregation which had been formed in a circle around the most recent graves in the church-yard drew once again into a procession and returned, accompanied by music, even as they had come, to the Prayer Hall and from thence to their homes to breakfast and prepare for the other festivities of the day.[1] As already has been indicated, on inclement days--if it were raining or if there was still snow on the ground--this service would be held in the Prayer Hall, but it was apparently the custom in the latter case if it were a fair day overhead that the greater part of the congregation immediately following the benediction would proceed directly to the Gottesacker where they would gather in a circle and sing among the new graves.[2] The visiting of the graves was an important part of the litany itself and would be dispensed with only with deep disappointment and under absolute necessity. This litany is an extremely revealing one and will naturally be of great interest to us in our examination of the theology of the Brethren as it indicates very clearly the position of this body vis-à-vis the theology of the Enlightenment, especially as related to the incarnation, atonement, and humanism. It also reveals the solid ecclesiological orientation of the Herrnhuters and the general churchliness of their piety. The high pitch of resurrection faith suggested here will also be of interest to us when we consider the temper of practical piety. The fearless confidence in the Saviour which led the stoically oriented Enlightenment to so greatly admire the Herrnhuters' approach to life and to death is to be sought here. Actually, this is as near to an official confession as we are likely to find with the Brethren, and in the same sense as were the ancient creeds, it was liturgical in function and spoke directly to the peculiar "heresies" of its age. It did not, however, become a norm and a test as did the ancient confessions, but remained as a positive affirmation which could be and was subjected to alteration as the circumstances within which it spoke changed.[1] In the sense of a confession in Protestantism after the Peace of Westphalia, the Herrnhuters themselves and their friends desired that they have and be no "Confession," and this particular confession was far too orthodox to appeal to their opponents as a symbol characterizing and identifying them. They themselves did not want one, and their enemies would certainly be reluctant to brand them with this one.

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[1] At this point are named the ministers and workers of the Unity who have died during the year.

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[1] Lynar, p. 88.

[2] "Bethlehem Diarium," March 17, 1785.

It must not be supposed that the Festival of the Resurrection faded away into oblivion after this first service. This was certainly far from the case. The settlements were full to overflowing on that day with hundreds of curious visitors, in for the day to celebrate the festival.[2] There would be yet three or four general services before this day ended. Here, as elsewhere, there was much freedom, and there could be and was variation within even a single settlement. Apparently in most places the next service would be the regular preaching hour at nine or ten o'clock. The sermon would be on the Gospel lesson for the day, of course the resurrection, and in areas outside Germany or German speaking countries, there were generally two sermons on festival mornings, in the native language of the country and in German in whichever order appealed to the Local Elders' Conference.[3] In some places, though, the reading about the resurrection in the Passion Week Manual was divided into two parts, the first read in the morning at eight o'clock, before the preaching hour, and the other in the afternoon at three or in the evening at seven. This was the practice in Bethlehem in 1787 and after.[1] We do not know for certain how the eleven pericopes of The Acts of the Resurrection and Ascension were divided, but most likely the first three would be read at the eight o'clock lection. The first dealt with the empty tomb (Matt. 28:1-9; Mark 16:1-9; John 20:1-10); the second with the appearance of Jesus to Mary Magdalene (Mark 16:9; John 20:11-17); and the third with his appearance to the women (Matt. 28:8-10).[2] These readings, as the others of the Holy Week, were also accompanied by a full musical setting.

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[1] A Collection of Hymns (1801). The "Preface," p. v., indicates such a change. See also Spangenberg, Nachricht, p. 79.

[2] "Bethlehem Diarium," April 20, 1783. ". . . war Englische und Deutsche Predigt, zu einer solchen Menge fremder Zühorer, dass viele vor dem Saale stehen Mussen."

[3] See note to "Elders' Conference Protocol," April 17, 1783, which indicates a change in this order.

The readings would be continued, or if there were no morning reading, would be commenced at mid-afternoon or early evening. The remaining eight pericopes introduce the various appearance narratives and the problems of disbelief among the Disciples, and finally the last two deal with the commissioning of the Disciples and the ascension of Jesus (Matt. 28:11-20; Mark 16:10-20; Luke 24:9-53; John 20:19-21:23; Acts 1:3-12).[3] In the evening at the Congregation Hour the Feast of the Resurrection is concluded with a service featuring one of the very excellent free prayers which appear to have reached a high state of cultivation among these devout folk, this performed on the knees or even prostrate on the floor of the Prayer Hall--its object an expression of humble gratitude for the fruition of divine grace through Christ and the church.[1] It would be accompanied by a short homily, probably on the Text for the day, and would as always be opened and closed by the gentle and harmonious singing of the joyful and lively chorales in the incomparable style of the Herrnhuters.[2] The nostalgia of the weary worshipers as they found their way home through the darkening streets is a thing which can only be conceived by those who have actually experienced the sweet anxiety and religious tension held by such an emotionally charged and concentrated religious observance as that of Jesus' passion and resurrection among the Herrnhuters. It is made up of the inner exercise of the mind and spirit which is only completely possible to one who is both talented and well-trained in the art of feeling and savoring his own feelings, and of projecting himself into the feelings of others, both living and long dead. Only thus was the Herrnhuter able successfully to live that week in the life of the Saviour, of his Disciples, and even of his enemies, and in a way also to relive and re-present this experiencing of the church through the centuries as well. Not every Christian is able or even willing to undergo such an experience, nor should he be.

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[1] Ibid., April 2, 1787.

[2] Lieberkühn, Die Geschichte der Tage, pp. 74-78.

[3] Ibid., pp. 78-86. See Musical setting for the Easter readings in Appendix, pp. 624-25. The last pericope or ascension narrative may have been deleted from reading on Easter.

Although, of course, the readings for Passion Week ended with those on Easter Sunday, the festival--insofar as it was actively celebrated--extended over yet one or two days, i.e., the second and third days of Easter. The first of these, Easter Monday, was customarily the monthly Congregation Day (Gemeintag), an observation which has been described elsewhere.[1] As we have noticed, this was generally celebrated on the second day of all of the Christian festivals of first rank--Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas.[2] As the name suggests, the observation of the Congregation Day brought the intense devotional activity of the Lenten Season, Holy Week, and Easter to bear upon the congregation, the Brethren's worldwide fellowship, and upon the universal church. The day was marked by readings, particularly from missionary accounts and the diaries of other congregations.[3] The high point, however, came in the Congregation Hour at twilight when Baptisms took place and new members were admitted to the congregation. This appears to have been a much favored time, especially for adult Baptism and for entrance to the congregation as members. Lynar states that "on the second day of Easter, at the morning Children's Hour there is a homily over the Gospel lesson, in the afternoon a "liturgy" and another homily at eight in the evening."[4] The Baptisms and also the admissions would take place at the latter service. We find an example of such a service in the "Gemein Nachrichten" for the Easter Week of 1782. The homily on this particular occasion was highly reflective of the religious moods and observances of the week past and was accompanied by a goodly number of hymn verses and a hearty prayer.[5]

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[1] "Gemein Nachrichten" (1783), II. Theil, 17. Woche.

[2] "Bethlehem Diarium," April 20, 1783.

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[1] Supra, pp. 243-46.

[2] Supra, pp. 311 and 327.

[3] The "Beilage" to the "Gemein Nachrichten" were designed for such use, and in fact were later called "Gemeintage Lectionen."

[4] Lynar, p. 88.

[5] "Gemein Nachrichten" (1782), II. Theil, 14. Woche. Here we find reproduced such a service.

Even though it does not appear to have been celebrated in the Bethlehem Congregation during most of this period,[1] the third day of Easter was in many places the object of especial observance and marked the close of the Easter Festival. Count Lynar describes it:

> On the third day of Easter is the usual Children's Hour, early in the day, at ten o'clock a homily on the gospel lesson, and at eight in the evening another homily. At the end of the festival, the whole congregation stands for the last chorale verse and the musicians sing and play the customary church benediction: "the Lord bless you and keep you" etc.[2]

Actually the last service of the festival was a Singstunde, of which we have several examples in the "Gemein Nachrichten" of the period,[3] and this was held, apparently, at the usual Evening Hour at around nine o'clock. One such liturgy has been incorporated in the Appendix[4] and from it we know that this service was a musical resume of the devotional highlights of the Holy Week, with especial emphasis, naturally, placed upon the passion and resurrection of Jesus and what these events meant for the world and for the church, both individually and collectively. It will also be noted that although a benediction is used in this service, and is apparently an extremely important part of its function in closing the Easter Festival, it was not necessarily the particular "church benediction" mentioned by Lynar, but in the service reproduced here was one of the Pauline benedictions.[5] The significance and intention with which it is marked, however, is in no way altered. The function of this service, and in fact of all the services of both these "post-Easter" feast days, was to conclude, yet extend the commemoration of the Lord's passion and resurrection.

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[1] We find no indications in the "Diarium" or the "Elders' Conference Protocol" of observance of the Third Day of Easter in the 1780's.

[2] P. 88.

[3] One of these is incorporated in the Appendix, pp. 625-27.

[4] Infra, pp. 625-27. Lynar, p. 77.

[5] See Appendix, infra, p. 627.

One could anticipate an immediate deterioration in devotional intensity after the numerous and highly charged services of Holy Week, and we may not suppose that this was not to some degree the case. On the other hand, these two final days of the festival--directed as they are to the projection of Easter into the life and lives of the "living church"--show in some measure the capacity of the Brethren to sustain what was a religiously saturated life, and on the other hand tend to demonstrate the role of holidays within the life of a community for which all days are holy--how the devotional intensity may be and was with a remarkable degree of success transplanted into the context of the ordinary day-to-day devotional and ethical fabric of life in a Brethren settlement. At the same time we must also recognize that this "ordinary" life was itself unique within the cultural and religious life of Protestant Europe. The pitch of piety within these communities was almost unbearably high, and the function of the special observances of the Christian year as well as their special memorial days--but most especially Easter, the most fully celebrated of all among these festive people --was to re-attune, to re-direct that intense devotional life. Seen purely as devotional piety, the life of the Herrnhuters depended most clearly and completely for its own continued orthodoxy and Christianity upon this reliving of the "heart" of the Christian message. The truth of this contention is attested by the fact that even today the most genuine taste of the genius of the Herrnhuters is to be experienced in their observance of this season.

CHAPTER XII

THE LIFE CYCLE OF A HERRNHUTER

Largely for the sake of their communal actions men have divided and subdivided the natural revolutions of their world into the various segments which mark what we call time. It is these contrivances of social convenience, shaped to the planetary and lunar cycles, which have formed thus far our treatment of the devotional life in a Brethren settlement. There remains, however, a segment of time with consideration neither for astronomical revolutions nor for social convenience. It is this ultimate measurement of human time which will furnish the framework for the final circle of services in the devotional piety of the Herrnhuters. I refer, of course, to the "time" of a single life, and to the devotional "life time" of an individual brother or sister who might be born, live, and die an inhabitant of such a "settlement congregation" as we have been in the process of examining. It is necessary that this treatment be directed toward the individual Herrnhuter, not because of any special character of individualism within the movement as such, but because of the individual character of human existence itself. A human being is born alone and he must also die alone, and between these two events which each experiences as an individual stretches a stream of self-consciousness, transected by innumerable natural and communal landmarks and "rites of passage" which in a sense divide that most human measure of time into segments adapted only to itself, thus creating what might be called a life cycle. We are here interested to reconstruct those "rites of passage" and landmarks which touch upon the devotional life cycle of a Herrnhuter, thus to complete our picture by painting the bold features of its immediate foreground. Finally we will see if there is even in this measure of time yet a partiality, whether for the true Herrnhuter it may really be an ultimate measure or whether it is rather itself only a segment, a part pointing forward to still another "time."

It is rather difficult to know at just what point one should begin a discussion of the life of a Herrnhuter. The event of birth, of course, suggests itself as the point at which the human individual becomes a part of the social and religious community into which it is born and thus begins its devotional life. Yet we have already noted the concern exhibited by this particular religious body for the spiritual and physical welfare of the yet unborn, which is liturgically reflected in the petitions of the "Church Litany" and in the special Teaching Days for Pregnant Sisters twice each year. Neither must it be supposed that the interest of the Herrnhuters in their members yet unborn exhausted itself in liturgical verbiage and in devotional admonitions. These devotional exercises and churchly intercessions were accompanied by a mass of advice and counsel as the practical interest of the community to protect both mother and child found expression during this period in a writing which might easily pass for the "Dr. Spock" of the eighteenth century, a guide to the care and upbringing of children which follows them from conception to adulthood.[1] After merely noting these demonstrations of communal interest reaching toward the Herrnhuter even before he has entered the world, it is best that we follow a more traditional approach in our treatment and begin with the first rite by which the infant is initiated into the religious body in question--the sacrament of Baptism.

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[1] Layritz.

In view of the distinctiveness which has been noted with relation to the various other devotional and sacramental actions of the Brethren that have already been described, it is certainly to be expected that Baptism would be no exception, and in so supposing we will not be disappointed. Although the opening of life was not, like its close, heralded from the church tower by joyous music, it was a matter for announcement in the congregation of the faithful and for note in the Diarium thereof. Unlike much of Christendom at the time, the sacrament of initiation suffered no delay among the Herrnhuters, nor was it done privately, but rather it usually took place in a public assembly of the entire congregation, including the children,[1] and usually within a day or two after the actual birth of the child.[2] It was a matter of principle that an essential part of the validity of such a rite was the participation of the believing congregation therein and that this could only be dispensed with in cases of grave necessity.[3] The rationalistic author of Reise durch Kursachsen provides us with perhaps the best account of the Herrnhuters' practice of Baptism during this general period. It is described in the following terms.[4]

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[1] "Verlass," par. 849,3.

[2] See "Bethlehem Diarium," where in the page before December, 1783, is given a table of the birth and baptismal dates of a group of infants born to the Brethren.

[3] "Verlass," par. 851.

[4] The whole rite might be preceded by a short prayer offered over the child by the Preacher who was the minister of the sacrament; ibid.

> Baptism is performed in the public assembly of the congregation, and they do not wait so long in this matter as in other places. Actually the child is baptized as soon as it is born. At this Baptism, the following ceremonies take place. After the Preacher has directed the singing of several verses he delivers a short address to the congregation. After the conclusion of this and during the singing of a verse, the child is brought in by the midwife. The sponsors or godparents--of which there are five (namely three brothers and two sisters if the child is a boy; and if a girl, two brothers and three sisters)[1]--gather around the table. The midwife hands over the child--if a boy, to the Overseer or the Choir Helper of the single brothers; if a girl, to the Overseer or Helper of the sisters. The latter holds the child during the Baptism.
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> After the Preacher has put several questions to the children, he asks the entire congregation: "How are you baptized, you who are baptized into Jesus Christ?" The congregation then answers: "Into his death." Thereupon says the Preacher: "Into this death baptize I thee, N.N., in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." When the child has been baptized he continues: "So are you now buried with Christ through baptism into his death." The congregation responds: "In the name of Jesus, Amen." The sponsors during these words lay their hands upon the head of the child. After the singing of a verse the Preacher says further: "So live now, nevertheless not you, but Christ live in you, and what you now live in the flesh, that live in the faith of the Son of God, who has loved you and given himself up for you." Thereupon is the benediction spoken over the child and the rite of Baptism concluded.
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> From this description of the rite of Baptism one may observe that the exorcism which is yet practiced in many places is not used among the Evangelical Brethren. . . . It also deserves mention here that the Preacher in the Baptism pours the water out of a small tin or copper canister upon the breast band of the child.[2]

The Baptism Liturgy itself is quite short and because of its distinctive features has been deemed worthy of transcription here. The liturgy proceeds as follows.

"Baptism of Children"
(After the singing of some suitable verses, and a short discourse):

Minister	Christ, thou Lamb of God, which takest away the sin of the world,
Cong.	Leave thy peace with us! Amen.
Min.	By thy holy Sacraments,
Cong.	Bless, gracious Lord and God!

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[1] The actual number of sponsors might vary between a minimum of three and a maximum of five; *ibid.*, par. 849,4.

[2] Pp. 356-59.

An infant we present to thee, (T. 90.c.)
As thy redeemed property,
And thee most fervently intreat
This child thyself to consecrate
By Baptism, and its soul to bless
Out of the fullness of thy grace.

(Questions which may be put to the children, and answered by them):[1]

Min. What is Baptism?
Children Baptism is the answer of a good conscience towards God, the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which is shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour.
Min. May children also be made partakers of this grace?
Children Children may also be made partakers of this grace.
Min. What is the ground of this hope?
Children For Christ hath said, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven" [Matt. 19:14; Mark 10:14; Luke 18:16].

(Then the child which is to be baptized, is brought in, and the minister offers up a suitable prayer; or sings an appropriate verse; for example):

Min. Be present, Lord! tho' water fails (T. 14.a.)
To cleanse a soul from sin,
Yet while we pour it, let thy blood
Now make this infant clean.

Min. Ye, who are baptized into Christ Jesus, how were ye baptized?
Cong. Into his death.[2]
Min. Into the death of Jesus I baptize thee, N.N., in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.[3]

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[1] In the form from which this liturgy was reproduced these questions were included as optional at the foot of the page in a note, and the answers were merged in a statement of the minister. They have been here inserted into the body of the liturgy as they were described from Reise above and recorded in earlier formularies. See The Litany Book (1759), pp. 171-72.

[2] Rather than this response the following verse might be introduced:

Ihr heiligen Drei Personen tauft.
Was des Lammes Person gekauft
Mit Seinen eignen Blut so roth,
Tauft das Kindlein in Jesu Tod.

"Verlass," par. 849,2.

[3] The water was poured over the breast of the child during these words; Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 39.

(During the imposition of hands the minister continues):[1]

Now art thou buried with him, by baptism, into his death [Rom. 6:4];

Cong. In the name of Jesus, Amen.

His death and passion ever, (T. 79.)
Till soul and body sever,
Shall in thy heart engrav'd remain.

Min. Now therefore live, yet not thou, but Christ live in thee! And the life which thou now livest in the flesh, live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved thee, and gave himself for thee. Gal. 2:20

Cong.
This grant according to thy word, (T. 132.a.)
Thro' Jesus Christ, our only Lord,
O Father, Son, and Spirit.

Min.
The Lord bless thee, and keep thee!
The Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee!
The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace!

Cong. In the name of Jesus, Amen.[2]

A rite of exorcism which had been part of earlier liturgies[3] was declared no longer necessary already at the General Synod of 1764[4] and appears to have been abandoned rather early in the settlement congregations, remaining in use only in mission congregations. Thus by the middle 1770's it had dropped entirely out of use in the accepted liturgy[5] and was maintained afterward only in a special liturgy for "Baptism of Adults from the Heathen."[6] Other secondary rites within the baptismal service, such as the use of the sign of the cross and the consecration of the water, were optional, left largely to the discretion of the minister by action of that same synod.[1] The use of the white alb or surplice in baptismal services does not appear to have been uniform during this period but was increasing in popularity.[2] Perhaps the most distinctive features relating to the baptismal practices of the Brethren are their insistence upon Baptism as a common action of the congregation and thus to be performed only with the participation of all; the use of the Pauline figure of sacramental participation in the death and resurrection of Jesus which is the congregation's response to the question put to them concerning the nature of their own Baptism, and its introduction into the baptismal formula itself as the official interpretation of this sacrament; and finally, the rather peculiar manner of applying the water in Baptism--to the breast rather than to the head. The first of these is to be seen as a part of the community's understanding of its responsibility for each of its new members, and indeed the whole conception of the church (Gemeine) as the body of Christ. The second must be set within the context of the kind of piety toward the passion and resurrection which was exhibited in the Holy Week observances. The third and final feature--the pouring, not of a few drops, but of a goodly quantity of water in Baptism on the heart rather than the head[3]--must be viewed as a symbolic affirmation of the stance of the Herrnhuters as a "heart" rather than a "head" religion, and this not merely as classical Pietism within the context of Scholastic Protestant Orthodoxy but with relation to the "head religion" of Enlightenment as well. Thus in this sacrament of initiation were the characteristic emphases symbolized which would mark the life of a Herrnhuter.

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[1] The sponsors joined in this imposition of hands and thus shared in that which followed; Spangenberg, Nachricht, p. 75.

[2] A Collection of Hymns (1801), pp. xviii-xix.

[3] The Litany Book (1759), p. 173.

[4] "Verlass," par. 849,7.

[5] Spangenberg, Nachricht, p. 75.

[6] A Collection of Hymns (1801), pp. xxiv-xxvi.

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[1] "Verlass," par. 849,5-6. [2] *Ibid.*, par. 850.

[3] *Ibid.*, par. 853. "Das Wasser aus einer Schale dreymal reichlich aufs Herz gegossen," *Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht*, p. 39. See also Batty, p. 111: "The Minister raises the metal jug from the basin which has been placed before him, and pours water three times on the heart of the child." The Synod of 1764 notes that this practice was in general use among the Würtemburgers; "Verlass," par. 849,1.

It should by no means seem strange that a movement with its roots in eighteenth century Germany should practice the Baptism of infants. In fact, considering their typically Lutheran attitude toward the state,[1] it would have been extremely peculiar had the Brethren not done so. Their practice of this rite, however, must be seen as representing a great deal more theological investment than merely a passive acceptance of the religious decree of the state. It rather reflected their whole approach to the status of what is likely the most difficult problem of religious orders who do not practice celibacy--the status of those children who are born within such an order. This problem was by no means new, but had already been faced by the primitive church with the initial rise of a "younger generation" within Christendom, and as we have noted, the response of the Herrnhuters to this problem took the traditional and orthodox form of an unequivocal affirmation of faith in the divine calling of such children.[2] It was ultimately this position which justified their use of infant Baptism, also inspiring and informing the whole of their rather intricate provision for the education and spiritual nurture of such children as came into their several households.

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[1] "Ums kommt es nie zu, die rechtmässige oder unrechtmässige Gewalt, die eine Obrigkeit aus übt zu untersuchen: Wir bleiben bey der Lehre der heiligen Schrift: 'es ist keine Obrigkeit ohne von Gott.'" "Verlass," par. 572.

[2] *Ibid.*, par. 181,3.

The Brethren position on several traditional problems surrounding the practice of infant Baptism might appropriately be introduced here. The first is concerned with the nature of the faith which can be assumed to be present in the recipient of this sacrament. The second relates to the eternal salvation or damnation of infants who die unbaptized. In the first of these the stand of the Herrnhuters reflects a Lutheran tendency in that an act of faith is definitely assumed on the part of the infant.[1] In typical Brethren fashion, however, the argument for this belief is founded upon Scriptural authority rather than on psychological speculation.[2] In regard to the eternal fate of the unbaptized the Herrnhuters avoided a definite statement and although their practice of baptizing children almost immediately after birth reflects a practical concern with this knotty problem, they followed their irenic principle of non-participation in traditional doctrinal controversy and maintained complete silence with relation to it.[3]

The nature and structure of the system utilized by this movement in the training and discipline of their children have already been dealt with insofar as they bear upon the practical piety of the Brethren; the official position is quite clear and the methods well thought out and defined.[4] But lives are not lived by synodical decrees, nor can we gain any true picture of the devotional piety of a child thus elected and instructed from an abstract or even practical discussion of principles and methods. We must rather turn to what we may know about actual lives as they were lived by children born and reared among the Brethren.

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[1] Spangenberg, Idea, p. 236.

[2] Ibid.; reference was made to Matt. 8:6; Mark 9:36,37,42; 10:13,14; and Acts 2:39.

[3] Ibid., pp. 227-38; see also Spangenberg, Nachricht, p. 44.

[4] Infra, p. 365.

Among the most charming documents to be found in the "Gemein Nachrichten" are the Lebensläufe of children which were included from time to time especially for the edification of the Children's Choir on their Congregation or Prayer Days. We quote from one such here. The particular child in question was the son of a clergyman and bishop of the Brethren, and his life came to an untimely end as the result of a scarlet fever epidemic in the Boys' School at Niesky when he was only six years of age. Let it be noted at the outset that if the life here described seems idyllic, that should come as no surprise since it was the concerted aim of the whole community that it should be so. That others, at the same time, were not, should also come as no startling event. Somehow in the very nature of the case, the heady wines of one may be the nemesis of another. The heaven of one was most clearly the hell of another. Now to the document itself.

> Little Ludwig Justin v. Bruiningk was born January 8, 1780, in Gnadenfrey where his father, our late Brother Heinrich v. Bruiningk,[1] was the associate Congregation Helper and Preacher. . . . (His dear mama writes): . . . When he was yet scarcely able to speak properly, one could mark in him an extraordinary love for singing and for all kinds of music. Thus it was very easy for him to lispingly imitate, often only in broken words, but in the purest melody, the verses which were sung for him. So before he was yet fully two years old he could sing more than twenty verses very clearly and regularly, and would often busy himself at doing so for hours on end. In December 1781 he had

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[1] This clergyman made a profound impression upon Schleiermacher's father when the latter was stationed near Gnadenfrey during the War of the Bavarian Succession in 1778, and perhaps more than any other set in motion the events which ultimately led to the placement of the Schleiermacher children with the Brethren in 1783. Meyer, pp. 4-5.

to endure a severe illness. . . . Unforgettable to us in connection with this illness remains his childish joy when on his birthday we belatedly celebrated the Christmas Eve Lovefeast, missed during his illness, with a little company of children and other good friends--how with joyful heart and mouth he voiced one Hosanna after another with such feeling that the hearts and eyes of those present overflowed. . . . In Barby where we arrived on the eleventh of December [1782] . . . his favorite recreation, music, was industriously pursued by him. He would be elated the entire day if in the evening there was to be a concert, and would sooner miss an hour of sleep than such a performance. His musical ear made it possible for him in his solitude to teach himself to play a number of melodies on the clavier, and as a matter of fact, he did not rest until he had by adding other voices achieved a harmony. The children's meetings were always highly enjoyed by him and were often a true blessing. He always looked with anticipation toward the time when he would go to the "Institution" where he would have more fellowship and also a regular school. . . . In September, 1784, on our journey from Barby to Herrnhut we gave him over to the Unity Institution at Barby. . . .

(The brothers at the Unity Institution here [at Niesky] added): . . . Learning was easy for him and he was in the school, as well as in the dormitory room, a good example to his playmates by means of his understanding and loving nature. He was especially gifted in speaking to the littler ones who came from time to time, often addressing them in a pleasant and understanding manner. Even though he could sometimes go astray because of his fiery temperament, at the same time he was inclined toward forgiveness if another child had perhaps abused him and shown remorse. The meetings in the [prayer] hall were always very important to him, and he especially enjoyed the Children's Prayer Days because he then, as he was accustomed to say at the Speakings, would receive the grace to prostrate himself before the dear Saviour. Among his roommates he was generally the cantor in their games, for which he had a special gift. Also one could find him often engaged in singing a Liturgy all by himself in solitude. Above all, one could always trace a work of the Saviour and of his Spirit in the tender heart of this child, and if one spoke with him of the love of Jesus toward children, then he could express the basic feelings of his heart and never spoke of this without being moved, indeed often with tears in his eyes. . . . Since the "home-going" [i.e., death] of his unforgettable father, verses concerning "home-going" have generally been the content of his Liturgies. He made it a habit often to place himself before the silhouette of his late Papa, and when he had regarded it with a satisfied gaze for a long while, he more than once began to sing: "Sent the heart thither, all his illness, where it wishes eternally to be," etc. The introspection with which he did this often made his brothers suspect that him also they would not have for long, for his heart was entirely too happily occupied with the church (Gemeine) above. . . . Before the outbreak of the recent epidemic he was one of the most healthy children in our house. He was accustomed, before he went to sleep, to speak with the Saviour, as at various times

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> his fellows have found him kneeling in his bed. To their questions he answered, "I plead with the Saviour for a good and obedient heart." On November 3, 1786, he was still particularly gay and chipper. In the evening he took his Text Book with him into his chamber and knelt down in his nook and prayed, deeply moved, to the Saviour. After supper, however, in yet that same evening, he complained, and one could soon see that it was an attack of the then raging scarlet fever. . . . The sixth of November, toward morning, he became weaker and now more peaceful. It was plain to see that the Saviour hastened with his perfection. With heavy heart the benediction for his blessed journey home was imparted and during the singing of some verses for "home-going" his breath ceased, and he fell gently and happily asleep at the age of six years and ten months, less two days.[1]

Several themes which have already been emphasized may be quite clearly seen in this abbreviated Lebenslauf, only here we may see how they were brought to bear on the life of a particular child. Perhaps most outstanding among these in this life was the role of music, but we also find remarked the influence of the various devotional exercises such as the Speakings, Children's Hours, Children's Prayer or Congregation Days, as well as the individual and private devotional life which was carried on in the dormitories of a Brothers' House or school. Finally, we find demonstrated the role which death--or, more accurately, "home-going"-- played in the life of a Herrnhuter, even of such a tiny one as this.

The actual structure of spiritual as well as physical growth was, of course, furnished to the native-born Herrnhuter by the Choir system itself. We have already been witness to the reception and first participation of the young child at the solemn "Prostration before the Lord" which marked the beginning of this progression from one estate to another,[2] and in our consideration of Choir Festivals we have marked the rites of absolution and consecration by which one left the care and life of one Choir and entered that of another as his physical and spiritual maturity progressed.[1] Thus it is only necessary here to transplant those rites and their significant actions by means of recollection from their function within the life of the congregation as a whole and of the individual Choirs to their function within the life cycle of the individual Herrnhuter.

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[1] "Gemein Nachrichten" (1787), Beilage, 1. Woche, I.

[2] Supra, pp. 242-43. This reception into the inner circle of the Children's Choir usually did not take place until the fifth or sixth year; "Verlass," par. 945,4.

Although there was no iron-bound rule as to the points at which promotion from one Choir to another should take place, there was a general conformity of practice in such matters. The final responsibility, however, always lay with the Choir Helpers in their deliberative convocation with the Congregation Helper as the Helpers' Conference. In any such consideration the chief aim was to bring the individual member into an intimate relationship with the Saviour and in so doing to create a true church (Gemeine) of Christ.[2] Apparently as soon as he could be separated from his mother the small child began to participate in the activities of the Children's Choir, and when he could take part in the activities of the adult congregation, especially in the Congregation Hour, he was ready to become a member of the Older Boys' or Girls' Choir.[3] The early teens were a time of particular concern and were considered a dangerous period for children.[4] One was usually confirmed and admitted to Holy Communion in the middle teens at about the same time as a lad was placed in apprenticeship if he planned to take up a trade. Although it involved no real change of Choir as such, the older boys who had been admitted to Communion were subsequently referred to as the Youth Choir.[1] Both boys and girls remained in school until they were fourteen, at which time the boys either went on to the Paedagogium, became members of the Schreiber Collegium at Barby, or otherwise took up one trade or another.[2] If they were apprenticed to a master in the Brothers' House they then went there to live and became a part of its daily regimen. Girls generally either stayed at home or were placed in domestic service; whether or not they moved to the Sisters' House and when this transition was made depended upon their home situation, i.e., whether their Choir Helper considered their environment there to be proper and conducive of the desired condition of grace.[3] The next step, that from the ranks of the communicant boys and girls into the full adult status of a single brother or sister, was one taken with great caution because of the greater freedom which this move brought.[4] With the exception of those who were promoted from the Paedagogium to the Seminarium, which automatically brought this change of status,[5] the twentieth year was usually awaited before this move was made; if this general rule needed to be broken, special supervision of those thus promoted was provided.[6] None of these changes in status was automatic, but each one was made in accordance with the spiritual condition of the person involved and by action of the Choir Helpers directly concerned.[7]

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[1] Supra, pp. 343-44. [2] "Verlass," par. 64.

[3] Lynar, p. 73. [4] "Verlass," pars. 858; 175,9.

In accordance with the beliefs of the Brethren regarding the election of those born to parents who were members of a settlement congregation, it must be assumed that their advancement was a great deal more "automatic" than that of those who came from outside,[1] and this was most certainly the case. The carefully supervised stages of permission to take up residence in a settlement, membership in the congregation, and admission to the Holy Communion --which for those who came from outside replaced the education and discipline of the lower steps of the Choir system--have already been the object of considerable attention; indeed, the ceremony which solemnized the earlier stage of reception as a member was reconstructed as a part of the monthly devotional cycle.[2] When the new entrant into a congregation had undergone this reception into membership he stood on basically the same footing as did the native Herrnhuter by right of birth. He of course lacked the carefully thought out and constructed education and nurture which had been the whole life of the native-born Herrnhuter, and this was naturally taken into consideration as both the new brother and the teen-age native prepared for entrance into the sanctum sanctorum of the Brethren--the communicant congregation. The process by which one attained this end may be seen as a complete parallel to the first two steps by which the new brother attained his present status. That is, he was, as has already been seen,[3] admitted first to attendance at and observation of celebrations of the Sacrament; then, in due course, and only after he had demonstrated his readiness thereto and after the Saviour had been queried concerning the matter by means of the Lot, he would be deemed ready for admission to the Supper itself. It will be recalled that a period of at least one month was generally spent as a Candidate, during which time one was presented as such at the celebration of Communion and was allowed to attend the sacramental service as an onlooker from the balcony. At the end of this month if the Candidate had demonstrated his readiness he might be nominated for reception as a communicant. If he was thus received by action of the Elders' Conference and by decision of the Lot he became a Confirmand and was introduced as such at the sacramental celebration on that same day--notice thus being given that at yet the next monthly Communion Day he would participate as a full-fledged member in the Congregation of the Supper.[1]

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[1] Ibid., par. 179.
[2] Ibid., par. 538.
[3] Ibid., par. 157.
[4] Ibid., par. 132.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid., pars. 122; 179.

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[1] Ibid., par. 858. [2] Supra, pp. 244-46. [3] Supra, pp. 109-111.

The practice of confirmation itself underwent a profound change during the latter years of this period. In the years before the General Synod of 1782 this service took place on the Communion Day, and this rite, like that of promotion from one Choir to another, was begun a few hours before its public celebration by the private exercise of absolution by means of the Pedilavium.[2] The Confirmand was called into the chamber of the Choir Helper where in the presence of the Preacher and of several Elders of the congregation the Helper offered a prayer over him, then all joined in the singing of several hymn stanzas while the Choir Helper washed the feet of the person to be confirmed.[3] Then the Confirmand went directly to the Communion Lovefeast or to the service of Absolution if there was a separate service for that purpose, where he was seated by the Sacristans on the front pew directly in front of the liturgist's table and where the confirmation took place. After

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[1] This was the case except for Maundy Thursday when the Confirmand might be immediately confirmed and attend the Communion at that very same celebration; "Verlass," par. 862,5.

[2] Ibid., par. 881.

[3] Lynar, p. 103.

1782, however, the former rite of confirmation was divided into two separate services[1] and the private use of Footwashing completely abandoned.[2] The first of these, designed for those who had been born in the congregation or had never been confirmed outside, was moved from the Communion Day to the service at which the forthcoming Communion was announced, and thus took place several days before the first participation in the Supper;[3] the second was a service of "consecration" of those who went for the first time to the Eucharist with the Brethren, but had been confirmed previously in another church.[4] The stated purpose of this change and the efforts to standardize confirmation practices among the congregations which followed it aimed to avoid the charge that the Herrnhuters practiced re-confirmation of persons coming to them who had already received confirmation elsewhere.[5]

The fact that the consecration service which remained a part of Communion Day was apparently identical with the former confirmation practices makes unnecessary a separate description of usages before and after 1782. In _Reise durch Kursachsen_ we find an account of the rite of confirmation which developed after that time. Here we read:

> This confirmation always takes place in the meeting which each time precedes the Communion by several days and in which the members of the Brotherhood are made aware of the upcoming event, prepared for it, and exhorted to undertake an examination of their hearts and lives. At this meeting the catechumens sit on the first bench in front of the Preacher. After he has made a short address to them, he directs to each a question about like this, "Are you of the mind now and in the future to offer body and soul to the Saviour who has given up his life for you, and do you desire to be ruled, directed, and led through his grace

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[1] "Verlass," par. 863.

[2] _Ibid_., par. 891.

[3] _Ibid_., par. 863,1.

[4] _Ibid_., par. 863,2.

[5] _Ibid_., pars. 862-63.

> by his Spirit?" Then the catechumens answer with a clear, "Yes!"
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> After this affirmation the Preacher blesses each one with a special Biblical text, during the laying on of hands, then he offers a prayer on his knees and the whole meeting is closed with the singing of several verses.[1]

At this service the catechumens were directly charged with responsibility for the promise made concerning them at Baptism.[2] The blessing with laying on of hands was dispensed to the catechumens while they knelt, a new feature as it had previously been dispensed to them while standing.[3] The change was intentionally made in order to distinguish this action from the "consecration" of those who were to be admitted for the first time to Communion, which took place, as before, on the Communion Day.[4] This service is described by Count Lynar in this manner:

> Such a one who goes for the first time to Communion sits alone directly in front of the Preacher, and shortly before the consecration an Elder goes to him and lays a hand upon him, whereupon he and congregation stand. While the Elder lays his hand on the Confirmand's head the congregation sings:
>
> The soul of Christ does thee heal,
> His own Spirit be thy seal;
> Through his body torn for thee
> May soul and body healing see;
> That water drawn by spear's cruel thrust
> Which from Jesus' dear side did burst,
> Be that thy bath, and his blood too
> Give thy heart, his courage true;
> The sweat of Jesus' own dear face
> Guard from judgment through his grace;
> For his suffering cross and pain
> Are with our misery ever one.
>
> Thereupon the Elder kisses the candidate and returns to his place.[5]

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[1] Pp. 395-97.

[2] The influence of the rising popularity of confirmation as a reaffirmation of baptismal vows and as a reception into full communicant membership which in the Protestant churches of Germany is closely related to the movement of Pietism may definitely be traced here as a full "Lutheran type" of confirmation is accepted by the Brethren; "Verlass," par. 863. See Lukas Vischer, La Confirmation au cours des siècles, translated from German by J. Carrère (Neuchatel: Editions Delachaux et Niestlé, 1959), pp. 64-67.

[3] "Verlass," par. 864,1. [4] *Ibid.*, par. 863. [5] P. 96.

After the minister of confirmation or consecration--in the former case usually the Preacher and in the latter generally the Helper of the Choir to which the person being confirmed belonged[1]--returned thus to his own place on the platform beside the liturgist's table, the new brother had attained for the first time full membership as a Herrnhuter. It should be remembered, however, that such admission did not, as in the state churches of the time, mark the attainment of a status in which one might then relax and be "at ease in Zion."[2] It was rather the admittance to full participation in the devotional life of the community. It will be recalled that membership in the Congregation of the Supper served not merely to admit one to the Sacrament but to the ranks of the intercessors and to the singing services called Liturgies as well, thus rather than attaining some sort of minimal mode of participation, the new brother gained at this point a much more active religious life.

With the attainment of this level of full adult and communicant standing in the congregation we are brought to a consideration of the unique and rather remarkable marriage customs which prevailed among the Herrnhuters. We have already seen their apparently infallible method for finding and deciding upon a mate through the Elders' Conference and with the assistance of the Lot.[3] This complex process, based as it was on the Choir Helpers' thorough personal knowledge of the spiritual and emotional temperament and maturity of the individual, will not again be traced here. Our primary concern is what followed when the match was successfully concluded, whether that be with the first or the twentieth candidate on which the Lot was consulted. Thus we turn once more to the excellent observations of that sympathetic rationalist who reported these events in his travelogue:

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[1] "Verlass," par. 862,3. There appears to have been an inclination for the Preacher to take over the regular rite of confirmation as a part of his responsibility for the doctrinal training of the children of his congregation. There was no set rule, however, as to who the minister might be, and definitely no requirement that he be an ordained clergyman; ibid., par. 815.

[2] Vischer, pp. 66-67.

[3] Supra, pp. 114-16.

> If now consent is had on both sides the betrothal will soon follow. This takes place before the Married Choir Helper and in the presence of the Elders' Conference. As soon as this has been done the congregation is informed and this is looked upon as the first publication of the banns. They are then yet twice more published at the Sunday litany. During the period between the betrothal and the wedding the betrothed are not allowed to go about together.
>
> The wedding takes place in the following manner. In front of the table behind which the Preacher sits, two chairs are placed. On these sit the bridal pair, after the bridegroom and the bride have been ushered into the hall by the Married Choir Helper and his wife, who acts as Joint Choir Helper, respectively. After the singing of several verses, and after the Preacher[1] has delivered a short address, he offers a festive prayer which is begun: "Lord and Head of thy church, thou who hast thyself established the marital estate and hast blessed it," etc. "Thou hast desired that this our brother and our sister should be bound to one another in holy matrimony." The conclusion of this prayer goes: "May they walk with the congregation and edify each other and may all thy thoughts of peace be blessedly carried out in them." After the bride and groom have joined hands the Preacher concludes: "I hereby pronounce that you are joined in marriage, in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. The Lord bless thee and keep thee," etc. After the end of the wedding the Married Choir Helper holds a so-called Lovefeast in which several glasses of red wine and some Zwieback or cookies are passed around. At this Lovefeast the relatives of the bride and groom and the members of the Elders' Conference are present, and other acquaintances may also be added to the company. During the singing of several hymn stanzas the female Married Choir Helper looses the virgin's little red ribbon,[2] which she had previously worn on her hood beneath her chin, and fastens on in place of it the little blue band as the sign of the married person.

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[1] It will be recalled that the performance of a wedding ceremony was carried out only by a duly ordained minister except in areas where a secular ceremony was mandatory; "Verlass," par. 815.

[2] This act was generally performed by the Helper of the Single Sisters' Choir; Batty, p. 80. The footwashing which was also generally a part of any Choir change would have taken place beforehand in the respective Choirs of the bridal pair; "Verlass," par. 893.

> It yet deserves to be noted that in the Brotherhood the bride wears no wreath and during the wedding no rings are exchanged.
>
> The first night the young married couple sleep in the house of the Married Choir Helper, and as a matter of fact, the bed of the husband stands beside the bed of the Choir Helper and that of the bride beside the bed of the joint Choir Helper, his wife.
>
> No regular marriage festival is held. However, on the next day a middling good dinner is customarily given. The number of guests as well as the general quality of the meal is determined by the financial circumstances of the bridal pair. This is also usually held in the house of the Married Choir Helper. In former days it was required that the young people spend several days with the Married Choir Helper. Now, however, usually on the second day, after they have been instructed concerning various matters which belong to the leading of a married life, they are introduced to their own dwelling and are consecrated to the ordinary cohabitation.[1]

Thus were the brothers and sisters brought together and in their extremely sheltered innocence introduced to the duties and pleasures of marriage. Especially considering the shyness of the young ladies who inhabited the Sisters' House,[2] the provisions made for their instruction and guidance at this time represent a combination of the ideal and practical which were observed in our earlier consideration of practical piety among the Brethren. We will note, however, this same soft-hearted yet practical concern whenever it is necessary that still another change of Choir status be made--that from the Married Choir to one of the Widowed Choirs.

The treatment of a widow rather than that of a widower has been chosen because of the fact that in the case of the latter there was a much less profound adjustment to be made upon the loss of the marriage partner. Although it might mean for a time that the family would be broken up and the children reared in the Choir Houses, at the same time the widower was less likely to move to the Choir House and his prospect for remarriage was much better than that of his feminine counterpart.[1]

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[1] Reise, pp. 210-13.

[2] "Da sie so wenig unter andere Menschen kommen, so merkt man ihnen eine gewisse Blodigkeit und Schüchternheit an, die oft so weit gehet, dass sie, wenn ihnen fremde Personen, vorzüglich männlichen Geschlechts, begegnen, die Augen niederschlagen und wenn es nur irgend möglich ist, ihnen wohl gar aus dem Wege gehen"; ibid., pp. 76-77.

In order properly to comprehend the impact of widowhood on the life of a married sister in a settlement congregation we must look to several features of married life there and what it entailed. Besides the natural grief which is to be expected at such a time, we must recognize that the loss of the married estate meant first of all that the widowed person was immediately to be transplanted into another Choir and thus in the whole complex of devotional life separated from her former associates. The change went far beyond this, however, because of the fact that it was a custom among the Brethren that to whatever governing bodies the husband belonged, his wife would also belong.[2] The shared responsibility of the Choir Helper has already been seen; this applied also to membership in the College of Overseers, the Elders' Conference, etc. Thus the responsibilities and activities would likely be sharply curtailed. Finally, and perhaps most difficult, was the matter of land tenure in such a settlement. Widows were often not allowed to continue in the homes they had occupied as married sisters, but could be required to move to the Widows' House.[3] This policy might also be followed when children were involved, thus the family would be separated into the various Choir Houses in which they would then reside.[4] Although this policy must seem cruel and unreasonable to people living under different standards and circumstances, it was considered necessary for the protection and care of the widows and orphans and of the reputation of the community as a whole. Actually, at the time the provision of the Brethren for such people was regarded one of the most humane in existence.[1] It did, however, demand a rather harsh readjustment in the way of life of those who were left behind by death. Yet the system was far from insensitive to the needs of people in grief. This was demonstrated by the custom in the circles of the Married Choir that a special Lovefeast should be held in the case of the untimely death of a minor child in one of their homes--thus recognizing the loss as a shared one, and participating in this grief which was so common in the eighteenth century with its fantastically high infant mortality rate.[2]

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[1] This is the factor which led to the increasing inequality between the Widows' and the Widowers' Choirs noted in chapter i.

[2] "Verlass," par. 307. [3] Ibid., pars. 99; 101; 102.

[4] Ibid., par. 101.

In the case of a widow's entrance to her new estate and Choir a profound readjustment and clarification of policy came at the General Synod of 1775. The decree which was then issued constitutes a very revealing document and reflects a deep understanding of the situation in which a person, particularly a widow, finds herself at such a time.[3] The previous practice had involved all of the basic ceremonies of any other change of Choir. It had included a private usage of the rite of Footwashing, similar to that before the first Communion described above, with the Choir Helper of the Married Choir or actually his wife performing the washing and the impartation of a final absolution. This was followed by a formal meeting of the whole Widows' Choir at which the female Helper of the Married Choir unfastened the blue band of that Choir and the Widows' Choir Helper fastened on the white ribbon symbolic of the widows' estate. The service was then completed with a formal reception of and benediction over the new member by laying on of hands.[1] The synodical decree of 1775 penetrated the situation surrounding this service to examine the basic relationships and feelings involved in such a change. A general regulation was set down that all ceremonial actions which could either be easily misunderstood or could lead to a heightening of the widow's pain over her loss were to be avoided.[2] It is to be recalled that the relationship between a sister and her Choir Helper was of a particularly intimate nature and therein much freedom of expression, especially for inner feelings, was achieved. It was thus provided that one last time the bereaved sister, although no longer really a member of the Married Choir, might go to her well-known spiritual mentor to there bare the pain and grief in her heart and receive the comfort and fellowship so vital to her. At the same time she was encouraged to make use of the Helper in her new Choir--to gain with her that intimacy of heart which would literally make possible the sharing of the tears which grief and unfamiliar experience bring, for it was felt that this experienced widow and counsellor of widows could best help the sister to find herself amidst the new ways of the Widows' Choir.[3] At the level of the ceremonies themselves, it was suggested that the Footwashing by the women's Married Choir Helper be done away with altogether. The actual ceremony of reception could now take place, apparently in the chamber of the Widows' Choir Helper, with only the workers of that Choir in attendance. The complete action of changing the ribbons would be done by the Helper of the Widows' Choir, and the reception would then be formally completed at the next meeting of the whole Choir by the singing of a benediction upon the new member.[1] By this means both public display and association with former days and ways could if so desired be cut to a minimum at a time when the bereaved sister was least able to bear them. It was hoped thereby to make the last Choir transition in the life of a brother or sister as easy and yet as meaningful as possible, and within that Choir the aim was to make the last years of life rich and useful, but always with an eye to the approaching end of this earthly existence and the greatest and most significant transition of all in the life of a Herrnhuter--death--or more precisely, "going-home."

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[1] Reise, p. 78.

[2] "Bethlehem Diarium," January 17-19, 1783.

[3] "Verlass," par. 106.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] "Bey der Aufnahme eine Schwester im Witwenchor ist alles ceremonieuse, wodurch entweder Misverstand entstehen, oder bey so einer neu angehenden Witwe der Schmerz über den verlust ihres Mannes zu sehr rege gemacht werden könnte, so viel möglich zu vermeiden"; ibid.

[3] Ibid.

A general dislike for speaking about death might be pointed to as a symptom which accompanies that battle against the arbitrary which is so characteristic of modern man's efforts to subject both God and nature to the canons of reason and equity. An almost universal avoidance of the subject in our age should thus not be surprising. At first sight, however, the consistent avoidance of the term "death" (Tod, sterben) itself and a preference for what might today pass for "funeral parlor jargon"--"passing-away," "going-home," "falling-asleep," etc.[2]--on the part of a movement which has at most points demonstrated its rejection of the humanistic rationalism so characteristic of the time seems somewhat peculiar, even rather inconsistent. When we go behind the usage of the Herrnhuters to its motivation and the attitude which surrounds it we find neither inconsistency nor peculiarity. We have already noted the presence of a strong and eager anticipation of death in this piety which considered the present life and world far from measuring up to the glories promised in the after-life. This strain of piety was not found merely among the children, nor was it incidental, but in the concept of communion with the church triumphant and most specifically in the observances reaching their climax in the graveyard at sunrise on Easter morning, it was fused with the interpretation of the central event of the Christian gospel--the passion and resurrection of Jesus the Christ. We do find "death" not merely mentioned by name but depicted in those fullest implications so offensive, even disgusting, to our "death avoiding" ears and imaginations, yet never with relation to the Christian and brother.[1] The fact which the Brethren wish to celebrate by their use or non-use of the word "death" is that Christ died and he defeated death. Death is no more for those who are of his body, the church (Gemeine), but they "fall-asleep," they "pass-on," they "go-home" in the sure hope that they will now be blessed with a clear and eternal vision and enjoyment of the beloved Lamb of God, the same One who conquered all enemies in this world including even that last one--death.[2]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Lynar, pp. 124-25.

Be it added here merely in passing that the eschatology of this movement was not by any means exhausted by faith in some ideal celestial immortality, but that it included also a very matter-of-fact approach to the New Testament teachings concerning resurrection and the parousia.[1] Actually the eschatology of the Brethren reflects many of the same problems as do the Scriptural and historical traditions upon which it was founded.[2] Quite clearly stated, however, was their belief that the soul of the departed Christian was immediately with the Saviour in paradise and that only the body lay in the Gottesacker in expectation of the general resurrection.[3] Indeed this view is not merely stated specifically but was also made an important part of their cultus. The entire ideal of a present communion between the church militant and the church triumphant which is so clearly reflected in the Easter Morning Litany and will be seen in their burial practices as well would be absolutely meaningless without this presupposition.[4] In regard to the return of the Lord, the general resurrection, the universal judgment, and eternal life in a new creation or eternal damnation in hades, the Brethren soundly affirmed and practiced the validity of all, and for their lives as well as their theology the expectation of these glorious and terrible events was a vital element.[5] Bearing in mind, then, their attitude toward death, and in particular remembering the construction and use of the Gottesacker or graveyard in such a settlement, both as brethren strolled in its pleasant surroundings from day to day in their devotional meditations and especially as they gathered there to celebrate the great victory of Easter morning, we turn to a direct examination of the Herrnhuter's last days and hours and the manner in which his departure would be celebrated--the end of the devotional life cycle.

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[1] In historical narratives where the deaths of a number of important figures are summarized and enumerated, the avoidance of the word "death" becomes peculiarly conspicuous. See E.W. Cröger, Geschichte der erneuerten Brüderkirche (Gnadau: Verlag der Buchhandlung der evangelischen Brüder-Unität, 1854), III, 333-51.

[2] Lynar, p. 124.

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[1] Spangenberg, Idea, pp. 461-67.

[2] We find a willingness on the part of the Herrnhuters to suspend speculation and judgment on the problems of eschatology and to put the matter to rest with a recognition of Scriptural promises and of God's faithfulness; ibid., pp. 454-76.

[3] Ibid., pp. 456-57, 464.

[4] Supra, pp. 378-80; infra, pp. 421-22.

[5] Spangenberg, Idea, pp. 461-81; infra, p. 636.

The provisions made for the sick in the Brethren settlements were remarkably adequate and quite advanced for the time. In the Choir Houses, as has been noted, special sick rooms were provided, and these were regularly attended by experienced sick-nurses and university trained physicians.[1] It was felt that a stay in such a place should be utilized by the individual as a time for special devotional exercises which the usual activities of life would not otherwise allow. And we can judge that this practice must in many cases have been extremely successful.[2] If the condition of the patient became critical, however, he would be the center of the circle of activities which among the Herrnhuters were connected with "home-going" and have already been observed in the case of little Ludwig Justin v. Bruiningk. The nearest relatives and of course the Choir workers of the invalid's Choir would be immediately summoned. Due to the emphasis upon communion in the Eucharist of the Brethren, the Viaticum was not a regular part of these last hours,[3] but upon the request of the patient the Lord's Supper would be celebrated and in a very full manner with the singing assisted by those who had been summoned to accompany the life's conclusion.[4]

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[1] Reise, p. 79.

[2] Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 56.

[3] Lynar, p. 125.

[4] "Verlass," par. 878.

As the moment of departure obviously drew near, those gathered in the room--often even the dying person himself--joined in the singing of chorales depicting the bliss of reunion with Christ and his enjoyment eternally. There was certainly no dearth of such verses in the hymn books of the Brethren;[1] only a single verse is introduced here to facilitate our understanding of this action.

I am lost in wonder
When I duly ponder,
  Jesus, on thy grace;
That I shall in glory
Evermore adore thee,
  And that, face to face,
I shall see eternally
Thee, the God of my salvation,
  O, what consolation![2]

As the singing continued and the moment of death drew near, the benediction, "The Lord bless thee and keep thee," etc., was pronounced, accompanied by the laying on of hands.[3] If the dying brother was a child this act would be performed by his parents; if a wife, then by her husband; otherwise it was performed by the appropriate Choir Helper.[4] Thus was the last act of "home-going" consummated. As soon as life had departed the body the trombonists who had been summoned for that purpose were given the signal, and the clarion strains of that most favored chorale, "O Sacred Head Now Wounded," cut the stillness for which these villages were so well reputed, announcing the glad news that yet another of the brethren had gone to be with the Saviour. This first tune was immediately followed by a second which revealed to the highly trained ear of the listeners below to precisely which Choir the person thus blessed belonged. That tune was followed by a repetition of "O Sacred Head."[1] The musical announcement was then made verbal at the next meeting of the congregation at which was responsively sung a brief liturgy of announcement. At an earlier time this liturgy had apparently followed the same form as that of the trombone choir,[2] but Count Lynar, writing at the beginning of the 1780's, indicates that a different formula had come into use following what he referred to as "an old Lutheran hymn," in which the liturgist intoned the announcement thus:

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[1] The entire last section of the hymnal was given over to such verses; Gregor, Gesangbuch (1783), pp. 797-835.

[2] Swertner, p. 274, No. 880 (Tune 208).

[3] Lynar, p. 125.

[4] Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, pp. 56-57.

> Steadfast is our trust therein,
> Our dear brother (sister) N.N. is to win
> Vision of the eyes, the mouth,
> The body for us wounded.

And the congregation responded:

> And when you're there joyously greet
> His holy wounds in hands and feet!
> O who may know just how it is
> When one the Saviour so near sees
>   As he really is,
>   Amen. Yea, Hallelujah!
> Be highly praised Lord Jesus Christ,
> Who for me too prepared a place;
> O! all thy people do rejoice
> And treat themselves with comfort's choice,
>   That we in all eternity,
>   Shall, O Lord, be with thee.[3]

At this point the liturgist announced the date and hour for the burial and the times when the body, which had been washed and dressed by the sick-nurses and placed in the special building for that purpose near the Prayer Hall, might be viewed alternately by the brothers and by the sisters.[4]

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[1] The Litany Book (1759), pp. 203-204.

[2] Ibid. The words are given to be sung to these same tunes in order at the service where announcement was made.

[3] P. 125.

[4] Ibid., p. 126.

The funeral took place in the afternoon several days after the passing of the brother or sister. On this occasion the body itself was not brought into the Prayer Hall but remained in the place where it had lain in state, accompanied by a vigil lamp since shortly after death.[1] The funeral services of the Brethren were and are joyous affairs. There was to be seen nothing of the mourning clothes which were then so normative in Europe. The people appeared in their ordinary clothing,[2] except in some places where the women wore white dresses as they did on Sundays and other festival days.[3] The service held in the Prayer Hall was begun and ended, as always, with the singing of several chorale verses. On these occasions the Preacher delivered a short address on a Biblical text, and this would then be followed by the reading of the spiritual "will" of the deceased. I refer, of course, to the Lebenslauf which was ideally the religious autobiography of the individual Herrnhuter in which the workings of divine grace rather than the historical and natural events of the life were central.[4] If no such account had been written by the departed member, it would be written for him by his Choir Helper with the assistance of whatever documents were available.[5] In any case, the account of the ultimate death of the person was given in the words of this his spiritual mentor. After this reading the service was closed and the people moved into the square outside the Congregation House where the so-called Corpse House stood, and there the funeral procession was formed. The service as here described, however, might upon the desire of the deceased person be altered from time to time. The "Bethlehem Diarium" gives an account of the funeral of Sister Jane van Vleck on the afternoon of March 4, 1784, in which after the exposition of the text by the Preacher a congregational Lovefeast was held in much the usual manner, except that a part of the liturgy thereat was formed by the reading of her Lebenslauf.[1] This practice does not seem to have been unusual, for in the collection at the Bethlehem Archives we find several Lovefeast Odes written for such occasions.

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[1] Ibid., p. 125; Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 57.

[2] Lynar, p. 126.

[3] Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 57.

[4] "Verlass," par. 955,2.

[5] Ibid.; Lynar, p. 126.

We turn once more to the observing eye of an Enlightenment scholar for a detailed account of these proceedings. In Reise durch Kursachsen we read:

> The burial of the body takes place in the following manner. First a moving piece of funeral music is performed, and after a short address the Lebenslauf of the deceased person is read. Then the congregation leaves the hall and gathers itself in the open square in front of it, the brothers on one side and the sisters on the other. The body itself rests in the middle of the square in a coffin covered with a white pall into which verses have been worked using red ribbon. After a short hymn has been sung the procession moves to the Gottesacker in the following order. The brass choir forms the beginning of the train, and underway it plays appropriate chorales; then come the school children and their teachers. The body is carried by from eight to ten brothers. Behind the coffin follow the next of kin, both men and women, accompanied by the Choir Helpers; then in the case that the deceased person is a brother come the brothers, all together, followed by the sisters; or in the opposite case, vice versa. When the procession has arrived at the Gottesacker the brothers and sisters place themselves about the grave, the brothers again on one side and the sisters on the other. During the singing of a number of hymn stanzas the body is lowered into the grave and the benediction is uttered. Thereupon the procession returns in the same order to the square.[2]

It should be pointed out that some of the customs described in this account may not antedate the turn of the century, and we may be quite certain that in some places more attention was given to the separation of the various Choirs in the procession,[1] but on the whole this description can be demonstrated to represent the burial practices prevalent during the last quarter of the eighteenth century among the Herrnhuters. Several matters are recommended to the consideration of the reader here. First of all we must note the almost complete parallel between the funeral procession and the festive procession at sunrise on Easter morning,[2] both in form and apparently in intention. It is as much in the actions as in the words spoken that the victory over death is applied to the "going-home" of a Herrnhuter in and through these final rites touching on his devotional life cycle. In the realm of words, however, the issue is placed beyond question as the church militant celebrates upon this "victorious" occasion its blessed communion with the church triumphant.

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[1] This Lebenslauf is to be found at the end of the March, 1784 section of the "Bethlehem Diarium."

[2] Pp. 363-65.

During the years between the Seven Years' War and the French Revolution the burial liturgy of the Brethren appears to have been in a process of transition. The English version of the Litany Book published the year before Zinzendorf's death gives a liturgy which is entirely sung,[3] and the English hymnal of 1789 gives one which is almost completely spoken and bears certain marks of the "Church Litany."[4] Fortunately a manuscript burial liturgy was preserved among the Passion Week liturgical materials of the intermediate period in the Bethlehem Archives. It is introduced here in an English translation.

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[1] Lynar, p. 126.

[2] *Ibid.*; ". . . geht die Gemeinde Chorweise, in eben der Ordnung, wie am Oestermorgen, hinter dem vor das Bethhaus gebrachten Sarge her. . . ."

[3] (1759), pp. 205-206.

[4] Swertner, pp. 263-65.

"Burial Liturgy at the Graveyard"

To be sung:

Christ is risen from the dead,[1]
Thou shalt rise too, saith my Saviour;
Of what shall I be afraid!
I with him shall live for ever.
Can the Head forsake his limb,
And not draw me unto him?

No, my soul, he cannot leave,
This, this is my consolation;
And my body in the grave
Rests in hope and expectation,
That this mortal flesh shall see
Incorruptibility.

Liturgist:

Our Saviour Jesus Christ![2]
With thy meritorious tears,
With all the troubles of thy life,
With thy sickliness and dolorous look,
With thy perplexity in the garden,
With thine agony and bloody sweat,
With thy sacred wounds,
With thine inestimable blood,
With thy meritorious death,
With thy coming again to thy church or our being called home to thee,
COMFORT US, GRACIOUS LORD AND GOD!
With thy dying words,
With thy rest in the grave,
With thy holy resurrection,
With thy victorious ascension,
With thy powerful intercession,
With thy gracious presence,
BLESS US, GRACIOUS LORD AND GOD!
We poor sinners pray
That thou wilt hear us gracious Lord and God!
And keep us in everlasting fellowship with the whole church triumphant;
And especially with our blessed brother (sister) N.N.
And one day let us rest from our labors together on thy wounds.[3]
HEAR US, GRACIOUS LORD AND GOD!

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 258, No. 833, vss. 2 and 3 (Tune 83).

[2] The petitions in ordinary type are read by the liturgist, the responses in capital letters by the congregation. Most of these petitions are drawn directly from the "Church Litany" but were not taken consecutively.

[3] Lynar, p. 126; Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht, p. 57.

The Lord bless thee, and keep thee!
The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be
  gracious unto thee!
The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give
  thee peace!
AMEN![1]

During the petitions concerning the continuing fellowship between the congregation and this new entrant to the church triumphant, indeed with that whole body of saints which had gone before, the coffin was lowered into the place prepared for it in that field planted by and for God, to be marked only with its simple squarish stone against that day when it would please the Lord to come and gather his harvest.

For the true Herrnhuter the time of a life, like that of a day or a week or a year, was ended with a retirement for rest, a rest which was entered in the full confidence of and preparation for yet another cycle of devotions to the Maker and Saviour who had created and saved him. What that new life of devotion might be like one can only conjecture, but judging from the fullness of the one just completed and the visions of the one to come revealed in those stanzas sung around the bed of the departing brother, it could certainly neither be uneventful nor boring. Meanwhile the small stones await in their still garden upon the hillside the coming of the Princely Reaper, echoing that verse sung by the congregation in another burial litany:

The Spirit and the bride of Christ say: "Come";
Let ev'ry one that heareth answer: "Come";
Amen, come, Lord Jesus; come, we implore thee;
With longing hearts we now are waiting for thee;
  Come soon, O come![2]

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[1] This liturgy was found in an undated manuscript among a group of Passion Week liturgies dating from 1767-1785.

[2] Swertner, p. 265.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

HERRNHUT: FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER'S SPIRITUAL HOMELAND

(VOL. II)

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE DIVINITY SCHOOL
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PART III

THEOLOGY OF THE HERRNHUTERS

CHAPTER XIII

THE THEOLOGY OF THE SPANGENBERG ERA

Writing from exile in Pomerania in 1803 to his fellow ex-Herrnhuter, the Swedish diplomat and poet Gustav. von Brinkmann, Friedrich Schleiermacher made a distinction between what he called the "Esoterische" and the "Exoterische" in the life of the Brethren as he had experienced it. The former he identified with the much admired religion or piety of the Brethren which he symbolized with the terms "the Saviour" and "the church," and by the latter he meant the scrupulously orthodox doctrinal position of the Herrnhuters and its enforcement which he then identified with the words "theology" and "Christology." In thus attempting to "pass between the Scylla and the Charybdis" Schleiermacher wished to separate the one for which he confessed a deep attachment from the other which had been the occasion of the greatest personal tragedy of his youth--his expulsion from the congregation of the Brethren.[1] Our concern thus far in this work has been with that "Esoterische" which is by this time so easily recognized by us under those weighty symbols of "Heiland" and "Gemeine." In order to make understandable the experience of the young Schleiermacher as a Herrnhuter it therefore remains for us to briefly treat that other side of the movement as he saw it, the "Exoterische" of its theological position during this post-Zinzendorfian period.

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[1] Briefe, IV, 87.

The time between the Seven Years' War and the French Revolution was by no means the golden age of Brethren theology. In thought, as in polity and piety, this was a time in which the Herrnhuters attempted to consolidate and preserve that which had been created and gained in the previous period. This is not, however, to imply that it was negative in its approach to the world and culture. The positive optimism of the early years of the movement sustained itself through these years although it was joined to an ever increasing degree by an undercurrent of negation and pessimism which then marked the development of the period which followed. The interplay of these two factors was most apparent during the Era of Spangenberg in the area of theology, and particularly toward its end the alarm of the Brethren over the rising influence of the Enlightenment in the churches, universities, and general culture of Europe led to a reaction which was fundamentally inconsistent with their theological and religious position. The cowardly obscurantism which probably more than any other factor contributed to the doubts of young Fritz Schleiermacher was a fundamental betrayal of the positive faith in the plan of God and the calling of the church upon which the whole movement was founded, but such are the problems when one sets out to apply an ideal in a non-ideal world and to create a holy society with unholy men. The free and creative early days were past. The times were changing both inside and outside the Brotherhood. In theological creativity, as in the maintenance of discipline, the public acceptance which Herrnhut and her sisters enjoyed during this time were not an unmixed blessing. To the basic drive for theological orthodoxy exhibited throughout the earlier years was added the temptation to maintain a good public image even at the cost of peripheral principles. The Herrnhuters were practical men and their movement desired to be a "practical" movement, and in their practice, as in all of life, principles tended to come into conflict. The congregations had a mission to the churches and the world. The fulfillment of this task and of their central aim to be the holy body of Christ, particularly in eighteenth century Germany, ultimately demanded ingenuity and diplomacy rather than sheer creativity; these, then, may be seen as the central characteristics of Brethren theology in its second generation.

The context within which the Herrnhuters were expected to express their interpretation of the Christian message was one charged with conflict and danger. Since the Thirty Years' War the culture of the German states had developed a peculiar monolithic character which has been symbolized by reference to its three main institutions--the prince, the church, and the university.[1] During the century after the Peace of Westphalia (1648) these three institutions were drawn together and the Landeskirche developed its classic form. In eighteenth century Protestant Germany theology was still queen of the sciences, and the intellectual side of the culture was predominantly theological. Against this background in which theology played such a crucial role may be seen the titanic struggle which took place in German theological and church life between 1675 and 1800. At the beginning of the period Protestant Orthodoxy reigned supreme, only to be challenged by the rising tide of Pietism with its emphasis upon the heart rather than the mind--theologically orthodox but largely rejecting certain basic authorities and particularly the methods of scholastic Orthodoxy. No sooner had Pietism, the religious ideal of the "burghers," found expression than their secular philosophy and world view came to take its place in the form of the Enlightenment. It has been maintained that Pietism prepared the way for the Enlightenment by weakening the authority of Orthodoxy,[1] and this is likely true, but on the other hand it baffles the imagination to reflect upon what might have been the result in the unitary culture of Germany if it had not done so. In any case, before the end of the eighteenth century Enlightenment theologians and churchmen were firmly in the driver's seat, and the years from 1763 to 1789 may be seen as a climactic period in that ascendancy not only in Germany but in the whole of Western Europe.[2] The part played in this struggle by the Herrnhuters is a somewhat ambiguous one in consideration of the fact that their movement has generally been lumped together with classical German Pietism. Their real position, as has been indicated in the Introduction, was rather to be seen in a second wave of Pietism and ultimately also of Orthodoxy.[3] This movement symbolizes on the ecclesiastical-theological scene the alliance of Pietism and Orthodoxy against the Enlightenment and the modern spirit of humanistic rationalism, which alliance ultimately went on then to dominate the ecclesiastical scene in nineteenth century Germany. The Brethren and their founder were anti-rationalist rather than anti-Orthodox in their theology and churchmanship. They were among the first to see and attempt to do something about the impact of the modern world and life view on religion and theology.[1] At its positive best the theology of the Brethren had full confidence in the Truth which it offered and was willing to fight it out toe to toe with the young giant of the Enlightenment, not in the minds, but in the hearts of men where in their view religion belonged. At its negative worst it was fully conscious of the insidious infiltration which unbelief was making and could make even within their congregations and schools themselves, and thus found it necessary to coerce the minds and ultimately the hearts of those who became infected with the plague of doubt.[2] Such tyranny has ever lurked in the shadow of Truth's possession.

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[1] This interpretation is based upon the approach reflected in Wilhelm Dilthey, Leben Schleiermachers, ed. Hermann Mulert (2d ed.; Berlin: Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1922).

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[1] Barth, pp. 60-114.

[2] Ibid., pp. 16-59, 142-52.

[3] Ibid., pp. 111, 125-26; supra, pp. 4-5.

Having briefly seen the strengths and dangers, let us look to the solutions brought by those ingenious Brethren. The basic problem for Brethren theology during this period was to square what they considered their particular treasure--the feeling experience of the redeeming death and resurrection of the Saviour--which we have seen so graphically etched in their piety, with traditional orthodox Christianity.[3] As we shall soon see, their solution for this problem was sought in the common central authority--the Scriptures. I intentionally forego any examination of the theology of this movement's founder, except to point to what I have called the "crucifix piety" observed in our discussion of the Holy Communion. Although this factor continued to exert a strong influence on the piety and preaching of the Brethren during this period, on the level of public theology it was already a thing of the past long before Zinzendorf's death.[1] Suffice it here to say that the central ideals of appropriation of Christ's redeeming acts by actually feeling them and of the church as a called community composed of called people living the whole of their lives as an expression and representation of Christ to the world were those of its founder, and continued to be central in the theology of this period.[2]

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[1] Karl Heussi, Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte (12th ed.; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1960), pp. 399-401; 406.

[2] I refer, of course, to the pressure that could be and was exerted upon a member in such a congregation which will be discussed below in the case of Schleiermacher; *infra*, chapter xvi.

[3] "Verlass," par. 990.

At the time of his death Count Zinzendorf was reportedly engaged in a revision of his works to rid them of certain elements which had risen largely from a combination of his creative mind and his lack of formal theological training and which had proven offensive to many theologians who otherwise should have been his allies.[3] In short, it was apparently hoped to square his thought with orthodox Protestant theology. This project was immediately taken up by his successors at the Synod of 1764 when Brother George Waiblinger was commissioned to write an "Idea fidei fratrum," a task which the "Blessed Disciple" himself had allegedly desired to do.[4] This work was apparently to be a compilation and compendium of theological statements by Zinzendorf and was to be published under his name. At the next synod in 1769 the work of Brother Waiblinger had been completed, and according to the provision of his commission, he presented it for the approval of the synod.[1] The thanks were profuse but the Herrnhuters apparently were not ready for a "theology" couched in the words of their founder.[2] Brother Waiblinger's compendium was politely but firmly laid aside "because more difficulties were found in the publication of such a writing than was surmised at the time of ~~his~~ commission, since it before all presupposed a thorough agreement among ourselves over the suitable and fixed expression of divine truths, and moreover because this draft had too much the appearance of a regular confession and could easily give rise to new problems."[3]

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[1] Hamilton, p. 127. Zinzendorf's revision of his works was for that purpose; "Verlass," par. 986.

[2] The intention to hold to the Zinzendorfian principles was clearly stated in "Verlass," "preface letter," where it is stated: "Wir wurden von Ihm [the Saviour by means of the Lot] angewiesen, immer zuvorderst nachzusehen, was der sel. Ordinarius [Zinzendorf] über einen jeden Punkt, der in Ueberlegung kam, für grund-Principia gehabt habe; und das liessen wir und auch von der Zeit an [1764] von Herzen angelegen seyn."

[3] This is particularly the case with relation to the attacks upon the Brethren which rose from the excesses of the "Sifting Time," notably that of Bengel; see Hamilton, p. 125.

[4] "Verlass," par. 990,1. The "Blessed Disciple" refers, of course, to Zinzendorf.

The project of such an "Idea fidei fratrum" was apparently the object of no further action at that synod, but on the other hand the financial crisis of the Brethren led them to alter their educational system and to abandon the policy of furnishing boarding schools for all of the children in their settlements, which in turn led the synod to commission the preparation of books for use by the parents in training their children at home.[4] We have already encountered one of these, the manual for the rearing of children written by Bishop Layritz.[5] The other, prepared by Dr. Lieberkühn, a physician and former missionary to the Jews, was a catechism for children: The Doctrine of Jesus Christ and His Apostles for the

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[1] Ibid.; actually this was his third draft; Reichel, p. 224.

[2] "Verlass," par. 990,1. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid., pars. 50; 511.

[5] Supra, pp. 96-98.

Instruction of Youth in the Evangelical Brethren-Unity. This catechism was approved by the Unity Elders' Conference and appeared from the Brethren printing establishment at Barby late in 1774, just the year before the next General Synod.[1] The importance of this work goes beyond the fact that it shaped chatechetical training in Brethren congregations even down to the present in that it apparently showed the way to an acceptable "Idea fidei fratrum." Samuel Lieberkühn's little work, according to the Preface, attempted "to collect the chief statements of Holy Scripture" for the instruction of the young. "The principal materials with which the statements deal are indicated first, and then short citations are drawn from the statements which always appear first so that you can see what you are to watch for in the citations."[2] This arrangement, which should be familiar to most who are acquainted with instructional literature, was basically direct and uncomplicated. The main division appears first, then the theses which touch on that doctrine, each of which is accompanied by Biblical passages. The idea was quite simple; this scholar who had compiled the Gospel harmony used in the Bible Lections merely arranged what had been adjudged to be the chief passages of the Bible[3] under the heads of a structure containing the main doctrines of Christian theology. Thus it was hoped to allow the Bible itself to express the doctrines which had been drawn from it. The work fell into an Introduction and twenty main heads. The whole structure of heads and sub-heads has been incorporated in the Appendix but the twenty chief doctrines are given here so that the reader may observe the movement and form of this "Biblical theology."

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[1] "Verlass," pars. 50-51.

[2] Die Lehre, p. 3.

[3] Fries, pp. 67-68.

The Introduction deals with the teachings of Jesus in general, their significance, and where they are to be found. The main doctrines are as follows:

I. Of God the Creator of all things.
II. Of the image of God.
III. Of the universal corruption of sin.
IV. Of Jesus Christ, our Saviour.
V. Of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit.
VI. Of the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.
VII. Of Jesus Christ, the Son of God.
VIII. Of the Holy Spirit.
IX. Of the will of God about our blessedness.
X. Of faith on the Lord Jesus.
XI. Of Holy Baptism.
XII. Of the Holy Communion.
XIII. Of sanctification.
XIV. Of the church (Gemeine) of Jesus Christ.
XV. Of the angels.
XVI. Of death and the home-going of the faithful to the Lord.
XVII. Of the appearance of Jesus Christ and the resurrection of the dead.
XVIII. Of the universal judgment of the world.
XIX. Of eternal life and damnation.
XX. Of the commandments of God.
    A. Of love toward God and our Lord Jesus Christ.
    B. Of love of neighbor.[1]

This "history of salvation" approach to theology is completely typical of the Brethren attitude toward life and religion. The arrangement, although certainly not unique, was ideally adapted to the needs of the Herrnhuters in their project of reaching a theological accord both with each other and with orthodox Christians everywhere. The approach appears to have caught on almost immediately in the Brotherhood, and in the following year at the Synod of 1775 the project of an "*Idea fidei fratrum*" was once more revived. This time, however, the matter was put in the hands of a very fortunate choice, both because of his knowledge of theology and because of his experience and dispatch in writing, August Gottlieb Spangenberg (Bruder Joseph).[2]

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[1] See appendix, pp. 632-37.

[2] "Verlass," par. 990,1; G. Reichel, p. 224.

The Idea fidei fratrum by Bishop Spangenberg was completed after just a few short months of writing in the garden-house overlooking the Elbe at Barby. It was submitted to the Unity Elders' Conference for approval in 1777, and, although due to printing problems it did not appear until the following year, it was completely prepared for publication in 1778.[1] The success of the book was electrifying, and a second printing appeared almost immediately.[2] By the meeting of the Synod of 1782 it had already appeared in Danish, Swedish, French, and Dutch, and was soon to appear in English[3] and Russian.[4] It was favorably received both outside the congregations and within, and if we may give credence to the statement of that latter synod, its acclamation was unanimous.[5] Following decision with action, that assembly immediately set about the application of this new and surprisingly successful tool in the nurture and cultus of the congregations. It was first recommended for use in the training of youth, particularly students in the congregations, for whom it was felt to be an antidote to "the wind of doctrine presently reigning in the world."[6] It was further suggested for use in the reading services of the settlements and societies.[7] In the third place it was commended to the attention of those responsible for the preaching of the gospel, especially beginners, as a model of "how they must present the world of truth."[8]

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[1] G. Reichel, pp. 224-25.

[2] J.K. Pfol and E. Schwarze, "Foreword," in Spangenberg, Idea, p. ii.

[3] "Verlass," par. 990, 1,d.

[4] "Extract," I. A contemporary view of the work may be seen in Frohberger, pp. 316-18.

[5] "Verlass," par. 990,1.

[6] Ibid., par. 990,1,a.

[7] Ibid., par. 990,1,b.

[8] Ibid., par. 990,1,c.

If Lieberkühn's little handbook was the "shorter catechism" the much more expansive and literary work of Spangenberg was the "greater." The earlier work was intended for the training of children, and the more extensive work for use in secondary education and for the reading of adults. Unlike their Lutheran prototypes,[1] however, these two works were almost identical in pattern. Besides the slight organizational changes which Spangenberg made on the basic structure used by Lieberkühn, his writing may be seen as neither more nor less than the placing of literary and intellectual meat on the bones of the shorter work. The major structural change made by Spangenberg was, however, quite significant. It will be noted that in the organization of the former work the treatment of ethics, namely "the love of God and neighbor," came at the end of the work and actually fell out of the Heilsgeschichte structure of the book. Spangenberg's conviction that there should be none save theological ethics in the church[2] led to the incorporation of this discussion after the section on "sanctification." The only other incidental change was the placement of the treatment of angels after that of man's fall and depravity rather than following the section concerning the church, choosing to classify them with regard to the treatment of the demonic powers therein instead of the guardianship over Christians.

It must not be supposed because of the similarity of approach in these two books that Spangenberg's work was lacking in perception and originality. This is anything but the case. The production of Spangenberg is a work of soundness and beauty. Its simplicity of style--and Spangenberg is certainly among the most readable German authors one could find--and its perceptive theological depth are a tribute to the best in the Herrnhut tradition of preaching. There is none of the compendium awkwardness which naturally marked Lieberkühn's work, for the whole reads as a piece. That the chapters and their contents naturally merge into one another may be attributed to the structure, but that the transitions both of language and thought among them is almost imperceptible demonstrates the masterful hand of that experienced old theologian, Brother Joseph. It was this work which expressed the theology of the Brethren in that quarter century after the death of the founder at its positive best. Zinzendorf almost certainly would have heartily approved it, and in the humble opinion of this author, Luther would have been proud to have written it.

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[1] I.e., the Shorter Catechism and Greater Catechism of Martin Luther.

[2] Nachricht, p. 48.

It should be noted in passing that in the same year that the Idea of Spangenberg was completed the new hymnal prepared by Christian Gregor was published. Both books marked a sane and orthodox approach to Christianity, and although at the time as much shaped by as shaping the more conservative approach to theology and religion which had been on the rise since the 1750's, their mutual emergence in that year makes 1778 a milestone in Brethren theology, and perhaps in German church history, insofar as they helped to cement the alliance between Pietism and Orthodoxy--a sign of things to come.[1] The hymnal of Gregor may ultimately have done even more to reassure German Protestantism of the reliability of the Herrnhuters than did Spangenberg's popular work.[2]

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[1] See Ritschl, III, "einleitung."

[2] This judgment is based on the problems caused by the more extravagant hymnody of earlier hymnals and the offense it occasioned

The Idea fidei fratrum was to the Herrnhuters far more than merely the major writing of its outstanding theologian during this crucial period. It was an official theological statement issued by and in the name of the entire Unity under commission of its highest authority, the General Synod, and the Saviour himself by means of the Lot.[1] It was published with the approval of the ruling body thereof and was unanimously acclaimed by the next General Synod. Beyond this the assistance of the members and ministers of the congregations was solicited in testing and improving the work, as a new edition was anticipated. This aid was sought particularly with relation to the selection of Biblical passages to express the doctrines of Christianity.[2] Spangenberg himself in the Introduction to the work expresses the intention of the book thus:

> This Exposition is not a new Confession of Faith of the Congregations of the Brethren; but the Augustana Confessio, or Augsburg Confession, presented to the Emperor . . . in the year 1530 is and remains their confession of faith. . . .
>
> But some judicious men, for whom we have great respect, intimated to us, that it might be useful if the Brethren would lay before the Public, in a free, clear and unconstrained connection, their insight into the gospel, which Paul calls the mystery of Christ; others went still farther, and told us, that they believed it to be the duty of the Brethren, in this dangerous time--when many did not scruple shamefully to pervert the Bible--to show to all the world, that they are not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ. The Brethren themselves have been convinced, that it is the more necessary for them to make their mind publicly known, as the perverted tenets, which are charged upon them, are almost innumerable.[3]

Thus we see that both by the intention of the author and the mandate of the ecclesiastical authorities of the Brethren this was an official statement of their theological position.

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in theological circles. For details concerning the appearance of this hymnal and the principle for revision of hymns, see "Verlass," par. 990,2.

[1] Ibid., par. 990,1. [2] Ibid., par. 990,1,f.

[3] Idea, pp. iii-iv.

Having looked at its historical background and origins it remains for us to briefly treat the various characteristics of the position of the Brethren. In this analysis the statement of Spangenberg will be supplemented by the use of several other documents but particularly by the official decrees of the synods. This supplementary material will become our primary basis when dealing with the negative side of the Brethren's theological stance during this period and the manner in which it was enforced. The theology of the Herrnhuters will here be seen from seven directions: as a Christ-centered theology, as a Biblical theology, as a Protestant theology, as an irenic theology, as an anti-Enlightenment theology (under which the matter of theological discipline will be dealt with), and finally as a churchly theology. Thus, in what Schleiermacher detested as the _Exoterische_ we have chosen to move between those symbols with which he characterized the beloved _Esoterische_, going from "_der Heiland_" to "_die Gemeine_."

We have in the course of this work clearly seen how in fellowship, devotion, and every day calling the entire life of the Herrnhuter was wrapped up in the Christ, how for a brother each day and year--indeed both lifetime and eternity--was looked upon as an opportunity for the reliving, both in cultic act and moral demeanor, of the life and death of the Saviour. The whole life of Jesus was seen as the revelation of God to man, and in the Choir system this was applied to the vocation of the whole community. Zinzendorf's high concept of calling, holding as he did that the daily life of a man should be carried out as a "liturgy" to the Saviour,[1] bore fruit also in this period, as the Herrnhuters poured sanctity into every phase of life as it became a part of the "close walk with the Saviour." This ideal of the daily experience of the Saviour, however, brings us from a consideration of the Christ as an example for the life emulation of the brother or sister at every stage of development to the view of him as "the Man of Sorrows," (Schmerzenmann), which may be seen as the dynamic element in the life and thought of the Herrnhuter. The first step in the genuine brother's experience of religion was a realization of his own corruption and unworthiness, which can only be appreciated when the full measure of God's displeasure becomes apparent--in short, through the passion of Christ. The second step is the discernment of the hope of salvation bought by the cross and won by the resurrection.[1] Thus we see Brethren piety as Christ-centered and ultimately focused upon the appropriation in life of the divine-human drama of Good Friday and Easter. To this emulation of and concentration upon the Christ the expression of their religious experience in intellectual activity--in theology--was certainly no exception. In Spangenberg's Idea the whole arrangement moves from the creative act accomplished by the divine Logos through the various stages of human and divine history to the judgment and the new age purchased by him and in which the Christian may enjoy his presence forever.[2] Once more

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[1] To illustrate this well known Zinzendorfian tenet a few lines are introduced from a speech made to the seminarians in 1756 in which Zinzendorf is speaking of those whose task it is to copy

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the "Gemein Diarium" ("Gemein Nachrichten"): "Die Schreiber müssen sich aus diesem ihrem Geschäft eine Liturgie machen und manchen Paragraphum (sic) mit ihrem Gebet und Segen abschicken"; in H. Plitt, p. 28.

[1] This progression should by now be familiar to the reader; see supra, pp. 56, 110, and 153.

[2] In moving the discussion of Christian ethics from the end to a point following the treatment of sanctification in Lieberkühn's arrangement Spangenberg accomplished consistency in this arrangement; see Spangenberg, Idea.

we quote from Spangenberg's Preface:

> I have, throughout the whole, made truth my object; I mean the truth which points out the way to eternal life, and which is to be found alone in Christ, John 14:6; which makes us free from the service of sin, John 8:32; and through which we are sanctified by God, John 17:17.[1]

As we follow this paragraph of Spangenberg's further we are led immediately into the second chief characteristic of Brethren theology--its foundation directly on the authority of the Scriptures. His explanation continues:

> This truth no man can discover of his own strength, if he even had the understanding of an angel. Nay, if it were possible to combine the capacities of the wisest men in all ages of the world, in order to deliver the human race from their distress and misery, and to lead them to eternal happiness; it would be ineffectual. Our Lord Jesus Christ said to his Father in heaven, "Thy word is truth," John 17:7; and to the Jews, "I have told you the truth, which I have heard of God," John 8:40; and to Pilate, "To this end was I born, and for this end came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth," John 18:37. The Gospel of our salvation, is called expressly, "The word of truth," Eph. 1:13, and we find this, God be praised, in the Holy Scriptures. I have, for this reason, made it my chief concern, to examine what the Scripture says upon every subject of which I have treated. I know assuredly, that this is agreeable to the mind of my Brethren; for we have often bound ourselves solemnly to each other, to adhere, with all our hearts, to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, as we find it in the Bible.[2]

The aged theologian was hardly exaggerating when he spoke thus of the authority of the Bible, particularly the New Testament, among the Brethren. From the first lines of the first paragraph in compiled synodical decrees from this period we read:

> The Holy Scripture is the ground of our doctrine, and the only guide line for our faith and life: and its diligent reading is most urgently commended to each and every member of the church (Gemein-Glieder). Particularly is it indispensably necessary in consideration of the Brethren-Congregation's calling to proclaim the gospel among Christians and heathen that all brethren make themselves properly acquainted with the Holy Scriptures and especially with the New Testament.[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. iv.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. iv-v.

[3] "Verlass," par. 1.

The centrality of the New Testament is made adequately clear by an examination of Lieberkühn's main points in the Appendix--namely, "the teaching of Jesus contains everything which we are to believe and to do," and "this teaching is contained in the books of the New Testament." As for the rest, "the Scripture of the Old Testament is given by God and is written for our instruction."[1] This ordering of authority is, of course, consistent with the first characteristic of Brethren theology--the centrality of Christ.

There are several other issues that must be mentioned with relation to this exclusive acceptance of Scriptural authority in theology. First, and this is obvious in the above quotation from Spangenberg, this meant a complete rejection of a philosophical approach. The wisdom of man was once and for all rejected in this basically revelational theology. An interesting address was delivered to the seminarians at Barby at the beginning of the winter semester in 1783 which, although unsigned, probably was given by Spangenberg himself.[2] In this address we find an interpretation of the theological fall of the church in the first centuries. The argument goes thus:

> As seen from the New Testament the church of Jesus was in the beginning completely simple (Einfalt). They grounded themselves upon the word of God, upon the prophets, and upon the words of Jesus, and were satisfied thereby. When thereafter Christendom spread, much was also taken over from the philosophers and the orators who accepted the gospel. These people began the philosophical schools; Origen, for example, instructed young people

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[1] See Appendix, p. 632.

[2] "Rede an die studerenden Brüder (October 20, 1783)," "Gemein Nachrichten" (1783), II. Theil, 43. Woche, 1. This judgment is based both on the style and certain remarks made therein concerning the speaker's own experience which seem to indicate Spangenberg. It is to be recalled that the anonymous publication of such addresses seems to have been some sort of principle during this period.

> in philosophy. And with time were such men also made Elders and bishops. Then they introduced their philosophy and doctrine into the doctrine of Jesus and intermingled the two together as we can see yet today from the writings of the fathers, and some remarkable things arose from this. I would only introduce one example, that they recommended Apathiam--apathy--drawn from stoic philosophy as the highest perfection. . . . They then mingled this kind of principles with the teaching of Jesus. And in their addresses it was just as remarkable that they brought the methods of heathen oratory into the churches and spoke according to the heathen manner. . . . In the ensuing time this matter--that the people are required to hear philosophy and oratory and the young people are prepared therein--has proceeded so, and therefrom have our universities arisen. I would say nothing about the kind of straits into which this affair has brought the Christian religion. It is nonetheless true.[1]

The speaker then went on to show how the introduction of human wisdom in the form of philosophy caused also the fall of the Ancient Unity and to warn the students of his own time against the intermingling of human wisdom with divine in theology, for such an action would lead also to the loss of the simplicity and singleness of purpose of this their own movement. This rejection of philosophy must be seen within the context of the times as they have been already described, and leads directly into a recognition of the anti-Enlightenment character of Brethren theology.

Yet another implication of the sole authority of Scripture is the rejection of creeds as a primary authority for doctrine. The Augsburg Confession was looked upon first as an expression of Scriptural truth and thus as a secondary rather than a primary norm. We read in Spangenberg's brief description of the Unity that the Brethren confess the "unaltered" Augustana "quia scripturae sacrae concordant."[2] In a discussion in the Unity Elders' Conference on November 7, 1772, it was maintained that "we do not accept the Augsburg Confession for the sake of our own advantage but for its content in which true doctrine is so briefly and clearly treated, and confess it not merely in Lutheran countries but also in places where nothing is asked about the Augsburg Confession."[1] At this same colloquy, the occasion for which was a question from Professor Walch of Gottingen[2] whether the Lutheran Tropus accepted the unaltered Augustana as symbolic,[3] several judgments were expressed concerning the other Lutheran Confessions. Each was seen with relation to its historical context, and all except the Formula of Concord came off well but were not accepted in the strict sense as symbolic.[4] The latter writing, however, was looked upon as an expression of a persecuting spirit on the part of the theologians who wrote it, or at least as an effort to gain complete separation from the Reformed churches.[5] As to Reformed confessions, the doctrinal statement from the Berne Synod of 1531 was accepted as a very edifying pastoral instruction featuring the crucified Christ in the central position where the Brethren desired to place him.[6] Actually as primary theological authority, however, neither the three ecumenical creeds nor the Reformation creeds were accepted. They were seen as guides at their best, and often as sources of controversy at their worst.[1] Thus in the Idea fidei fratrum we find no actual citation of the creeds, nor were they used in any intentional sense as the organizing element. In this may be seen an interest which will finally lead us over to the consideration of yet another dimension of Brethren theology--its irenic character.

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[1] Ibid.   [2] Nachricht, p. 45.

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[1] H. Plitt, p. 193.

[2] Reference is here of course to Christian Wilhelm Franz Walch (1726-1784), professor of Church history in Göttlingen, rather than to his more famous father who had so profoundly influenced Spangenberg in his student days at Jena.

[3] H. Plitt, p. 192.

[4] By "symbolic" here is meant as definitive or distinctive of a "confession" in the post-Westphalian sense; Ibid., p. 194.

[5] Ibid., p. 195.

[6] Ibid., pp. 195-96; Spangenberg, Nachricht, p. 47.

Seen by itself the theological treatise of Spangenberg was a masterfully arranged recitation of the language of the Luther Bible of the basic Scriptural passages bearing upon the various doctrines of traditional theology. The grace which the work displays and the beauty of its flow from one point to another testify chiefly to the fact that through a life of constant study and devotional exercise involving the Bible the aged bishop had so thoroughly digested its contents that it could readily be recited and adapted to form such a structure of Biblical theology.

Despite its intentional avoidance of credal authority and of scholastic forms of argument the third main characteristic of the theology of the Brethren during this period, and for some its most salient one, was its orthodoxy. This feature, characterized upon occasion as "stockdumm Orthodoxie" by those less sympathetic with it,[2] testifies most clearly to the role of Spangenberg in attempting to bring an alliance between the forces of orthodoxy and of pietism against their mutual foe, modern unbelief. Although the controversial doctrines were consistently avoided by the Brethren in their treatment of theology, there was absolutely no doubt as to their adherence to the ecumenical creeds.[1] Their position on the Trinity, although somewhat questionable during the previous period because of Zinzendorf's identification of the Holy Spirit as "mother,"[2] was completely orthodox, and such expressions found no place in the stated theology of this period. Also, their Christology was beyond question in its orthodoxy. There is actually not a single point at which even the most orthodox could fundamentally differ with Spangenberg's work. It must be added, however, that there are several points at which the orthodoxy of the day might have desired that he had been more specific and explicit, as in the matter of predestination and in that of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament; but with what was said, no orthodox theologian could rightly disagree. Here, of course, we must come back to the use of the Bible as final authority in the statements of all doctrines. It was hoped to accomplish the union of the various basically orthodox religious parties which had so sorely divided German Christendom by means of this appeal to a commonly recognized authority--the theology of the ecumenical creeds woven into an over-all theology of the Scriptures and stated so much as possible in the language of the beloved Luther Bible.[3]

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[1] H. Plitt, p. 196.

[2] "Beschranktheit," "Despotie," "Intoleranz," "stockdumm Orthodoxie," "Monchsdummheit," were all terms used by the students at Barby who rebelled against the rigid intellectual controls exercised by their teacher; Meyer, p. 166.

The fourth main characteristic of this theology was that it was Protestant. The statement made above that this work would have greatly pleased Luther was based primarily upon the consistent dominance of Reformation theological themes in its chapters. This was particularly apparent in the chapter "Of Faith,"[1] but is to be observed on almost every page of the work. Spangenberg was a Lutheran, as were a great majority of the Herrnhuters, and the influence of Luther upon Zinzendorf has been prominently noted by his most informed biographers.[2] It is on this basis that Ritschl's sympathetic treatment of the movement in his History of Pietism may best be understood.[3] The Reformation view of justification by grace through faith is a constant theme, and the reader is never allowed to forget the preëminence of divine initiative in matters both of nature and grace. Neither, of course, was an extremely high view of Christian vocation absent, as Zinzendorf's ideal of the whole life as an act of divine worship was carried into this period.[4] In short, the appeal of this movement was primarily to Protestantism, although the Herrnhuters were highly desirous to work with other Christians as well,[5] and thus its theological foundations were firmly laid in that movement which is common to all Protestants--the Reformation--and thoroughly saturated with the ideas which dominated it.

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[1] This should be quite apparent from the outline from Lieberkühn given in the Appendix for this chapter. That they would have attempted to operate in the German churches as they did on any other basis is unthinkable.

[2] See Heussi, p. 44,u. [3] Spangenberg, *Idea*, p. vi.

We are thus brought directly to the fifth characteristic of the theology of this movement--its irenic or actually "ecumenical" features. The efforts of the Brethren to bring Christians together have already been at least partially dealt with in consideration of their Diaspora work, but a few words must be said here about the function of theology in this undertaking. The refusal of the Brethren to identify themselves as a "confession" in the post-Westphalian sense, and their sense of calling to maintain what they termed "universality"--or better, catholicity (Allgemeinheit)[1]--has been marked as a dimension of their basic inner- and inter-churchliness.[2] In a practical sense this led them to attempt to play a role not unlike that of the mendicants with relation to the churches of Europe. And like their forebears, they were deeply interested in healing the schisms which divided Christendom.[3] In eighteenth century Germany, however, the situation was a great deal more complex than that in pre-Reformation Europe, and the Herrnhuters had to look in many directions to preserve a mediating position. It was this problem which gave rise in the thought of Zinzendorf to the idea on which was based the so-called Tropen (tropoi paideias), or "methods of teaching," into which the Unity was divided--namely, the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the Moravian.[4] In this concept he posited an essential unity of all Christian churches based on the "original religion of the Saviour" common to all.[5] The various churches are each individually possessed of a unique gift for the nurture of souls in its particular manner and method.[1] This theory was carried into operation in the function of the Brethren Unity in an effort to forestall forces which threatened to fragment it or to make of it a confession or denomination.[2] The practice was maintained in the Spangenberg Era although emphasis was placed less and less on it.[3] By means of this theory it was hoped to bring the several religious parties into a working relationship without at the same time devaluating doctrine and the unique traditions of the various churches.[4]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 195-227.

[2] See Erich Beyreuther, Zinzendorf und die Christenheit (Marburg: Franke-Buchhandlung, 1961), pp. 46-87; Otto Uttendorfer, Zinzendorf und die Mystik (Berlin: Christlicher Zeitschriften Verlag, n.d.), pp. 134-63.

[3] III, 195-459; see Hirsch, II, 403, n. 1, for a judgment of Ritschl's treatment.

[4] Spangenberg, Idea, p. 326.

[5] Notably the Roman Catholic and the Eastern Orthodox; see "Extract" I; Hamilton, pp. 121-22.

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[1] See discussion of Unity Elders' Conference (December 4, 1776) on this subject in H. Plitt, pp. 102-127.

[2] Supra, pp. 159-60.

[3] The most notable of the efforts along this line by the Herrnhuters was the attempt to establish a "Church of God in the Spirit" among the Germans in North America; see Sessler, pp. 20-71.

[4] The concept extended in the thinking of the Herrnhuters also to the Church of Rome, and even apparently a Methodist Tropus was once contemplated; Hamilton, pp. 121-22.

[5] Ibid. According to Hirsch this idea was apparently borrowed and adapted from Christoph Pfoff of Tübingen; see Hirsch, II, 350 and 403.

In any case, however, it was the consistent intention of the Brethren to so much as possible avoid the pitfalls which had historically arisen against a peaceful spirit in European church life. In describing this element of the movement, Spangenberg stated it most succinctly when he said that

> the Brethren do not have the custom of disputing with one another about this and that point over which the people of the various religions have in the past fallen into controversy. It is possible to associate with a brother for a long time and be very intimately acquainted with him, and to hear from him not a single word touching upon those matters concerning which they formerly fought without end in the religions.[5]

Perhaps the best example of this "tight-rope walking" has already been seen with relation to the concept of the presence in the Eucharist in which Spangenberg declined to go much beyond the somewhat ambiguous statements in the New Testament.[6] It must not be supposed, however, that the Herrnhuters had some grand plan for a super church under their central leadership. They aimed first, last, and always at the revitalization of the various state churches, and hopefully at the end of the sectarian spirit which divided them from a common fellowship and mutual defense in the dangers of the modern age.[1]

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[1] Hamilton, p. 121; "Extract," I.

[2] Hamilton, p. 121.

[3] Administrators for the various Tropen were appointed for the last time at the Synod of 1789.

[4] H. Plitt, p. 205.

[5] Nachricht, p. 44.

[6] Supra, pp. 280-86.

The consciousness of this danger to Christianity posed by the rise of critical rationalism and a secular world view brings us then to the sixth characteristic of Herrnhut theology and causes us for the first time to turn from the positive to the negative side of its expression. We must ever be conscious that it was against the rising tide of Enlightenment theology that the Brethren of this quarter century forged their theology, and within this situation they thought out quite clearly just where they stood. In our discussion of the Diaspora work some of the problems involved here were brought to bear, and a guide-line was laid down beyond which those under the care of the Herrnhuters but still within their local parishes were not encouraged to go.[2] Numerous elements in their cultus have been pointed to as affronts, perhaps even intentional ones, to the rationalistic and humanistic spirit of the Enlightenment,[3] and the years with which we are concerned in this study were marked by a continuation of this optimistic and positive approach to that movement on the part of the Brethren. But during the last decade or so of our period may be noted an increasing uneasiness which even went so far as to posit the possibility that unbelief might be victorious over the truth of the Gospel. This culminated in what has been in the Introduction called a loss of confidence on the part of this movement and in an accompanying retrenchment and loss of vigor in its life and activities. The increasing uneasiness which led up to that collapse had other features, particularly in the form of theological discipline which will be discussed here and which of course played such a bitter role in the experience of the youthful Friedrich Schleiermacher.

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[1] See "Extract," I-IV.

[2] *Ibid.*, II.

[3] See *supra*, pp. 280-81.

It is with relation to the threat of the Enlightenment that we find the nearest thing to a "blanket" theological statement of principle from a synod of the Brethren during this time. At the General Synod of 1775 was cast down the gauntlet of defiance against the peculiar doubts which had been so strongly introduced concerning orthodox theology. As in all things, the Saviour and the cross are the treasure which must be held high at whatever cost, and it was with relation to the efficacy of his life, death, and resurrection to deliver men from their corrupt state that they drew the line beyond which theology dare not go and still be Christian. Just as in their view the church could not slander the Saviour and still remain the church,[1] theology could not undermine his value and honor and still pretend to express the gospel. But now we must let the synod speak for itself. The rather lengthy statement proceeds as follows:

> The chief subject in doctrine concerning which the Brethren must hold firm in the present times and over which it must with joy take upon itself the humiliation of Christ--at the same time without on that account allowing a single one of the other articles of Christian doctrine to fall--relates itself to the principle: that in the sacrifice of Jesus alone are grace and freedom from all sins for all the world to be found. Essentially we would maintain concerning the following four points which are in these times so sorely controverted:
>
> a. The doctrine of the atoning sacrifice and the satisfaction of Jesus for us. He was offered up for our sin; to this also belongs the truth that we receive all

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[1] "Extract," II.

sanctification from the merit of Jesus, and that all powers necessary to life and a godly walk must be received as a gift from the Saviour.

b. The doctrine of the universal corruption of man which wounds body and soul to the very death so that in the whole man nothing is sound; that in the fallen man no powers remain to better and assist himself.

c. The doctrine of the divinity of Jesus; that God, the Creator of all things has been revealed in flesh and has himself reconciled the world to him; that everything is created through and for him; and that he was, before all which is, and all which is exists in him. It is therefore essential when we speak of Jesus as the Son of God that the principal accent not be placed on his obedience toward his dear Father; otherwise the idea might arise, which is today becoming so popular in Christendom, that He was only a preeminent messenger of God. His autonomous divinity and his obedience to his dear Father always stand side by side in the Scripture and in our treatments both parts must be taught in that way, with the same diligence and the same simplicity; so that with and through such means we might have a true impression of his eternal divinity and that his deep humiliation to the death, even to the death of the cross, may become for us inexpressible, important, and beneficial.

d. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit and his gracious works. The more this capital truth is refuted in our time, the more carefully do we want to guard those doctrines of God which the only begotten Son proclaimed to his disciples from the bosom of the Father, and also has made clear to our congregations through his word, namely to view, rightly conceive, proclaim, apply, and enjoy him as our Mediator, his Father as our Father, and the Holy Spirit as our Teacher, Leader, and Comforter.[1]

The only point at which this very revealing statement is in real need of explanation is with relation to the fourth point which appears to be a protest against the inroads of a philosophical approach to what the Brethren conceived to be the proper concern of theology--ethics--and the emergence of what might be called a "stoic" ethic as a part of the *Aufklärung*.[2] This theological statement, rising as it does from the synod which commissioned Spangenberg to write the *Idea*, clearly reflects the nature of the "dangerous time" for which it was prepared. The points therein are specifically aimed at what the Brethren were wont to call the "Pelagianism and Socinianism" of Enlightenment theology.[1] When we finally come to deal with Friedrich Schleiermacher's theological doubts a simple reflection upon these points and their relation to the central tenent as laid down at their head will go far in assisting us to understand the attitude of the Brethren toward and their treatment of that young "infidel." Mention of young Schleiermacher's bitter experience with their theology brings us now to a consideration of the manner in which the Brethren thought to carry on the struggle against the forces within the congregations which threatened completely to subvert these central doctrines--in short, the theological discipline instituted and exercised among the Herrnhuters to guard against the infection of false and unsound doctrine.

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[1] "Verlass," par. 9.

[2] H. Plitt, pp. 167-68; Spangenberg, *Nachricht*, p. 48.

The mainstay in the struggle against unbelief among the Brethren was the very thorough and well thought out system of spiritual discipline that has already been described, the epitome of which were the monthly Speakings between the Choir Helpers and the individual brothers and sisters. It was not, for example, considered necessary to require a credal oath from the Preachers in the Brethren congregations, this not merely because they did not have such a creed--for after all they had the Augustana--but because they considered the system of Speakings much more adequate in the maintenance of orthodoxy.[2] It should be noted that heterodoxy or doubt were considered, like all other disciplinary problems, matters of the spirit, and as such were of course the proper business of the Helpers of a settlement congregation. In facing the swell of infidelity seen by the Brethren in the Enlightenment specific sanctions were taken at the Synod of 1775 which then came to dominate activity in this matter. I refer to the stringent controls which were instituted to govern the purchase, reading of, and discussion about literature which breathed the new and destructive spirit of humanistic rationalism.[1] Just at that time when German intellectual life began first to bloom in the modern era the Herrnhuters felt compelled to in effect cut themselves off from it. Of course, they were right in that even the new devotional writings were often shot through with dangerous ideas and principles, but they were wrong in that to withdraw from this great cultural ferment was a betrayal of their faith and election to be the body of Christ in the church and world. They could to a large degree control the flow of books, journals, and letters in their settlements, and they could avoid the discussion of questionable materials in their classrooms and prayer halls, but they could never square such cowardice with the quixotic religious spirit that made men crave to be Herrnhuters and with those most thoroughly devoted people to form a true church of Christ.

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[1] "Verlass," par. 428. [2] H. Plitt, pp. 193-95.

In order not to end our discussion of Brethren theology in the so-called Era of Spangenberg in a negative theme, and at the same time to give expression to one of the most intriguing elements of all in the theology of this religious movement, it has been deemed suitable to conclude our treatment with an observation of Herrnhut theology as churchly theology. By churchliness is not meant here the ideas and efforts of the Brethren to bring the parts of the sundered church closer together, but rather their internal concept of the Christian community. The attention of the reader is recalled to the statements of purpose which were adduced at the beginning of chapter ii. The Brethren Unity was seen there as "a people of the Lord which has the gracious calling to be an assembly of members in the body of Jesus Christ . . . among whom the Saviour himself reigns . . . and where everything is arranged so that each member may be prepared to serve his will here in time and with joy to pass over into his arms and bosom."[1] Literally the whole life of a Herrnhuter was expended in the faith that he had been called to be a member in this corporate whole and to play his part in the representation in and through that entirety of the Saviour's continued presence in the world. In the mutual responsibility which each member of such a settlement had for the physical and spiritual welfare of his fellows there was little room for the individualism which was elsewhere so rapidly developing through Pietism and the Enlightenment.[2] Those who came here did so because they felt God had chosen them to help one another, and the name for the chief pastoral officers--Helpers--implies the priestly relationship within which all stood in the context of the Choir and congregation. Actually, in the final analysis it is often more what is meant by the church--the _Gemeine_--than anything that is definitely stated about it which reveals its place at the heart of what could be called the Brethren _mystique_. The attention of the reader can be drawn to the uses of the word or its derivatives in the life of the Herrnhuters--to the _Gemeinhaus_, _Gemeinstunde_, _Gemeintag_, _Gemeinfest_, _Gemeinrat_, _Gemein-Nachrichten_, _Gemeinhelfer_, and more, and these would, if pondered in the context of the reconstruction of the life and cultus in those settlements, point beyond themselves. But it is ultimately the manner in which the Brethren tend to use the word "Gemeine" which reveals its spiritual weight. It will be noted, for example, that although this word had gone out of general usage in indication of a congregation and had been replaced by the word "Gemeinde" already at that time, the word was and is held by the Herrnhuters.[1] In fact, in reading books concerning the movement one may almost invariably determine whether the author was or was not a brother by his choice between the two. In pointing to the elements with which our discussion of theology has begun and ended as the Esoterische, Schleiermacher showed just what a thorough Herrnhuter he had been, for on these two are finely balanced the life and cultus of the Brethren. Which is the more essential would be difficult to say; ultimately they are one.

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[1] "Verlass," pars. 427-28.

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[1] _Supra_, pp. 51-52. [2] Barth, pp. 92-94.

At a meeting of the Unity Elders' Conference in 1773, a discussion was taking place concerning the problem of sectarianism, and one brother pointed to the danger in that direction involved in the thorough devotion exercised by the members of the congregations. On the other side it was maintained:

> "The fact that we would rather have the Saviour and the congregation than our lives one cannot call sectarian, for it is as it should and must be. The nature of the case requires it."
>
> Whereupon the President prayed with bared heart:
>
> "What profits it us if we so long weaken our hearts with reflection?
>
> "Thou knowest our deep pain, our secret torture and ardent feeling for thee and thee alone; thou knowest we surrender all to thee, all save one thing only, the Gemeine!"[2]

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[1] It will be noted that the word "Gemeine" was used consistently for "church" in the Luther Bible.

[2] H. Plitt, p. 239.

PART IV

SCHLEIERMACHER AND THE HERRNHUTERS

CHAPTER XIV

A FAMILY'S PILGRIMAGE TO HERRNHUT

On the very eve of that most holy time in the annual life of a Brethren congregation, Passion Week, the accustomed tranquility of Gnadenfrey and the Silesian countryside which surrounded it was suddenly interrupted by the various clamor which accompanies the movement of a military body. The date was April 8, 1778; the occasion was a war which never actually materialized except on a diplomatic level--the War of the Bavarian Succession.[1] Although the war did not come to actual campaigns, the maneuvering of the Prussian army was carried on in deadly earnest. Many of the officers and men all too well recalled the bloody battles of the Seven Years' War, and the Royal Silesian Grenadiers who on that spring day set up camp in the Gnadenfrey village common were hardly in a frivolous mood. When two days later around a hundred officers and men found themselves in a preaching service of the Brethren many of them had come, to be sure, to observe and to ridicule these sectarian fanatics, among whom they so unwillingly found themselves awaiting the command to take the field in combat; but in the course of the service even these would-be critics found themselves drawn into the worship which was there taking place. The immediate result of this participation of Prussian troops in the cultus of the settlement in which they were quartered was a request by the commander that the soldiers should be addressed once more before their departure for what was expected to be the battlefront. At four in the afternoon of the next day the congregational Prayer Hall was filled to overflowing with two complete battalions. The speaker was one of the most talented pulpit orators of the Herrnhuters and a former protege of Count Zinzendorf, Heinrich von Bruiningk. Brother von Bruiningk does not appear to have said anything very startling. In fact, although the sermon is not preserved to us, it seems to have been a rather typical Brethren sermon, emphasizing the love of Jesus toward sinners and his desire that all should seek and find salvation and eternal blessedness.[1] There can be little doubt that the veteran preacher handled these familiar themes in a masterful and moving manner, but in such an address there are several factors which are decisive, only one of which is the skill and preparation of the speaker. On this occasion we observe the coincidence of skill in spiritual address and the emotional readiness on the part of the speaker and the listeners. Of all the experiences which this Brethren preacher must have had, it was this one to which his biographer pointed in writing his Lebenslauf. There we read:

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[1] The reconstruction of these events is made on the basis of reports from Gnadenfrey from March to August, 1787, in "Gemein Nachrichten" (1787), I. Theil, 24. Woche, 2; 36. Woche, 3; 44. Woche, 5; from the "Lebenslauf des Bruders Heinrich von Bruiningk, Bishofs der Brüder Kirche," first issued in "Gemein Nachrichten" (1785), Beilage, 11. Woche, a, and printed in Nachrichten aus der Brüder-Gemeine--1845 (Gnadau: 1845), pp. 801-806; and from the "Lebenslauf der ledigen Schwester Friedrike Charlotte Schleyermacher" (hereafter cited as "Charlotte's Lebenslauf") in Nachrichten aus der Brüder-Gemeine--1834 (Gnadau: 1834), pp. 502-530.

> It was a singular sight to see a gathering of such rough people, some of whom had come with the idea of carrying on their ridicule in the Prayer Hall; little by little, however, through his powerful witness and through the manner unique to him, first to capture the attention of his audience and then irresistibly to penetrate into their hearts; to see them so overwhelmed that they listened not only with the greatest stillness but also

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[1] See "Gemein Nachrichten" (1778), I. Theil, 24. Woche, 2.

> with tears which finally gave way to a general weeping. . . . This sermon was unique in that he spoke with people who apparently were led near to death. The Saviour also confessed himself to them with such a divine power that at their departure from the hall one frequently heard from the soldiers the expression, "I will carry these words with me into the battlefield."[1]

According to the report of these events which appeared in the "Gemein Nachrichten" the troops were so deeply moved by what they heard that they continued to discuss the sermon in the quarters, in some cases deep into the night. Next day the camp on the common broke up and the troops moved on into Bohemia leaving Gnadenfrey to celebrate the Holy Week in its normal repose, then to return two weeks later for a stay of more than two months until a treaty had been concluded between the maneuvering belligerents. Thus passed the "red letter day" in the life of Brother Heinrich von Bruiningk, but it did not end there, for among those who were deeply moved on this occasion by the words of the Preacher of Gnadenfrey was a Prussian army chaplain of the Reformed religion named Gottlieb Schleiermacher (1727-1794).[2] This man was not merely temporarily inspired by his encounter with the Herrnhuters, but on the basis of his association with the Brethren during these months of April, May, and June in 1778 he changed his whole theological and religious outlook, in turn affecting his whole family, and finally through his eldest son Friedrich he went far to make this a "red letter day" in the history of modern religious thought.

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[1] "Lebenslauf des Bruders Heinrich von Bruiningk," p. 805.

[2] "Charlotte's Lebenslauf," p. 504; "Von den Feld-Predigern haben verschiedene freundschaftlich bei den Brüdern Layritz und Bruiningk besuchet wobey sich auch bisweilen Gelegenheit gefunden, ihnen vor allem die Verkundigung des Wortes von Jesu Creuz besonders anzurathen"; "Gemein Nachrichten" (1778), I. Theil, 36. Woche, 3.

It must not be supposed that the fifty-one year old army chaplain had never before encountered any but the ordinary German "state-church" variety of Christianity. As a matter of fact, Gottlieb Schleiermacher's father Daniel, also a Reformed cleric, had early in the century become involved with the so-called Ronsdorfer Sect of Elias Eller, as extreme and apocalyptic a group of _Schwärmer_ as one could wish.[1] Gottlieb himself was trained for and at the age of nineteen was elected the assistant pastor in Ronsdorf.[2] To make a long story short, very soon his father became disillusioned with the behavior of the leader of the sect and spoke out strongly against him. Elias Eller in retaliation brought charges of witchcraft against his former associate and it became necessary for that Reformed clergyman to flee the country and take refuge in Holland. The entire affair was ultimately resolved in an investigation by the state which exonerated the father and discredited Eller, who had meanwhile died.[3] The effect of all this upon Gottlieb seems to have been his complete disillusionment with the orthodoxy of his time, which began a long period in which he was an adherent--even if not a very courageous and outspoken one--of the moral and rational Christianity of the Enlightenment. His religious position during this period was later characterized thus:

> During twelve years at least, I preached, though a real unbeliever. I was at that time firmly convinced that Jesus had accommodated his discourses to the notions and even to the prejudices of the Jews; and this opinion induced me to think that I ought to be _equally_ modest in reference to the established popular belief. Never, therefore, did I feel at liberty to dispute the article concerning the divinity and atonement of Christ, because I knew from the history of the church, and from the experience of other persons, that since the first founda-

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[1] G.H. Klippel, "Ronsdorfer Sekte" in _Realencyclopödie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche_, dritter Anflage, XVII, 131-36.

[2] Dilthey, p. 6.

[3] _Ibid_.

> tion of Christianity these doctrines have given consolation to millions of men, and led them to repentance; and, although I was not myself convinced of their truth, I used to apply them in furtherance of morality and love to God and man, whenever the subject would admit of it. I wish that even should you [Friedrich] not come to a decision in favour of the rectitude of this mode of proceeding, you would, at least, never publicly attack the doctrines in question.[1]

During this period as a "real unbeliever" the Reformed cleric appears to have made a consistent effort to overcome his doubts by the study of the accepted arguments against them. In attempting to forestall the doubts of his own son he states the futility of this intellectual approach in the following manner: "I have read almost all the refutations of infidelity, but they have not convinced me; but I have on the contrary, learned from experience that faith is the regalia of the Deity, and can only be the work of his mercy."[2] And after the doubts of the son became more clearly known to the father he wrote again in the same vein. "You will, no doubt at last, learn to see that even the most triumphant refutation of infidelity does not alone suffice to establish a tranquillizing and living faith in Jesus, but that this must be prayed for to himself, as the author and consummator of our faith."[3] At last among the Herrnhuters and under the expert preaching and personal leadership of that veteran physician of souls, Heinrich von Bruiningk, the middle-aged chaplain received the assurance of the heart which he had long sought to gain by means of the head. The exact nature of his religious experience remains unknown to us but its profound impact is soon to be traced in his preaching, his actions, and particularly in his relationship to his family. From this point his preaching for more than a decade was marked by the theological themes of the Brethren.[1] A shift may be noted from ethical to redemptive motifs, from virtue to grace, and from an emphasis on God the Father to the second person of the Trinity, in short, to the Saviour. The doctrines of incarnation and substitutionary atonement which he had so studiously avoided before became the cornerstone of his addresses. But more significant to us in this study are the actions which he undertook on the basis of this experience of religious conversion--particularly as they relate to his wife and children, finally as they tended to mold the life of his elder son, Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher.

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[1] Briefe, I, 84 [I, 84-85]. [2] Ibid., I, 40-41 [I, 45].

[3] Ibid., I, 61 [I, 65].

Like her husband, Fritz Schleiermacher's mother was of a clerical family. She was a Stubenrauch, and her father had been court preacher in Berlin; her brother was at the time a teacher of church history at Halle. Stemming from one of the families who composed the inner circle of Reformed clergy in Brandenberg-Prussia, it was almost a foregone conclusion that Frau Schleiermacher should be of a very enlightened intellectual and religious persuasion. In fact, before the fateful days in 1778 and her encounter with the Herrnhuters by way of her husband, her religious position seems to have been established upon the Enlightenment conception of personal virtue and the continuation thereof through her children. It was only to be expected in the situation in which she found herself, with three children to raise and a husband who was almost continually absent, that the mother and children should develop an extremely close relationship. The children's early training fell almost entirely to this very knowledgeable and capable woman and she took the matter very seriously, indeed as an affair of eternal significance not merely with relation to the children's destiny but touching on her own as well. But we should let her speak for herself. In writing to her brother, then at Halle, in 1776, she stated her position in the following manner:

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[1] An analysis of Gottlieb Schleiermacher's preaching is to be found in Meyer, pp. 271-73.

> I cannot conceive how it can be that so many parents bear no real love to their children, for what do we possess in this life that we can calculate upon calling our own on the other side of the grave also, if it be not virtue and our children. And what a sweet consolation may it not be on our death-bed, if we leave good children behind us, or if any have gone before us, to feel that we may confidently look forward to reunion with them, and to receiving together with them new joys and eternal bliss from the hand of the Godhead. This is indeed the only source whence we can derive consolation when we lose our children, and much, much time is required before we can thoroughly feel it. What parents who do not look forward to such a future feel at such a loss is beyond my comprehension.[1]

At the same time it must not be supposed that this matron had ever been non-religious in her approach to life and its problems. If we may accept the remembrances of her daughter as having come partly from this earlier period, we may suppose that prayer and devotional practices played a significant role in the household, and she is reported to have knelt with her children, seeking pardon for their childish transgressions.[2] These practices are hardly to be compared either in their intensity or intention with those which marked the life of the Schleiermacher family after the return of the father from the Bavarian War. In order properly to understand the changes which were in the late seventies and early eighties taking place for this little circle it is necessary to look into certain factors which led to and to a certain degree even anticipated them.

As has already been indicated, Frau Schleiermacher was thrown much on her own resources in the matter of the rearing of her children. Consequently she did a great deal of thinking, as indeed did the whole eighteenth century, about the proper manner of training children, and she seems to have known each one of her children very well. In 1774 she wrote thus to her brother of her elder son, Fritz:

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[1] Briefe, I, 17 [I, 19].

[2] "Charlotte's Lebenslauf," p. 503.

> The dear boy gives us much pleasure and much hope. He has a most affectionate heart and a very good head. Next month he will be six years old. Pastor H. is much pleased with the attention which he shows, and the distinct answers which he gives during the lessons in religion. God grant that he may continue thus, and not allow himself to be misled by others.[1]

It is significant here to note that already the mother showed a distinct anxiety lest her son should be misled in the course of his training. At this time already he was a pupil in the Friedrich School in Breslau and appears to have been making surprising progress. Only two years later in another letter Frau Schleiermacher admonished her brother to moderation in the training of his young child and in so doing gave us a keen insight into her concern for and relationship with her own children.

> God preserve your darling boy and let you have much joy of him! But that you are already thinking of teaching the little fellow to read, that surprises me, as he is hardly two years old. However, children are very different; but in one thing, dearest, I think you will agree with us, and that is, that children must not be driven to their lessons by fear of punishment, but that they must be taught in play and be spurred on by emulation. It seems to be a law of our nature that we should play during one period of our lives, and if we do not do so during the earliest part, we must do so afterwards. Of this we have examples in various precocious young savants; for instance in the young Baratier, who in his thirteenth year attended university lectures, in his eighteenth year began to play like a child, and in his twentieth died rather weak in mind. An example of a different kind I may cite in our Lotte. From her birth she was weak and sickly, and in consequence sulky and peevish. Her nurse was kind, but old and very quiet and never tried to amuse the child. Lottchen's only pleasure was, therefore, to stand at the window or before the street-door. Her

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[1] Briefe, I, 16 [I, 18].

> playthings she was afraid of, and she cried when they were shown to her, except a little lamb, which she was always carrying about in her arms. In this way two years and a half elapsed. I had then a very severe illness, and when I rose from my bed Lottchen could speak and run about. I then began to teach her the alphabet, and the letters being large and new to her, they pleased her, and she soon enough learnt to know them. I began already to be quite proud at the thought of the sickly child learning to read so quickly, but there is a long leap between knowing the letters and knowing how to read.
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> In the interval Viekchen,[1] who was a strong and lively child, and who had a nurse like herself, had begun to find pleasure in play. Lottchen, who saw her little lamb and other playthings in Viekchen's hands, was astonished, cried, laughed, drew nearer, took part in the sport, and little by little she became so fond of play, that she no longer liked her letters, and cried when I wanted to force her to learn. I consulted my husband, who was then absent, as to what I had better do. Let her play, was his answer, the desire to learn will come in time; and so it did; but not until she was five years old, when she began to be curious to know what I was reading. Then she became so zealous that she quite persecuted me with her A B C book, and very soon learnt to read fluently. . . .
>
> Fritz began to read when he was four years old, but Carl, whom my husband calls our savage, and who is now three years and a half, speaks very indistinctly, will never obey without the rod, is dreadfully obstinate and very lively, but also in excellent health.
>
> Thus, my dear brother, for one child more patience is required, for another more encouragement. In short, each must be treated in a different way, and therefore it is easier to lay down general rules than to practice them.[2]

In this same letter Frau Schleiermacher went on to characterize the development and academic motivation of the future theologian in glowing terms.

> If Fritz continues as he has begun, he will be very efficient in languages. His masters are very much pleased with him; he is already in the third form, and though he is the smallest boy in the school he is always at the head of his class. It is the custom of the school to give each child a ticket every week stating how he has behaved, in regard to his lessons and other matters. In two years Fritz's ticket has once contained the words "pretty well"; all the other times it has been "good," "industrious," "very good," "very industrious." These tickets are great excitements to good conduct, and upon the whole one cannot help admiring the excellent discipline which Mr. H. maintains in the school.[3]

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[1] Viekchen was apparently the second daughter of the family who died of smallpox as a child. _Infra_, p. 465.

[2] _Briefe_, I, 17-18 [I, 20-21]. [3] _Ibid_., I, 18-19 [I, 21].

Yet another slant on the Schleiermacher family during this time which we might call the Breslau period is to be gained from the remembrances which the children had of it. We have accounts from both Charlotte and Friedrich which reflect a clear picture of this time in the Schleiermacher home. In 1797 Lotte recalled her stay in Breslau thus:

> I was born March 31, 1765, in Breslau, which place my father had made his abode, when, after the Seven Years' War, he was appointed chaplain to the Silesian Garrison Regiments. My mother, born Stubenrauch, actually Capignon, stemmed from the Saltzburger emigrants. Because of the journeys of my father, she had to care for our upbringing alone.
>
> In my seventh year I contracted smallpox and suffered exceptionally much with the disease. My younger sister died of the so-called black pox. I was then the only daughter and when all about me, most of all my mother, lamented over the disfigurement of my face, I complained only that I had forgotten all which I had memorized in the German and French languages and applied myself the more industriously to the thorough learning of French, for which I had much opportunity until my thirteenth year.
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> My good mother sought not only to guard me against all bad company but punished me and my brothers at each observation of a fault which could have an influence on our future lifetime. On such occasions when intolerance, tyranny, and the like appeared in us, she fell with us on our knees and commended us in heartfelt prayer to the mercy and grace of God.
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> In my eleventh year a sermon on the text "All my days are written in thy book" made a great impression on me. In it was treated the great purpose of our life, the rapid passage of time, and the proper application thereof. This, however, brought only a passing impression. With the mass of school girls, as well as because of the associations of my parents, I came into many social circles in which I could have early become conscious of my corruption; since, however, I studiously avoided all outward improprieties and zealously pursued virtue, I was greatly amazed if I heard of evil affairs and believed that I could never fall into such things. I was never disturbed in my innocence by the reading of evil books since my mother always determined those books which were to be placed into my hands.[1]

From a similar account written by Fritz three years earlier in 1794 at the time of his ordination we read:

> I was born on the 21st November, 1768, in Breslau, where my father then resided as a chaplain of the Reformed Church to a

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[1] "Charlotte's Lebenslauf," pp. 502-503.

regiment in Silesia. My mother, to whom, on account of the frequent professional journeys of my father, I was indebted for my education while at home, was the youngest daughter of the Rev. Mr. Stubenrauch, chaplain in ordinary to the king. Of the first years of my life I retain, of course, but a few detached recollections, which are not worthy of a place in this sketch. When I was five years old, I began to attend the Friedrich's School, conducted by the Rev. Mr. Heinz, chaplain in ordinary; and as I acquired very rapidly the mechanical parts and the first rules of the Latin language, and with equal rapidity committed to memory a number of vocables, the half of which I had generally forgotten by the next day, I soon passed through the lower forms. This progress having very early gained for me a reputation for cleverness, and having, as must inevitably be the case in a large school, placed me above a number of older and bigger boys, I began to be proud and conceited, and as a not unfrequent consequence of these qualities, I also acquired an irritability and violence of manner which were not grounded in my constitution. My mother, who, though she was fondly attached to me, was by no means blind to my faults, endeavoured, by acting upon my religious feelings, to change my pride into gratitude towards God, and although her own temperament inclined towards the same fault, she opposed to my violence a systematic calmness and an obvious justice, which convinced me by experience that I was the only one who suffered from my conduct, and that the good, which I wished to effect on such occasions, would be much more easily achieved in another manner. My pride was humbled by other means. As reading-books and chrestomathies had not yet been introduced into the school, I was soon made to read a Latin author. Here I saw nothing but darkness; for although I learnt to translate the words mechanically into my mother tongue, I could not penetrate into the sense, and my mother, who directed my German readings with much judgment, had taught me not to read without understanding. When I endeavoured to collect into a whole the detached pieces which I had read at school, my deficiency in the necessary preliminary knowledge frequently rendered me incapable of forming a vivid conception of the subject, a fact which made me very uneasy; and as I perceived none of this uneasiness in my comrades, I began seriously to doubt the much lauded greatness of my natural faculties, and was in a state of constant fear lest others also should make this unexpected discovery. The imperfect scientific instruction which I received contributed to bring about the same result. Natural history and natural philosophy, the rudiments of which are now taught to the youngest scholars, I only learnt to know through the Children's Friend;[1] and I was often quite alarmed at not being able to understand how it was that water boiled or froze, while I believed that everybody about me was familiar with the matter. In history also I could take no interest; I do not know whether it was that the lessons were not given with sufficient animation, but I know that they caused me deadly ennui, and that it cost me incredible trouble to retain the chronology of the four monarchies, and the order of succession of the Persian kings.[1]

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[1] A German children's book.

With the outbreak of the Bavarian War and under the threat of military campaigns in the Breslau area the Schleiermacher family, at the invitation of the princess of Pless in Upper Silesia, withdrew to that place, while the father with his regiment was mobilized and moved to the Bohemian frontier. It is significant to note that at this point, even before the conversion of Gottlieb Schleiermacher, it was thought advisable in the interest of his all-round development to withdraw young Friedrich from the school at which he had had so much success and actually to thwart his precocious intellectual advancement so as to protect him against the emotional and moral pitfalls of the system of secondary and university education then practiced in Germany. Frau Schleiermacher wrote concerning this move to her brother in Halle that

> Fritz did not, as you suppose, remain in Breslau. No, dear brother, I do not think I could have made up my mind to leave him at his tender age without any guidance for his heart. The school here [Pless] is very tolerable, and he may still learn something there. What we shall do in time, when his heart has been strengthened in goodness, I do not as yet know.[2]

In the same vein she wrote two years later concerning her sons:

> The two boys are quite opposite natures. Fritz is all spirit, and Carl all body; therefore we still keep the former at home, for he has knowledge enough for his age, and we only wish that his heart was as good as his understanding; but his heart has been corrupted by the constant praise bestowed on his intellect at Breslau, and he has become vain and conceited. Had we left him in Breslau, he would probably have been quite ready for the university at fourteen, so quickly does he progress in everything.[3]

Thus we see that even before their encounter with the Herrnhuters the elder Schleiermachers were consciously dealing with a problem relative to the proper upbringing of their children. The educational views expressed by the mother were quite out of line with accepted practice in the bulk of German schools. Actually she strongly reflected views which were then being developed under the banner of "philanthropic" educational theory, and under the leadership of Rousseau and Pestolozzi, and could hardly be expected to be at peace with the iron discipline and cutthroat competition which characterized the education of the time. Therefore it is quite clear that at least one of the Schleiermacher parents was seriously seeking a more acceptable academic environment for these children, particularly the elder son, even before the possibility of any connection with the Brethren had presented itself. But, on the other hand, the involvement of this clerical family with the religious movement which it has been the purpose of this paper to describe may certainly not be seen as completely or even primarily an effort to solve a domestic problem of proper education and upbringing for the children. The religious conversion of the family in 1778 and 1779 is not to be viewed in this light; but certainly the drastic move of 1783, in which this mother who was so deeply involved with her children was willing to give them all over to the care and training of the Herrnhuters, must be seen against this background of deep and well thought out concern. The actual motivation which led Frau Schleiermacher to thus rend her heart is an extremely complicated affair, and in the true sense is composed of both a genuine religious concern for the protection of her children against the temptations of the world and of a general educational-philosophical concern which also had roots, as we have seen, in her pre-Herrnhut religious point of view that her sons should be afforded an academic training in which the heart and mind were held in balance so that the child might not be emotionally destroyed in the process of his intellectual training. Precisely how much this mother was willing to pay to see these dreams and hopes for her children realized will ultimately be seen. The first step was the withdrawal of her elder son from the academic situation in which she felt he was being emotionally destroyed, and through what were to become very crucial years in the religious development of the entire family, young Fritz was kept entirely at home.

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[1] _Briefe_, I, 3-5 [I, 1-3].

[2] _Ibid_., I, 19 [I, 21]. [3] _Ibid_., I, 19-20 [I, 22].

Although in his seventeenth year he lamented this abrupt interruption of his brilliant academic career[1]--at twenty-six he recalled his pleasure at the time at being relieved of the rigors of study and at being given a great deal more freedom.[2] This response of the nine-year-old lad is to be contrasted with the grief of his thirteen-year-old sister who looked upon the move to the back country of Upper Silesia as the end not only of long established friendships but also of her beloved intellectual pursuits.[3] From 1778 to 1780 all three of the children remained constantly with their mother, and although Friedrich continued with his Latin and French, attempting to teach his younger brother to read and reckon, he was for the most part free to exercise and enjoy the fresh air.[4] The family remained in Pless for a year, until the return of the father in 1779; then they removed at the suggestion of the princess to the colony of Anhalt of which the pious lady was patroness. There Gottlieb Schleiermacher undertook the additional duty of ministering to a congregation of Moravian emigrants who had settled in that place under the protection of the princess of Pless.[1] Characterization of this period brings us directly back to the religious revolution, the description of which began this chapter. Even as the Breslau period was for the religious life of the Schleiermachers one dominated by Enlightenment views, the Pless-Anhalt period was one dominated by a growing attachment to the Herrnhuters, which reached its climax in the spring of 1783 when the entire family set out for a stay at the Brethren settlement of Gnadenfrey from which the three children were not to return.[2]

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[1] Meyer, p. 147. [2] Briefe, I, 5 [I, 3-4].

[3] "Charlotte's Lebenslauf," p. 504.

[4] Briefe, I, 19 [I, 22].

The Brethren message of human depravity and divine grace made an immediate and profound effect upon this small circle. The impact of the father's religious experience did not even await his actual return from the war to make itself felt, particularly upon his wife. In Charlotte's Lebenslauf we read:

> From my father, who during the war stopped for some time in the neighborhood of Gnadenfrey and had experienced through the addresses of the late Brother Heinrich von Bruiningk a powerful seizure, we received comforting letters in which he exhorted our good mother and us children to trust in the Saviour, very often deplored the lost time in Breslau, and urgently bade our mother to yield herself to the Saviour.[3]

The relationship in which this clerical family stood to the Brethren is one which is already familiar to us. In the full sense of the word its members became a part of the so-called Diaspora, and although they do not appear to have become members of an actual organized "society," they qualified as a part of the scattered and relatively isolated sympathizers with the Herrnhuters who were visited by Diaspora workers and who maintained correspondence with the Brethren.

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[1] "Charlotte's Lebenslauf," p. 505.

[2] Ibid., pp. 504-510.

[3] Pp. 504-505.

The actual transition to the religious position of the Herrnhuters seems to have been carried forward with relative ease on the part of the father and the daughter; for Friedrich and his mother, however, this change was one marked by grave inward strife. On the part of the parents the difference may well have been due to the depth at which each had imbibed the faith of the Aufklärung, in which tradition the mother had literally been born and raised, while the father was a convert almost by default or at least by disillusionment.[1] There can be little doubt that the religious antennae of the father were much more sensitive to the Brethren than were those of the mother. And it seems quite clear that Frau Schleiermacher did not become thoroughly converted to the Herrnhuters until she had actually observed them in action in the autumn of 1782, and most important, until she had seen what their schools and settlements could mean for her beloved children. Inwardly she seems to have been deeply disturbed by the reorientation of world- and life-view which came into her life by means of the conversion of the lord of her household. During the periods between his professional journeys Chaplain Schleiermacher fulfilled his duties toward the congregation at Anhalt and his own family. Early in 1780 he held religious instructions for the children of the village, and of course his own children as well, in which he utilized the Brethren catechism by Brother Lieberkühn which had appeared only a few years before.[2] Thus we may judge that at least Lotte and Fritz at that time gained their first formal religious training under the tuition of a Brethren textbook and according to the orthodox doctrinal system discussed above in chapter xiii. The altered religious persuasions of Gottlieb Schleiermacher also worked themselves out in the life of his home as he attempted to make of his household a "little house-church" (Haus-Kirchlein) as that institution was outlined in the Diaspora principles of the Brethren.[1] An important part of this program was to be the training which children were given in the home. Layritz's handbook for guidance in the rearing of children prescribes a regimen of private instruction periods, usually to be connected with the regular family worship or with meals, in which the children were to be instructed concerning their catechism, a Bible story, or "most of all concerning the meritorious life, and suffering of our Lord and Saviour."[2] Lotte tells of her father's instruction:

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[1] See Dilthey, pp. 6-10, and Meyer, pp. 2-4.

[2] "Charlotte's Lebenslauf," p. 505.

> In this time he dedicated each morning at breakfast one hour to special conversation with me, chiefly in order to impart gospel exhortation to my heart. He often read also addresses from the Brethren, especially from Count Zinzendorf, and then explained that which I had not properly understood. In this I became powerfully permeated by the truth that an intimate acquaintance of the soul with its Saviour must take place in order that one might finally be able to taste the blessedness which is prepared for us.[3]

The words in a letter written by the mother to Fritz while he was at school in Pless, "I am glad to see from your letter, my dear son, that our morning hours have not been without use to you,"[4] indicate that Lotte was not alone in the enjoyment of such instruction, but that the entire family seems to have been a part thereof.

The path was not entirely smooth for Friedrich and his mother, as has already been indicated. It was with relation to the above description of her own religious life during these years that Charlotte continued:

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[1] See supra, pp. 166-67.

[2] Layritz, p. 140. It should be noted that this book was sometimes bound together with Lieberkühn's catechism.

[3] "Charlotte's Lebenslauf," p. 505. [4] Briefe, I, 23 [I, 26].

> Not only did I myself long inexpressibly after this blessedness, but it did not escape me also that my mother was powerfully stimulated to reflect seriously upon her inner condition. The following two passages seemed in equal measure to cause her great unrest, "She hath done what she could!" and, "If we have done all which is required of us, yet are we nevertheless unfruitful servants." Since she from youth up had exercised in herself morality and true righteousness, with her vigorous and at the same time critical mind she often fell into a condition of despair.[1]

This combination of mental-spiritual vigor and skepticism (_heftigen und zugleich bedenklichen Gemüth_), which so greatly afflicted the mother with despair, was also then and in the future to be the spiritual affliction of her clever and impressionable son Friedrich. From that first year in which his family was under the influence of the Brethren, young Friedrich later recalled in his autobiography:

> The doctrine of eternal punishment and reward had already exercised a disturbing power over my childish imagination, and in my eleventh year I spent several sleepless nights in consequence of not being able to come to a satisfactory conclusion concerning the mutual relation between the sufferings of Christ and the punishment for which these sufferings were a substitute.[2]

Also within those first years under the new religious influence the lad was deeply troubled concerning the doctrines of human corruption and the supernatural means of grace, which led him like his mother, as he later stated it, to "that state of torture, with producing which our reformers have so frequently been taunted,"[3] in short, _Anfechtung_. The circumstances of this period of despair in the life of the future theologian will be further discussed below, but it may be stated here that quite early in his association with the

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[1] "Charlotte's Lebenslauf," pp. 505-506.

[2] _Briefe_, I, 7 [I, 6].

[3] _Ibid_., I, 7 [I, 7].

Herrnhuters the essential cleavages between his basic theological orientation and that of the Brethren were becoming apparent, and also that both the cast of mind and even the central concepts upon which they were based were inherited from his mother.

Both mother and son seem, however, to have made the transition with relative success by the end of this period, which extended from 1778 to 1783. In this matter, particularly with relation to his problems with the concept of natural depravity and divine grace, the mother appears to have been of considerable assistance to Friedrich.[1] From 1780 to 1782 he had been placed in school at Pless, where he was under the instruction of a student of Ernesti who for the first time inspired the boy with the great dream of scholarship and learning.[2] It was while there in boarding school that his correspondence seems to have borne a definite "Herrnhutish" stamp which is reflected in a letter from his mother dated January 21, 1782, in which she notes:

> You write, my dear son, that you feel keenly that the love of Jesus Christ does not as yet dwell in your heart, that you are a poor sinner, and that up to this moment you have not been pardoned by Jesus, and you ask for our advice as to how you are to acquire this spirit of love to Christ. Oh! if you really do feel the need of it, and a yearning after it, then only pray, in truth and in simplicity of heart, to our dear Saviour and faithful Helper, to accord you his spirit and his aid; for does he not call all those to himself whose souls stand in need of him, and does he not promise that what we ask in his name we shall receive? Only beware, my child, that you do not attempt to begin with your own improvement; for in our own strength we can do nought; but flee with your consciousness of imperfection and sin, with your every want and desire, to the Son of God, to receive grace, yea, one grace after the other, from his abundance. Ah! surely there will be joy in heaven at your coming, and what happiness, what bliss will it not be to you to be from youth at one with your Saviour, to conquer in his strength all those obstacles to perfection which meet us

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[1] *Ibid.*, I, 8 [I, 7].

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 5 [I, 4].

> here under so many forms, and to restore his image to your heart.[1]

Here the mother seems to have become a thoroughgoing follower of the **Brethren** approach to the Gospel, and already there is to be noted the spiritual condition of intense sensitivity to personal guilt which Friedrich Schleiermacher later indicated gave rise to his desire to flee the world and become a part of the spiritual brotherhood of the Herrnhuters.[2]

During his stay at the boarding school at Pless we may observe the further development of his creative imagination linked with strong critical tendencies. This quality is exemplified in what he in his autobiography terms "a peculiar thorn in the flesh." As he later described his problem:

> It consisted in a strange scepticism, the origin of which I can no longer recollect. I conceived the idea that all the ancient authors, and with them the whole of ancient history, were suppositions. The only reason, indeed, that I had for this belief, was that I was not acquainted with any proofs of their genuineness, and that all that I knew about them seemed to be disjointed and unreal. The reputation for cleverness which I still enjoyed, and which I was most anxious not to destroy by any disclosure of what I conceived to be a more than ordinary amount of ignorance and incapacity, had produced a closeness of character in me that caused me to keep silent on the subject of these strange doubts also, which, nevertheless, troubled me much, and I resolved to await the time when my own investigations should enable me to confirm or to refute them.[3]

In this revealing recollection we find reflected both the imaginative criticism which was later to lead him to spiritual shipwreck among the Brethren and the intellectual self-confidence and independence with which he met that crisis. In 1782 the rector of the Pless school was recalled to his native city and young Fritz was once more for the most part of a year placed upon his own resources in continuing his studies.[1] At this point his parents were faced again with their old problem of what to do about his education. In the meanwhile, since they had last dealt with this issue in leaving Breslau, it had gained a new dimension brought into play by their changed religious views and thus an alteration in their position vis-à-vis the contemporary academic and intellectual world. Thus to the problem of assuring a balanced emotional and intellectual development was added that of protecting the younger generation of Schleiermachers from the damaging inroads of heterodoxy and doubt which were just at that time becoming dominant in the German cultural scene.

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[1] Ibid., I, 23-24 [I, 26]. [2] Ibid., I, 8 [I, 7].

[3] Ibid., I, 6 [I, 7].

The period during which this search was going on and while Freidrich was once more at home--the last half of 1782 and the first quarter of 1783--was one during which the dedication of the family came to a climax in intensity. This development, particularly in the life of the children, was described in the following manner at the close of this period by the father to his brother-in-law:

> That our children have within the last year opened their eyes to this human corruption, and that they have, each in his or her own way, been enabled to discover it in themselves, we cannot but look upon as the work of God's spirit in their hearts. These effects of divine grace became more and more evident throughout the winter; they were every day more impressed with the nature of true peace; and they became, in consequence, more and more anxious not to be sent away from us and out into the world, full of their natural corruption, but implored to be allowed to go to Niesky.[2]

Lotte had at this time already been confirmed and in a manner typical to the Brethren was involved in the maintenance of a daily spiritual journal, which she used as a basis for what must have amounted to a confessional Speaking in the usage of the Herrnhuters before each quarterly participation in the Holy Communion.[1] The Lebenslauf of the sister also reflects that as in other Diaspora homes, the Daily Textbook and the "Gemein Nachrichten" were a regular part of the devotional life therein.[2] The increasing intensity of this religious inclination no doubt did much to influence the solution to the educational problem then facing the parents.

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[1] Ibid., I, 20 [I, 22-23]. [2] Ibid., I, 21-22 [I, 24].

It is quite clear that the educational establishments of the Herrnhuters were not the only, nor even the first ones which were considered by the Schleiermachers for the placement of their sons. There appear to have been three schools which were considered. The first of these was at Teschen, about which the parents seem to have become disillusioned in some manner which is not made clear.[3] The second possibility was the Paedagogium at Halle, which appears to have been eliminated by a peculiar presentiment interpreted by the mother as the hand of God and which prevented a projected visit to her brother in that place; at that time she was to have made a personal inspection of the school.[4] The final choice, and the one to which Frau Schleiermacher became convinced they were divinely led, was that of Niesky, its Boys' School, and its Paedagogium.[5] Precisely why this was the third rather than the first choice is not altogether clear, but it probably stems from the fact that these institutions of the Brethren offered the greatest difficulty of entry, since they were not open to other than confessed members of the religious fraternity by which they were operated.[6] In the summer of 1783 Gottlieb Schleiermacher reviewed this problem and its solution in a letter to his brother-in-law at Halle as follows:

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[1] "Charlotte's Lebenslauf," p. 506.

[2] Ibid., p. 505.

[3] Briefe, I, 25 [I, 28].

[4] Ibid.; "Charlotte's Lebenslauf," pp. 506-507.

[5] Briefe, I, 25 [I, 28].

[6] "Verlass," par. 546.

> About six weeks ago we returned home from a rather long journey the object of which was our children, whose temporal and eternal welfare has for some time past weighed on my heart more than ever--particularly that of our two sons, as we were somewhat embarrassed what to do with them, in consequence of the rector, Mr. S., having been recalled to his native city. But the promise of our Lord, "Call on me in thy need," has been mercifully fulfilled in regard to us. More than a year ago we heard of an excellent educational institution, which was said to have been established by the Brethren at Niesky in Upper Lusatia, and in the autumn we determined in consequence to undertake a journey thither. We arrived in Upper Lusatia just at that time when not only the Directory from Barby, but a number of deputies from the congregations of the Brethren throughout the world were assembled in Synod at Berthelsdorf.[1] Such an assembly was quite new to us, and we learnt there to know a number of worthy men, who are working together with one mind and one heart, for the most pious object man can entertain, viz., the founding and spreading of the kingdom of Jesus. Many of these worthy people were already known to me through their writings and through the history of their missions, which I had read; and during my journeys since the last war I had often visited their establishments, and witnessed their devotional exercises; but my dear wife was most forcibly impressed by what she saw of these excellent people with whom we at once felt at home and with whom we harmonized as with bosom friends, so that it was not long before we whispered to each other, "Here it is good to be." But it was not ordained that we should pitch our tent there, and consequently, after we had seen everything at Herrnhut, we journeyed on to Niesky, where we found the educational establishment in every respect excellent beyond expectation. The village is small but pleasant, and the air very pure. The educational establishment consists of the Paedagogium and a child's school; in the former there are about forty young people, and in the latter more than sixty children. I visited as many of the classes as possible, and in all I found the instruction thorough-going. The supervision exercised in this institution, as also the economic arrangements, seem to be as perfect as any I have ever known. However, what to us was most satisfactory was that the one great and important object of man, reconciliation with God, is here, as in all Brethren establishments, founded upon the only true basis, the bloody sacrifice of Christ, which--when, by the grace of God it has become active in the heart of man, and he has accepted it, and by true faith has made it his own--forms the sole source whence is derived every virtue of which man is capable, in time and in eternity.[2]

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[1] This synod was in session at Berthelsdorf from August to October 22, 1782. Spangenberg presided.

[2] Briefe, I, 20-21 [I, 22-24].

As has already been suggested, the impact of this her first encounter with the life and cultus of the Herrnhuters made a powerful and extremely favorable impression upon Frau Schleiermacher, and it was with relation to her visit in the various congregations during this journey, first at Gnadenfrey, then at Herrnhut and Niesky, that she finally became a thoroughly convinced disciple of the Herrnhuters and her imagination became inspired with the hope that the salvation of her children lay here among these people.

An additional sidelight is cast upon these events as well as what was at this time also transpiring at Anhalt among those who remained at home, by the recollections of Lotte, then seventeen years old, who had been left at home to care for her younger brothers. She states in her autobiographical account:

> In the fall of the same year [1782] my mother accompanied father on his tour of duty in order at its end to observe the educational institutions in Niesky to which they wished to bring my brothers. I and my brothers remained at home and I to the best of my ability cared for our little living. The unrest of my heart increased more and more and at the same time I could fasten on nothing through which my manner of thinking and action could have received so rapid an alteration. On one Sunday --it was September 23--I fell into a deep reflection over myself and pondered earnestly what it might be which could bring me the genuine rest of soul after which I so heartily longed. In this I came also to the writings of the Brethren and recalled various autobiographies (Lebensläufe) of departed brethren which bore such a moving witness of a blessed and peaceful life already here on earth. Suddenly it came to me, that this was indeed the people in whose midst one could receive nourishment for the immortal spirit and separated from outward distractions could move nearer to the great goal. And the conviction came to me that I would never be at rest until I became a member of this people. An indescribably happy feeling engulfed me at the thought; each day my decision for the Brethren became more certain and with increased longing I awaited the return of my parents, which came at the end of October. They were very satisfied with their journey and told us much of the Saxon and Silesian congregations which they had visited. As they spoke of Gnadenfrey my heart leapt within me and I then revealed to them my desire to become a member of the Brethren. This caused them not a little consternation and they were inclined to consider it a youthful fantasy. It was nevertheless remarkable to them that the above-mentioned 23rd of September was the same day on which

> my mother visited the Sisters' House in Gnadenfrey and had voiced the thought, "If my daughter were here with me I would not be able to take her home again." On this occasion she had carefully informed herself of all the provisions in the congregation and in the Choir House, not at all for my sake, but in order to gain a thorough knowledge of a matter the goodness of which she recognized. I, however, rejoiced greatly that she now could tell me so much and impressed so much the more insistently my wish upon her heart. My parents saw my desire, but seemed not to want to notice it, rather they concerned themselves to present all kinds of objections thereto.[1]

During this same time, directly following the successful visits of inspection when the desire of the daughter to depart from her parental home was being so consistently discouraged, just the opposite approach was being made with the sons. Friedrich reports that

> my father spoke to me about the moral depravity which prevailed in most large schools, and the many dangerous yet very attractive acquaintances that I had formed, and still more, the recollection which I retained of what I had heard, and what I had also in some measure experienced regarding the schools in Breslau, filled me in like manner with apprehensions, while, at the same time, the descriptions which were made of the innocent piety that reigned among the young people at Niesky, of the rural character of the whole institution, and of the wise mixture of instruction and amusement which prevailed there, prepossessed me very much in its favour; and I awaited with impatience the time appointed for our departure.[2]

The resistance of the parents to Lotte's wish to become a Herrnhuter most likely stemmed both from a genuine concern that she should not be carried along in a move that was being undertaken for the benefit of her brothers into a step which she would ultimately regret, and because of her mother's need for a companion during the long absences of her husband, and, considering the death of the mother only a year later, perhaps also for a nurse in increasing ill health. The daughter, however, won out, apparently assisted in her own determination, and--considering the present religious bent of her mother and father--also in convincing them by the discovery that the

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[1] "Charlotte's Lebenslauf," pp. 507-509.

[2] Briefe, I, 6 [I, 5].

Watchword for her birthday in the daily Text Book of the Brethren, which had just appeared for 1783, was, "Hear, oh daughter, see thereto, bend your ears and forget thy people and thy father's house, then will the king lust after thy beauty!" This passage was accompanied by the chorale verse, "Of naught be able, naught to know, naught desire and naught to do, but needs follow Jesus, only this is rest and peace."[1]

The formal climax in the decision which led the children of the Schleiermacher family into the Brethren congregations took place between the twenty-first of November and the eleventh of December, 1782. On the former date, Friedrich Schleiermacher's fourteenth birthday, the father appears to have held a meeting of the family at which two formal announcements were made. The first of these was the proposal made by the parents that the brothers should be educated in the institutions of the Brethren. The second was the consent that the parents would no longer resist the pressing desire of the daughter that she be allowed to enter the congregation. The immediate response of Charlotte was an almost ecstatic joy.[2] The responses of the sons, however, seem not to have been so hearty. As we shall see, Friedrich, like his mother, only became highly excited about the prospect of becoming a member of the Brethren congregation after he had actually been exposed to, and had in effect become a part of, the life and cultus therein. Although there can be little basis for doubt that he, as he indicated in his autobiography, keenly anticipated his removal to the new school which was painted in such glowing terms by his parents, he was seized by a burning desire to be a Herrnhuter at whatever cost only after he had experienced his first

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[1] "Charlotte's Lebenslauf," p. 509.

[2] Ibid.

Holy Week in a Brethren settlement at Gnadenfrey.[1]

This announcement of the intention of the Schleiermachers to place their children with the Herrnhuters was followed up several weeks later by a second formal ceremony in their household. Charlotte recalled this happening in her autobiography in the following terms:

> The eleventh of December my father wrote to the Unity Elders' Conference in order to acquaint them with mine and my brothers' wishes. After he had read the letter aloud to us we were all three required to sign it, whereupon he offered a moving prayer and commended us to the heart of Jesus and to his gracious guidance.[2]

It should be noted that there was no real necessity for the daughter to be included in this request to the Unity Elders' Conference except her own need to participate in the actions of her brothers, because the position she wished to take up could be and indeed must be granted only by a local settlement congregation, whereas the status which was desired for the Schleiermacher sons could be granted only by that central administrative body.[3]

Again according to Lotte's Lebenslauf the reply of the Unity Direction was by no means immediate, but came only in February of the following year when their advice was that the entire family should undertake an extended visit in a Brethren settlement, and Gnadenfrey was suggested for this purpose.[4]

On Friday the twenty-eighth of March, 1783,[5] the period in the development of the Schleiermacher family and of its son Friedrich which we have designated the Pless-Anhalt time came to an end as the journey to Gnadenfrey was undertaken by the entire household, a journey from which the father and mother were to return alone. A week and a day after its outset, the family arrived at Gnadenfrey. Again of the first impressions made by the congregation the recollections of Charlotte, who had in transit celebrated her eighteenth birthday, afford us the best picture. Of those days she reports:

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[1] Briefe, I, 8 [I, 7-8]. [2] "Charlotte's Lebenslauf," pp. 9-10.

[3] Briefe, I, 6 [I, 5-6]. [4] "Charlotte's Lebenslauf," p. 510.

[5] Ibid. Schleiermacher's father gave the date as March 27, when he wrote to Stubenrauch in the same year; Briefe, I, 22 [I, 24]. However, the dating of Charlotte's account has been accepted because it has marks of a basis in a detailed journal.

> It was the fifth of April when we arrived at dear Gnadenfrey with the beautiful Watchword, "I have the Lord always before mine eyes--in the ever lovely picture of reconciliation!" I visited yet that evening the Gottesacker with my mother and with a rare feeling said to her that perhaps I too would have my little place there. On the following day the sermon was upon the text, "The kingdom of God is not in eating and drinking but in peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." Everything seemed to me as if spoken with angels' tongues. With a similar enthusiasm I found myself in the afternoon in the Choir House of the single sisters; and it may not be denied that my emotions were overly stimulated, yet I shall never forget the first fortnight of my stay in the congregation and how indescribably good it was for me to hear the passion sermons and the reading of the story of Jesus' suffering.[1]

The arrival of the Schleiermacher family at Gnadenfrey, as we see, coincided with the particular period of the year in which the Brethren cultus was reaching its devotional apex. The day of their arrival was the Saturday before Passion Sunday. On that particular day fell the monthly celebration of the Children's Congregation or Prayer Day, in which it is doubtful that the newly arrived children participated. The following day, as usual, was the Congregation Day for the whole congregation. Although the daughter in her account fails to mention it, they likely all were able to participate in the special reading services of that day. In any case they do not appear to have wasted any time in becoming acquainted with the physical and spiritual life of the place. Most important, of course, was the series of devotional and liturgical observances which began exactly a week after their arrival, when on the eve of Palm Sunday the readings of the Passion Week Manual began and were carried on daily throughout the entire week. Although these visitors were not allowed to participate in the service of Footwashing on Wednesday evening and the Holy Communion on Thursday evening, the remainder of the services would for the most part stand open to them. It is unnecessary here to describe again the masterful blending of music, prayer, spoken word, reading of Scripture, and liturgical action which made up the celebration of Holy Week among the Herrnhuters.[1] It is but for us to construct here of memory, psychological insight, and historical imagination the situation in which these impressionable young people stood, prepared as they had been throughout the past years and especially the final months thereof to be caught up and literally enthralled by what they would find there. It should be remembered that the young Schleiermachers did not come to their first experience in the Brethren settlement, as it were, cold--that is, ignorant of what to expect both from without and from within. Their parents, especially their mother, had introduced them thoroughly to the life and cultus which they were to meet, and although she had never experienced a Passion Week there, the father likely had, and we may be assured that their investigations had been deep and thorough enough into these practices and institutions that nothing would likely be offensive to or misunderstood by them. With certain reservations it may safely be said that the enjoyment of these Holy Week services on the part of a novice who has a thorough and theologically grounded understanding of them and their significance will in many ways exceed that of one who has been a participant therein for many years. Speaking from personal experience, the present author can attest the impact of the combination of anticipation of something known but never experienced with the novelty of actual experience thereof in such a situation. In any case, the effect upon the youthful Fritz, like that on his sister, was revolutionary and apparently indelible.

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[1] "Charlotte's Lebenslauf," p. 511.

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[1] See *supra*, chapter xi.

Unfortunately for our purposes here Friedrich Schleiermacher never seems to have set down a factual and detailed account of the religious awakening which took place in his life during the period from April to June in 1783 while he remained with his parents at Gnadenfrey. At least two reasons for this failure are reflected in the account which he did give of these events. The first of these, which had at least temporary validity, was that he came finally to consider at least a part of his religious experience at that time as artificial and induced.[1] The second reason, and one which may have had an even greater effect, was that the experiences which there took place were too decisive a part of his religious self-consciousness, and thus for this very religious man far too intimate to be written down even for the eyes of close friends, and certainly too sacred for the eyes of strangers.[2] The fragmentary knowledge which we do possess of these crucial days in the life of the future theological genius are of such an interdependent and yet in their very essence revealing nature that a heavy use will here be made of sections of material from the original sources which will be so arranged as to contribute to the mutual interpretation one of another. First of all we shall deal with the over-all effect which these first weeks in a settlement congregation had upon Schleiermacher's entire life and consciousness, and only then will we attempt to speak of the specific experience or experiences which were most crucial in those weeks.

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[1] Briefe, I, 8 [I, 8]. [2] See ibid., I, 11 [I, 12].

It should be remembered that the purpose for Friedrich Schleiermacher's presence at Gnadenfrey, as that of his entire family, was that he might be observed by the local Elders in much the manner that any prospective member was observed in order to determine whether he had a true calling to be a Herrnhuter and how his life and spirit responded to that calling. These weeks were frankly a trial period, and there is no doubt that young Fritz knew it. Although this might have and perhaps to a certain degree did lead him to seek a little too diligently after an experience which would qualify him to become a member of the Brotherhood, there can be no real doubt of the intense emotional involvement of the fourteen-year-old lad in the religious life which was during this time his entire environment and which reached its climax in the Passion Week at Gnadenfrey. Although he did come to doubt the genuineness of his own supernatural experiences at this time, he does not appear ever to have doubted the reality and validity of what was going on about him. Here indeed he came to his first "empirical" experience of religion; here he first felt that reality which it became the great mission of his life to express in intellectual terms. But now we let him speak for himself. In his autobiographical sketch written in 1794 we read:

> But it was not so easy to obtain the necessary consent of the Directory; and even after they had expressed their willingness to receive us, our admission still depended upon the Lot. In the interval, until the matter could be settled, we remained at Gnadenfrey, and here were laid the germs of an imaginativeness in matters of religion which, had I been of a more ardent temperament, would probably have made me a visionary (Schwärmer), but to which I am nevertheless indebted for many a precious experience, and which is the cause, that while in most people the disposition of the mind is formed unconsciously by theory and

> observation, in my case it bears the impress, and is the conscious product, of my **own** mental history. I had already sustained manifold internal religious conflicts. . . .
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> Now commenced another struggle generated by the views held among the Brethren relative to the doctrines of the natural corruption of man and of the supernatural means of grace, and the manner in which these doctrines were interwoven with each discourse and every lesson--a struggle which endured almost as long as I remained a member of the congregation. My own experience furnished me with abundant evidence in favour of the truth of the first of these two chief pillars of the ascetic-mystic system, and at length I came to look upon every good action as suspicious, or as resulting merely from the force of circumstances. I was thus in that state of torture, with producing which our reformers have so frequently been taunted; my belief in the innate moral faculty of man had been taken from me, and as yet nothing had been substituted in its stead. For in vain I aspired after those supernatural experiences, of the necessity of which every glance at myself with reference to the doctrine of future retribution convinced me--of the reality of which, externally to myself, every address and every hymn, yes, every glance at the Brethren, so attractive while under their influence, persuaded me. Yet me they seemed ever to flee, though at times I thought that I had seized a shadow of them at least; for I soon perceived that it was no more than the work of my own mind, the result of the fruitless straining of my imagination.
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> Vain were the endeavours of my excellent mother to reconcile her own more correct views of the two doctrines with that which I was taught on this head in the congregation, and to tranquillize my heart. That, being in this condition of mind, I should have formed a strong attachment to the Brethren's congregation and that I should have considered it a great misfortune to be refused membership, was but natural. I even formed the resolution that in case admission to the Paedagogium should be denied me, I would learn some honourable trade in the community, rather than enter, beyond its limits, that path of literary and scientific glory for which my master in Pless had inspired me with so much enthusiasm; and it was while reflecting on this resolve in all its greatness that I was tempted, for the first time, to look upon an impulsion of my own mind as being a supernatural effect.[1]

This judgment of the experience which he had received in this his first real encounter with the Brethren, a judgment made only seven years after his break with them, is somewhat modified and expanded by an observation made at his next visit there in 1802 at the very same time of year. Then he wrote in the same letter to George Reimer from which was quoted in the Introduction:

> I feel myself very happy here in the society of a beloved

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[1] Ibid., I, 6-8 [I, 5-8].

> sister in a beautiful country, and amid the wonderful impressions of an earlier period of my life. There is no other place which could call forth such lively reminiscences of the entire onward movement of my mind, from its first awakening to a higher life, up to the point which I have at present attained. Here it was that for the first time I awoke to the consciousness of the relations of man to a higher world--in a diminutive form, it is true, just as it is said that spirits sometimes appear in the form of children and dwarfs; but they are nevertheless spirits, and as regards essentials thereof, it comes to the same thing. Here it was that that mystic tendency developed itself, which has been of so much importance to me, and has supported and carried me through all the storms of scepticism.[1]

It was at this point that he went on to make his classical statement designating himself a "Herrnhuter of a higher order" of which we must speak more in due time. The important factor is the statement made here that this particular congregation stood in a special position in his religious development, over and above the other congregations in which he participated. Thus we see at least in a general way the significance of the composite experience to which he pointed in his autobiography as his first religious self-delusion.

We gain some idea of that to which he must have been referring when he spoke rather cryptically of being "tempted for the first time to look upon an impulsion of the mind as being a supernatural effect" by bringing together rather isolated but nonetheless weighty remarks from several letters. The first two of these are from Schleiermacher's own hand and fall in the midst of very intimate passages in letters to persons with whom he had extremely close relations and to whom he seems to have entrusted his innermost ideas and feelings. The first was in a letter to Ehrenfried von Willich, a very dear intellectual and spiritual companion after the true Romantic style; it was this man's widow who was ultimately to become Mrs. Friedrich Schleiermacher. In June of 1801 Schleiermacher, then in Berlin, wrote to this friend, speaking of the joys of having a place which is home:

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[1] Ibid., I, 294-95 [I, 282].

> Such a place there is not for me. Since I was eight years old I have never been three consecutive years in one place, until I came to Berlin, and these constant changes of locality and of society have obliterated many traces of my past life. Therefore, also, I have no love for my native city [Breslau], and for my native land I have only the same affection as strangers feel for it, as a beautiful and smiling country. To one locality only in it I feel really attached though I spent no more than a few months there; but these were very remarkable months; during that period occurred the first movements in my inner life. As I have a sister living there who is very dear to me, this also often makes me long to be there again, and I should like very much to go this summer, if it were possible.[1]

The second of these communications was written more than a year later from Stolpe in Pomerania, to which Schleiermacher had in effect been exiled because of his unorthodox behaviour and associates in Berlin. The person to whom it was addressed, Frau Elenore Grunow, was the wife of a Berlin clergyman who had been obliged to marry a man for whom she was badly suited, and Schleiermacher himself through much of the first decade of the nineteenth century had hopes of marrying this lady if she could obtain a divorce from her present spouse. There is no reason to believe that the relationship between the two was anything but platonic, but they were certainly in the highest sense soul-mates and communicated their thoughts in the most confident and intimate manner. The nature of the relationship will become apparent as we read the passage which proceeds:

> Tell me whether you had much feeling as a child? It would surprise me if it were so, and I should then have further reason to admire you for having so successfully mastered the false feeling! As regards myself, I can answer in the negative; the first element that developed itself spontaneously in me was the religious; I can still remember its first movements in me during a walk with my father. He never allowed me to lose sight of it again after it had developed itself; and it was therefore no wonder that he misunderstood me when I withdrew from a society

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[1] *Ibid.*, I, 281 [I, 270].

> to which he was greatly attached, and in which he had placed me in accordance with my own wishes, and with great hopes of saving me from the united power of the world and of those sceptical tendencies in me which did not escape his observation.[1]

Here we have the most concrete reference which is to be found in his writings to what could probably best be designated as his "conversion experience." At this point the mature Schleiermacher reflects a less skeptical attitude toward this experience than he had eight years earlier. This probably stems from a more balanced and deep understanding of the reproaches of insincerity and hypocrisy which his father had heaped upon him at the time of his departure from the Brethren. We shall, of course, hear more of the explosion which took place in that relationship between father and son in 1787 in due time, but that crisis brings us to yet a final reference to Friedrich Schleiermacher's religious orientation on entering the Brotherhood. In the bitter letter with which his father responded to Friedrich's doubts and decision to leave the congregation we find a reference not to the same experience but to one which must have borne some of the same marks and which took place at the time of his entry into the congregation. The sacrifice of his academic aspirations did not become necessary, for he seems to have satisfactorily completed his period of probation at Gnadenfrey so that at the recommendation of the local officials the Unity Elders' Conference held its formal discussion and drew the Lot with relation to the admission of the Schleiermacher boys on May 17, 1783, and the result was affirmative.[2] After a short delay the parents and the two boys then set out for Saxony, where the last step of the process whereby they had in turn offered each of their children to the care of the

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[1] *Ibid.*, I, 317-18 [I, 307].

[2] Meyer, p. 60.

Herrnhuters took place. The ceremony of reception must have occurred at Gnadenfrey, after receiving news of the favorable result of the Lot, or more probably at Niesky after their arrival there. It was not the actual reception into membership in the congregation, but rather a ceremony marking reception into the Paedagogium.[1] In reflection and reproach it was described several years later by his father in the following terms:

> But I must hasten to take leave of you. God only knows with what feelings. Alas! not with those tears of joy gushing from a melted heart, with which you, three years ago, took leave of the world, and dedicated yourself to the Lord and his congregation. O my son! forget not those tears--nor the tears of thankfulness and joy, which flowed from the eyes of your faithful and loving mother at the thought of what the Lord was doing for you--nor the earnest prayers with which the congregation received you into its bosom--nor either the tears of bitter grief, which you are now pressing from your father's eyes.[2]

By the close of his period of testing the future theologian appears to have become thoroughly captured by the Brethren. His reactions had become precisely what would have been expected of a genuine brother, as had his attitude, feeling as he did that he had a true calling--indeed an overpowering need to become and remain a member of this order. In short, there can be no real doubt that at this point he had completed a transition that had actually been several years in the making. It had had its beginning in those hours of instruction about the breakfast table in Anhalt but had reached its climax only under the direct influence of the impressive practical and devotional complex which constituted a Brethren settlement

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[1] This judgment is contrary to that of Meyer who interprets this reference as an indication of Schleiermacher's entrance into the congregation as a member and is made because the wording seems to indicate the actual presence of Schleiermacher's mother at the ceremony itself. See ibid., p. 137.

[2] Briefe, I, 49 [I, 52-53].

--at Gnadenfrey. In the midst of his fourteenth year Friedrich Schleiermacher became a Herrnhuter in the full sense of the word.

The importance of the step which was here completed in the life of the Schleiermacher family, particularly as it touched upon the intention of the mother, is best revealed as we reflect upon the store which Frau Schleiermacher set by her children and the part which they and their proper upbringing had played in both the theoretical and practical life of this highly sensitive and intelligent but, due to her husband's profession, lonely woman. Her children were at the very center of her life and values, and the sacrifice with which she crowned her love for them was that which was completed in the second quarter of 1783. There can be no doubt that the distress and anxieties which she had felt earlier were for the most part put to rest by the journey of the autumn before, but this basic confidence which made the present step possible by no means made it easy. Schleiermacher's mother was deeply torn by this action in which she displayed her complete love for her children, and the statement which her son recalled only a few months after she had made it in Gnadenfrey was not merely the selfish protest of a bitter woman but in the light of intervening events was possessed of prophetic insight. At that time she had pensively observed, "Now that all my children are going to the Brethren, I shall be of little more use here, so I may as well lay me down and fall asleep."[1] In less than six months, in which desperate loneliness was intermingled with great joy and peace at the assured salvation of her beloved children, Frau Schleiermacher was dead. Whether the approach of her death was a cause or a result of her sacrifice of her children is left to the imagination of the reader. The sources give us no guidance.

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[1] Ibid., I, 30 [I, 35].

CHAPTER XV

AT THE PAEDAGOGIUM IN NIESKY: SCHLEIERMACHER THE HERRNHUTER

It was in a state of keen religious consciousness and with a sense of personal victory and good fortune that the elder son of Gottlieb Schleiermacher arrived with his parents and brother at Niesky on June 14, 1783.[1] The origin of the religious condition has already been made clear and the reader likely has become conscious of the fact that a major victory had been won by the entire Schleiermacher family at this point. One cannot help but be impressed with the battery of difficulties with which this clerical family was confronted in gaining admission for their two sons to the Unity institutions at Niesky. As a matter of fact, within the structure of the Brethren constitution it would have been almost impossible to make the matter any more difficult. The reasons for this resistance to the acceptance of the children of a Reformed army chaplain are several. The most obvious cause of the reticence of the Unity Elders' Conference was, as pointed out in the previous chapter, that these schools were not meant for the education of the sons of outsiders; they were meant for the training of members of the Unity and their children. Since 1769 even this aim had been considerably narrowed and the Boys' School was now utilized primarily for the sons of persons who because of their service on the mission field or in the Diaspora work were unable to attend to the rearing of their own children.[1] The Paedagogium, on the other hand, was almost exclusively for the schooling of persons who were prospective servants of the Brethren congregations.[2] This exclusive nature of the Paedagogium was during this period in particular difficulty because of the desire of others to achieve for their children precisely what the elder Schleiermachers desired for their sons. Allowing outsiders to enter the institution at Niesky had become a matter of especial debate at the synod which the Reformed chaplain and his wife had visited in 1782, and the decision had gone against the acceptance of such persons, it being proposed instead that another school should be established for outsiders who desired such training.[3] For these reasons it was absolutely necessary that the executive arm of the Unity be fully assured that the intention of these institutions and the mandate of the synod should not be violated.

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[1] This date is given in Schleiermacher's Curriculum written in 1785 upon leaving Niesky. The complete Latin text of this document is to be found in Meyer, pp. 147-48; it will be noted hereafter as "Curriculum."

On the other hand, it would be extremely unrealistic not to recognize that the elder Schleiermacher must have known very well the situation with which he was dealing, for after all he had been at the Synod of 1782 while in the process of scouting out these institutions which had likely been suggested to him by persons of some influence in the Unity. Thus he knew what was required when the decision was made to place the two boys at Niesky, but at the same time, it is also likely that he had received some assurance of the ultimate obtainability of his goal. While at the synod he met the chief men of the Unity[1] and it should be noted that it was at this same synod that his old friend and the man who was so influential in his conversion, Heinrich von Bruiningk, became a member of the Unity Elders' Conference and was transferred from Gnadenfrey to Barby.[2] The issue, however, was, as Friedrich himself recalls, never beyond question up to the final moment when the three cylinders were stuffed with the decisive lots and the affirmative one was drawn out. All who came to the Brethren congregations were supposed to come with a high sense of privilege and calling, but that which accompanied the Schleiermacher family as it entered the settlement of Niesky on the eve of Trinity Sunday, 1783, must have exhibited an especial quality lent by the unusual obstacles which had been endured to reach this objective.

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[1] "Verlass," par. 544; Hermann Goerlitz, Geschichte der Knaben-Erziehungs-Anstalt der Brüder-Unität in Nisky von 1771 bis 1871 (Rothenburg: Hermann Ender, n.d.), p. 5.

[2] E.J. Gammert, Geschichte des Pädagogiums der evangelischen Brüder-Unität (Niesky, 1859), pp. 6-7; "Gemein Nachrichten" (1788), I.Theil, 20. Woche, 5.

[3] Gammert, p. 13.

Perhaps the most balanced and knowledgeable contemporary account of the _Paedagogium_ at Niesky as an educational institution is that given by Count Lynar, from which we will quote here as a background to Schleiermacher's academic advancement during his more than two years as a student there (April 14, 1783 to September 17, 1785). The Count wrote at the end of the 1770's in the following terms:

> The _Paedagogium_ is in Niesky, which is situated sixteen miles from Herrnhut and the same distance from Kleinwelke. An Inspector is appointed over it, who stands directly under the Elders' Conference of the whole Unity, and besides him are appointed still other teachers whose number is not set but is adjusted according to the number of students which tends at

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[1] _Briefe_, I, 20 [I, 23].

[2] "Lebenslauf des Bruders Heinrich von Bruiningk," p. 808.

one time to be greater, at another smaller. . . .[1] Not all of the teachers have also room supervision over the students but some have only to do with public instruction and thus they live in the Brothers' House rather than in the Paedagogium.

In Latin there are three or four classes. In the most elementary grammar is taught and Langen's Dialogues are read; in the subsequent classes are read Cornelius Nepos, Julius Caesar, Miller's Chrestomathy, Freier's Fascicle, Pliny the Younger, Curtius, Livy, the letters and addresses of Cicero, some of his philosophical writings, and his books on the orator. It is carefully seen to that the youths lay a good foundation in grammar, and the easy-going and comfortable manner of study which is presently coming into vogue is not approved because it is believed that besides a shallow and unacceptable knowledge of the language, the evil also arises therefrom that the youth become sluggish and unaccustomed . . . to exert their reflective powers and strengthen their memories through continuous exercise. The students use only the dictionaries prepared by Bishop Layritz especially for them and from which all improper words and manners of speech are excluded. Two Latin classes are held each day, in the morning from nine to ten and in the afternoon from two to three o'clock. Scruples are harbored against placing certain Latin authors into the hands of students because they might derive hurt to heart and soul therefrom. Nevertheless they have opportunity also to read good modern Latin books. For example, they are allowed to read B. Ernesti opuscula oratoria, Initia doctrinae solidioris, Clavis Ciceroniana, Mureti Orationes et Epistulae, Facciolati opera, and other similar works written in ancient style and in which nothing offensive appears. They are also required to execute Latin essays. Each week they must translate something from German into Latin, and in class Latin is dictated to them extemporaneously. Beyond this they also write Latin compositions which they sometimes memorize and recite in class in order to gain a certain candor in public address. In Greek the Hallensian Grammar is utilized.[2] The instructors begin with the easier books of the New Testament and move little by little into the more difficult ones; finally they read with the students also something from the heathen authors, as Gesner's Chrestomathy, certain Dialogues of Plato, the Socratic Aeschines, Epictetus, Cebetis tabulam, Theophraste Characters, and the like.[3] In Hebrew Danz's Grammar is used and the study is diligently promoted; also in French and English care is taken that those who give instruction therein have a proper pronunciation and that well written literature be read. . . . In mathematics only mathesis pura is taught. Special

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[1] For a detailed consideration of the teachers at Niesky while Schleiermacher was there see Meyer, pp. 99-111.

[2] After the Synod of 1782 there was a general swing away from the Hallensian ideal of linguistic studies which had dominated Pietist thinking, especially in the study of Greek, toward a more Melanchthonian approach. See Gammert, p. 8; also pp. 15-16.

[3] To this should be added specifically Zembsch's Sylloge Graeca.

> instruction is offered in geometry, trigonometry, and arithmetic. Instruction is also given in the proper manner of German writing and elocution. Sulzer's *Encyclopedia* is sometimes used in giving the students a general grasp of the field of scholarship. Finally there are also geography and history classes where universal history is lectured upon without text. Besides this there are special teachers of drawing and writing, and one has here the very best opportunity to learn the tonal art and to play any kind of instrument as there are two concerts held each week.[1]
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> The eating and sleeping of the students in the *Paedagogium* are in their internal and external provisions arranged in the same manner as in the Choir House of the Single Brothers. There is a large and excellent library at the *Paedagogium* which is under the direction of the Inspector. The present Inspector, named Zembsch, is from Greitzischen in Voigtland and may properly be reckoned among the most excellent of educators. Nor would he be without fame in the scholarly world if he had taken the time to demonstrate his industry and broad knowledge by means of writings.
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> Theology is not taught in separate classes in the *Paedagogium* nor presented in the scientific manner, but the Preacher of Niesky has the task to dedicate a couple of hours each week to the general instruction in the Christian religion and the divine truths for the whole body of *Paedagogium* students.[2]

The academic advancement of Friedrich Schleiermacher as a student at the Niesky *Paedagogium* did not in the least belie the earlier promise he had shown at Breslau and at Pless. After less than two and a half years he was considered ready for promotion to the Seminary at Barby. Already at Easter of 1785 he was placed among those who were nominated for such promotion and thus by that time he had reached the level of a first classman in all of the various areas of study.[3] A great deal of what we know concerning Schleiermacher's experience as a student at Niesky is to be found in the two autobiographical accounts which he wrote. The first of these is a "Curriculum" composed in Latin at the time of his promotion to the Single Brothers' Choir and to the Seminary at Barby in

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[1] For a graphic presentation of the curriculum of the Niesky institutions see Meyer, p. 88.

[2] Pp. 145-47.

[3] *Briefe*, III, 3; see also Meyer, p. 121.

September of 1785, and the second was written at the time of his ordination in Berlin in April of 1794. In order to allow the reader as great a degree of critical discretion as possible these two accounts will not be intermingled but appropriate sections from each will be introduced here side by side. It should be recalled that the earlier composition was written while Schleiermacher was still unreservedly under the influence of the Brethren; in short--it was written by a convinced Herrnhuter and was meant for the eyes of his colleagues and superiors. The later account, however, was composed at a time when his critical attitude toward the Brethren was in many ways at full tide, and it was meant for the eyes of the officials of the Reformed Church in Brandenberg-Prussia.

In the 1785 account we read:

> When I came there on the 14th of June in the year 1783 I sensed that almost all the boys of my age had left me far behind them, especially in the Greek language--for I had hardly begun to read--and in Hebrew, of which I was quite ignorant. Therefore I saw that all diligence and care must be directed to it so that if I were not able to excel them I would nonetheless catch up to them, and since I have always been of the opinion that two people excel more with their strength joined together, I provided myself with a companion, my beloved friend J.B. Albertini, with whom I first read part of the Hebrew Bible; then after I had overcome my dislike for the Greek language, into which I had fallen because I daily heard those awful (istas) analyses of verbs repeatedly chanted, I applied myself with the greatest ardor and study to the Greeks, and first I read Homer, easily the most excellent of all poets, and whoever does not praise him certainly does not know what is serious, what is noble, what is elegant. Then Euripides, whose wonderful faculty for affecting minds I also sensed; then Sophocles, distinguished in gravity; Aeschylus, the father of Greek tragedy; Callimachus, a shining and elegant poet and his disciple Apollonius; and then I read through Pindar. Of the prose writers I only tasted Herodotus and Xenophon; I read all the extant works of Theophrastus, who is best acquainted with the customs of his time; some Plato; the two parallel lives of Plutarch and those things of Lucian and Demosthenes which our celebrated and venerable Rector gave to us in his Sylloge. Of the Romans, in whom I have not been versed so long nor so diligently, I read through Virgil, in my judgment scarcely to be compared with Homer, still less to be preferred to him; Tacitus, whose manner of writing I preferred to hear or to read rather than to imitate; and certain things of Cicero, a man whose great name has already received

> more praise than I am able to express.
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> Finally, when I heard that it was necessary now for me to depart from here, I withdrew to the study of the Holy Scripture and I read through the remaining part of the codex in Hebrew. If anyone should ask, however, whether in these two years any day was for me without limitations I would not dare to assert this, for all those things of whatever sort they may be which I have learned here, I owe not to myself and my diligence, but especially to the labor of famous men--Zembsch, Hilmer, Treshow, Reichel, and Gambold--which was of use to me.[1]

Eight and a half years later he wrote of the same era in his life:

> . . . I entered, in the year 1783, the Paedagogium at Niesky, and I shall always remember with pleasure the time which I spent there, and, subsequently, in the Seminary at Barby. The method of instruction was certainly not the best that I am acquainted with, but it was the best that I had ever until then been subjected to; and the memory of one of the teachers there, more especially--he was a brother of Ober-Consistorialrath Hilmer--I shall ever gratefully revere. Though sickly in body, he was unremitting in industry and in his duty to his pupils; and to a truly philosophical mind he joined a most remarkable talent for teaching. His lectures on history were admirably adapted to cultivate and enrich the intellect, and opened to me quite a new and unknown field; while his method of teaching the Latin language was so easy, and at the same time so philosophical, that I not only acquired a fresh taste for that idiom, but, moreover, gained the power of improving myself in other languages.[2] In addition to him, I owe any progress that I may have made there to one of my school-fellows, who was, in an equal degree, the confidant of my heart and the companion of my intellect.[3] Our joys and our sorrows had a common source; we thought, we felt, we studied in common, and I know that even to this day we are called, in the community, by the name of Orestes and Pylades. Our literary undertakings were colossal and most adventurous; but although the time and trouble spent upon them was out of all proportion to the use we derived from them, they have not proved entirely fruitless. Provided with a very slight knowledge of the language, and in addition to this armed with nothing better than Hendrich's dictionary and Merk's grammar, we fell upon the Greek poets, and devoured, with great rapidity, Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Pindar. That much of what we read remained unintelligible to us, by no means cooled our ardor; we knew that a great deal of auxiliary knowledge was required which we did not yet possess; but we were satisfied with what we did understand, and hoped to acquire new light. We had

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[1] "Curriculum." The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of the Rev. Mr. Vernon Nelson, Archivist of the Bethlehem Archives, in rendering the Latin text into English.

[2] The significance given to Hilmer here stems more from Schleiermacher's desire to please the "Ober-Consistorialrath" than to any other factor.

[3] Reference is, of course, to Albertini.

> never had a lesson on Greek antiquities; but by degrees, we made many discoveries ourselves, and wrote, in most triumphant mood, essays abounding in quotations, which contained nothing more than what the whole world knew. Still more ridiculous was our undertaking to read the Old Testament, with the help of Danz's *Grammar* and Stock's dictionary, although we were utterly devoid of all the necessary preliminary knowledge; and yet it was only in the obscurities of Ezekiel that we stuck. Here also, however, we obtained (at the cost of a most disproportionate expenditure of labor, it is true, yet with all the greater gain in enjoyment) a number of notices, which we could not otherwise have acquired in our position.[1]

There are several striking factors to be observed in Schleiermacher's experience as a student at Niesky. Although the time during which Brother Theodor Christian Zembsch was Inspector at the *Paedagogium* was generally called the "Latin Period,"[2] and judging from Count Lynar's account, deservedly so, the great bulk of Schleiermacher's academic interest and energy while a student there was expended on the Greeks. That Plato, who was to become such a passion with him at a later period, is passed over with hardly a nod may come as somewhat of a surprise, but the fact remains that even allowing for padding of the record here and there in an effort to impress his readers, Schleiermacher's immersion in ancient Greek literature during his stay at the *Paedagogium* was nothing short of phenomenal. The question immediately presents itself here as to how under the academic program as described by Lynar with its modified Hallensian approach to the study of Greek, i.e., with the main if not exclusive emphasis upon the Scriptures, it was possible for this lad to become so deeply involved with the "heathen authors." The answer is relatively simple. During the several years between the appearance of Lynar's account and Schleiermacher's admission to the Paedagogium a substantial change had taken place in the philosophy of teaching Greek. It was considered a mistake to study Biblical then classical Greek when the development of the language had been in the opposite order. Besides this it was felt to be detrimental to the student's devotional appreciation of the Scripture to force it upon him at the elementary level in learning Greek. Thus after the Synod of 1782 we observe a swing away from the Hallensian ideal to that of Melanchthon and his followers, and the door was open to a more thorough study of the classical Greek authors.[1] Yet another factor in the program which was described by Schleiermacher in his autobiographies was the fact that in comparison with other schools of the kind the boys at the Paedagogium were possessed of a great amount of free time. They were obliged to attend only sixteen hours of regular classes each week, to which must of course be added whatever extra instruction in art, music, language, mathematics, etc., the individual student engaged in. In any case, however, the time required for preparation of regularly assigned lessons was relatively small[2] and in that which remained and was not taken up with spiritual or physical exercises, the students were encouraged and even assisted by their supervisors in the undertaking of special projects and studies. As we shall see to an even greater degree in the Seminary, the education of the Brethren was hardly one of overspecialization, but aimed to turn out well-rounded men with extensive knowledge and understanding in a broad range of fields. It was doubtless during this period that Schleiermacher developed the tendency to allow his interests and efforts to range wide over the various fields of learning which was to mark his entire academic life, both as a student and as a professor.

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[1] *Briefe*, I, 8-9 [I, 8-10].

[2] Gammert, p. 9. Zembsch later reflected that the mid-1780's had been a sort of "golden age" in the life of the school; *Briefe*, IV, 114; "Auch gestand Zembsch selbst, das unsers Zeiten doch die brilliantesten des Pädagogiums gewesen wören."

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[1] Gammert, pp. 8-9.

[2] It should be noted that no regular examinations were held in the Paedagogium at this time; "Gemein Nachrichten" (1788), I, Theil, 22. Woche, 3,1.

The context within which the future theologian followed his interests as a student in Niesky brings us to a final factor in the academic life of this period, one which is among the most significant of all influences on his mental and personal life during his years as a Herrnhuter. Friedrich Schleiermacher took unto himself a friend. As we have seen in the foregoing chapters, the development of spiritual attachments between the members of a Brethren Choir was an extremely important part of the religious life of the Herrnhuters. They appear to have taken their designation as brothers and sisters very seriously, and as a consequence of the extremely circumscribed life, with its limited access to outside entertainment and distraction, the Herrnhuters seem to have developed a peculiar quality of enjoying and participating in one another at a relatively deep level. In this environment Fritz Schleiermacher, who had always experienced a gulf between himself and his school fellows which arose from his own intellectual excellence,[1] became one in spirit with a fellow student. Jean Baptist Albertini, the product of the settlement of Neu Wied on the Rhine, only a scant three months younger than Fritz but already a year in the Paedagogium when the latter arrived,[2] was to become to Schleiermacher what was by one of his teachers designated with the English words, "other self."[3] That this friendship should have been considered unique in an entire society which abounded with deep spiritual associations speaks more authoritatively than any description which might be made of the depth of the relationship which arose between Schleiermacher and Albertini. And the "colossal" researches which they carried on within the extremely limiting day to day environment in which they lived, where each letter and each book were subjected to strict censorship,[1] testify to the intellectual spark which the association contributed to both of its participants.

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[1] Schleiermacher, Briefe, I, 4 [I, 2].

[2] Albertini was born February 17, 1769; Schleiermacher was born November 21, 1768. "Albertini's Lebenslauf" in Nachricht aus der Brüder-Gemeine--1832 (Gnadau, 1832), pp. 158-59.

[3] This English expression was used by one of Schleiermacher's former teachers, G.W. Horn, in a letter; Briefe, III, 4.

Actually the complexity of the intellectual and spiritual connotations of the friendship between this modern Orestes and Pylades and its roots in the religious ground of the Brethren congregation of which they had become a part leads us into yet another side of our examination of the Paedagogium and Schleiermacher's experience therein--the status of this school as an institution of religious nurture and as a vital part of the settlement congregation of Niesky. In arriving at this in our examination we have in actuality reached the object of our deepest interest in this part of our study. Our chief concern has throughout been to understand the Brethren movement as an expression of religious piety, and by this means to arrive at a deeper understanding of the religious experience of Friedrich Schleiermacher therein and its impact upon his life and thought as a whole. Thus our primary aim in the examination of the schools at Niesky and Barby is to add to the religious picture which has already been constructed the features unique to those institutions and to indicate, insofar as it is known to us, the involvement and spiritual development of the future theologian therein.

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[1] Reichel, 6. Rede.

In considering these institutions from a primarily religious point of view we are by no means distorting their purpose and intention. As one should expect from the approach of the Herrnhuters to life as a whole, we find a remarkable singleness of purpose in their educational institutions, and that purpose was a religious one. Like every other activity of the Herrnhuter, education was to glorify God and edify the brethren. This central religious motive is revealed in a striking manner by the reflections of Christian Ignatius LaTrobe upon his time as a tutor at Niesky, of which he reports:

> During the period of my abode in that institution, which was from 1779 to 1784, it may truly be said that, amidst many imperfections, it was the principal concern of our minds that we might approve ourselves faithful guides to our dear pupils, in bringing them to a saving knowledge of their God and Saviour, and in leading them in the way of truth and peace. We had likewise the satisfaction to perceive in many of them, that they sought him with their whole heart, and found him and his communion their chief joy. His blessings rested upon all endeavours to glorify his name, and in a remarkable manner, upon our musical services in his house.[1]

The educational purpose of these institutions is perhaps most succinctly stated by Brother Johann Friedrich Reichel in an address delivered at the Paedagogium on February 28, 1788, as a part of a series of seven such admonitions aimed at the reaffirmation of policy and practice on the basis of a conference held in November of the previous year. On this occasion Brother Reichel began his speech in the following manner:

> My dear lads, I will now address something to you about that which is your true concern, and constitutes a large part of the purpose for which you are here in the Paedagogium.
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> The chief aim remains always this, that you become acquainted with yourselves and with the Saviour and prepare your hearts for his glorification and praise. The other aim is that you be educated and reared as useful men. In this is required from our side, that we provide that you should have brothers who instruct you and apply all care, fidelity, and attention to you. On the

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[1] Letters, p. 42.

> other hand it is required on your part that you apply all your strength of body and soul to the learning of that which is useful and good. The years which you spend here are very precious; they are the years when the powers of your souls are developing, when you are possessed of a particularly good memory, when you receive the capability to grasp everything which is presented to you with ease. Much depends upon how you apply these years and you must seek so to use them that in the future you can praise and thank the Saviour for the way your youth was spent.[1]

Thus we see that the academic and religious aims of these institutions designed to provide leadership for the congregations were at once distinguished and placed in a hierarchy in theory and fused in practice.

One of the first actions of the Brethren after the death of Count Zinzendorf was the determination that, in the words of Brother Johannes, "the future servants of the Unity must receive their education in a Brethren settlement."[2] This statement of Zinzendorf's son-in-law had been vitally connected with the removal of the Paedagogium from the Count's estates at Hennersdorf and its placement in the midst of and its grafting into the life of the settlement at Niesky, where it remained until the end of the period under consideration. Education received in an institution whose life was cradled in the midst of the religiously saturated existence of such a settlement was thus during this time considered an absolute necessity if this unique order were to survive. This conclusion, of course, had certain negative things to say about the skepticism and unbelief which was then felt by the Brethren to dominate the schools and universities of Germany, but on the positive side it recognized the great value of the practical and devotional piety of a settlement congregation in the shaping of those who were to be its leaders. It discerned the necessity that if this unique treasure of their order were to be maintained it must be fused in the experience of its future leadership with the process of obtaining that classical and practical education absolutely essential to an eighteenth century churchman.[1]

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[1] 4. Rede.

[2] Gammert, p. 6.

The combination of the academic and the devotional in the life of the Brethren schools for the training of its ministry may best be seen by making a detailed examination of that life as it was lived by Schleiermacher and his associates at Niesky. It is possible for us, with the assistance of several contemporary sources, to know a great deal about that existence both in its strengths and in its weaknesses.[2] During this time the Boys' School and the *Paedagogium* were housed in two roomy buildings, one of which was almost new. Both institutions were divided into Room Groups composed of from eight to thirteen pupils. Over each such group were placed a Tutor and an Overseer;[3] the former of these was a person with a scholarly education at the *Paedagogium* and the Seminary, and the latter one of menial vocation. Although the Tutor's responsibilities for the boys were primarily spiritual and intellectual while those of the Overseer were physical, their concerns overlapped and the boys were required to give complete obedience to both of these men. It was, in fact, quite necessary that these brothers cooperate and share the responsibility for the boys, because the demands made of these supervisors were indeed great. It was required that one of them be with the boys of the Room Group at every moment day and night. Everything was done together by the whole group and always in the company of an adult supervisor. In the Paedagogium building were provided separate rooms for each of these groups, a large dormitory room where all of the boys of the school slept together, and a common dining room, besides the academic rooms.

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[1] *Ibid*.; see also Loretz, pp. 319-20.

[2] The following reconstruction is made on the basis of Gammert, pp. 24-25; reports by T.C. Zembsch in the "Gemein Nachrichten" (1780), Beilage, 3. Woche, 2; (1781), Beilage, 4. Woche, 2; (1782), Beilage, 5. Woche, 2; and *Reise durch Kursachsen*, pp. 408-410 and 413.

[3] *Lehrer* and *Aufseher*.

Each day began very early in the Paedagogium, as it did in the Choir Houses. The boys were awakened at five-fifteen or five-thirty by the singing of a chorale verse and rose from their beds according to a preëstablished order by Room Groups. The Overseers had the responsibility to fetch water for the morning ablutions and to prepare breakfast; in winter the task of building fires was also his. Meanwhile the Tutors were required to awaken the boys, supervise the making of beds, and accompany their charges to their group room where the lads under the supervision of the Tutor and the Overseer dressed for the day. It was customary for the boys to attend the Morning Blessing with the Single Brothers' Choir, but on occasions when this was impossible the Watchword for the day was read in their room and a couple of chorale verses were sung instead. Breakfast of warm milk or tea and butterbread was served by the Overseer and at seven-thirty the classes for the day began. After the first hour of instruction the students attended the daily Children's Hour with the lads of the Boys' School and the local children. Then they had two more hours of classes before eleven o'clock. From eleven until noon private instructions in music and art were given, while on Tuesdays and Fridays the Collegium Musicum, i.e., the congregational choirs and orchestra, had its meetings.[1] At noon all of the students gathered for a common meal in the dining room.

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[1] See supra, pp. 192-93.

During this meal one of the students was assigned to read, no doubt from the "Gemein Nachrichten" or some other devotional literature. The menu was composed of soup, vegetables, and meat, with roast on Sundays, served in rotation by one of the Overseers and several students who had eaten beforehand. Upon rising from table the students were escorted on a brisk walk of a half hour's duration. On their return they applied themselves to their studies and other occupations until two o'clock when classes once more convened. The afternoon teaching session lasted until four and the next hour was used once more for the private instruction in art or modern languages--English and French. As in the hour before noon, those who did not engage in these special activities were required to work on their school assignments. This study period continued until six o'clock when a supper of soup and butterbread was served once more in the group rooms.

On Wednesday and Saturday afternoons classes were dismissed and the time was given over to the very vigorous program of physical fitness which was exercised in the institutions at Niesky. Ball playing was encouraged, but under strict supervision so that no one should be injured or damage his clothing. This sport was not, however, to replace the long walks which were undertaken on these afternoon holidays. It is with relation to these walks that we read that they "are a good preparation to future pilgrim journeys"[1] which brings us directly to the ultimate purpose of this fitness program; Herrnhuters had to be tough in order that they might fulfill the mission for which they were called. They were to be a pilgrim people, ever prepared for the most severe physical or spiritual test. Here we find the military ideal which we have seen to be associated with the use of the daily Watchword carried one step further in that these schools, particularly the Paedagogium, were training camps for the physical as well as the spiritual conditioning of an army of dedicated workers who were then to go out over the world as God's special witnesses.[1] It should be noted that although these hikes tended to be somewhat strenuous they were at the same time often the occasion for a highly valued comaraderie between the students and their supervisors and for a great deal of interest in and enjoyment of nature. Besides the more recreational pastimes which have just been described the students were often put to work in the gardens or the woodyard on such free afternoons, which occupations were also conceived to contribute to their physical well-being.

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[1] Gammert, p. 25,k.

The evenings, as we have seen in earlier chapters, were largely taken up with devotional exercises. The students at the Paedagogium were required to attend all of the services in which they were qualified to participate. At seven they were escorted by rooms to the Congregation Hour and at nine to the musical service of the Evening Hour. During the winter months private instructions were also often scheduled in the evening. The entire day was then concluded, once more with the Single Brothers' Choir, at the Evening Benediction. Immediately after this brief service the boys with their Tutor and Overseer returned to their rooms where they prepared for bed and then were led to the large sleeping room which had been thoroughly aired since the morning and which was kept meticulously clean. There in small, uniformly constructed beds, arranged in neat rows and each separated by an aisle, the boys retired. The dormitory was throughout the night dimly lighted by wall lamps, as were all such rooms among the Brethren, and from time to time was to be heard the soft tread of the night watcher passing among the beds. It was here and at this time that the lads were admonished by their Choir Principles to review the events of the day and settle accounts with the Saviour.[1]

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[1] "Verlass," par. 468.

When seen against the background of the whole structure of Brethren piety perhaps the most striking feature of this student day was the "supervision" with which we will recall Schleiermacher's father was so favorably impressed. It is to be remembered that the Paedagogium was peopled with students between their thirteenth or fourteenth and their nineteenth or twentieth years[2] and yet they were not allowed to be seen alone outside the school compound, and the author of Reise durch Kursachsen reports in protest the startling sight of ten or twelve fully grown men being escorted on a walk like small boys.[3] As a matter of fact, there was absolutely no distinction in this matter between the tiny lads of the Boys' School and the most advanced student in the Paedagogium. The supervision did not end there, however, for at breakfast every Sunday morning in each of the various rooms was held a so-called Room Conference where the boys and their supervisors had the responsibility to report any disturbances or offenses which had during the week interrupted the proper function of the room and the school.[4] The system had been thoughtfully designed so as to guard the boys against distractions to their studies and dangers to their souls, but due to the very character of adolescence itself and its response to authority, this whole system of safeguards was all too often the object of resentment and even outright rebellion, and as a result of the narrowness and spitefulness of others, the Sunday morning conference frequently became a source of embarrassment and the occasion for bitter recrimination. The goal was, as in the Choir Houses and the small societies into which they were divided, the mutual cure of souls--the priesthood of all believers; too often, however, this practice degenerated into self-righteous criticism and became a sounding board for jealousy.[1] Considering the dangers, however, this system of Room Groups, like the Choir system, worked with remarkable success. As a general rule, and certainly in the case of Schleiermacher and those about him, the students and their supervisors entered fully into the spirit of the arrangement. A deep attachment developed within the group and a genuine concern for the spiritual welfare of each and all.[2]

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[1] Ibid., par. 175,12.

[2] Loretz, p. 319.

[3] P. 417.

[4] Gammert, p. 24.

Within the context of their day to day existence the students participated fully in the rich religious life of the Niesky settlement. Superimposed over those educational institutions stood the sundry devotional provisions of the congregation which gave form and color, lending a meaningful variety to the otherwise relatively monotonous and uneventful academic life. For a brief resumé of these religious functions as they were practiced in Niesky at this time we turn to the words of Schleiermacher himself when he wrote to his sister in August of 1783 in the following manner:

> And now, dear sister, I think you would like to hear how the meetings in this place are regulated; for the same rules do not

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[1] Brinkmann referred to these conferences as Stubenprocess and was bitter about them; Meyer, p. 81.

[2] This fact is in general indicated both in Schleiermacher's relationship with his fellows and teachers reflected in his autobiographical accounts and letters and also in the degree to which he was at this time able to enter into the life and spirit of the congregation.

> prevail in all congregations. Sunday at half-past eight, we have the Litany; at ten, a sermon; at two, strangers' meeting for the Diaspora; at five, a Liturgy for the full members; at eight, Congregation Hour.
>
> On week days, at half-past eight o'clock, Children's Hour; at seven, Evening Hour; and at nine o'clock, Singing Hour. Friday at nine the Liturgy, "O Sacred Head," is held. On Saturdays there is no Evening Hour but at seven o'clock the Singing Hour is held.[1]

An integral part of Friedrich Schleiermacher's entrance into the *Paedagogium* at Niesky was his initiation into the rights and duties first of a resident, then of a member, and finally of a communicant member of the settlement congregation there. Every requirement which was made of any youth upon entering the various degrees of acceptance was also exacted of him as a new student at the *Paedagogium*. We have already observed how thoroughly the lad had been captivated by what he had seen of the Herrnhuters at Gnadenfrey. When he came to Niesky it was as a convert to the Herrnhuters and as an "oblate" given over to the education and membership in the spiritual community which thrived there. The Lot which had been drawn in his behalf almost a month before at Barby gave him the status of a resident in the settlement of Niesky, allowing him to take part in the specific activities of the *Paedagogium*, and in the public services in the Prayer Hall which stood in the square at Niesky. It is not necessary once more to recount the process through which young Schleiermacher was passing during those first months at the *Paedagogium*.[2] It was, as we should recall, the period during which the relationship was established between the new resident and the Choir Helper, actually in this case the Associate Choir Helper of the Single Brothers' Choir who served the *Paedagogium*.[3] It is likely that Schleiermacher had had some taste of this relationship while undergoing his proving period at Gnadenfrey, but it was only at Niesky that the affair was undertaken in earnest and this great bulwark of discipline was brought to bear upon his life. The relationship must have progressed rapidly and to the satisfaction of both, for it was after only three months, on the 20th of September, 1783, that he was nominated by his Choir Helper before the local Elders' Conference for reception as a member in the congregation. Then on the evening of the next day, at the final service of the Congregation Day, Friedrich became a member of the Niesky congregation.[1] Meyer, drawing apparently from the Niesky "Diarium," produces for us the reception liturgy which was used on this occasion. It transpired as follows:

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[1] *Briefe*, I, 27 [I, 30-31]. [2] *Supra*, pp. 117-22.

[3] Meyer, p. 80.

Chor: In the Lord Jesus Christ's name
Who is of his church the king,
Receiveth thee his Brother-Folk
Now in its very midst to walk.

Lit: May his Kiss of Peace give to thee
That you his whole salvation see
Which is the seal of his fidelity
And as well of our society.

Cong. We reach to you our hand,
The Lord to whom your heart is known
Let your path in the congregation
Be his joy and your salvation.[2]

Except for the apparent use of a hand-clasp in the ritual, the reception seems to have been identical to that in use elsewhere among the Herrnhuters at the time.[3]

In connection with his reception as a member in the congregation Schleiermacher would almost certainly also have been admitted to full participation in the activities of the juvenile congregation.

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[1] Ibid., p. 137. [2] Ibid. [3] Supra, pp. 245-46.

I refer here to his participation in what has been called elsewhere the Children's Eucharist--the Anbeten, or Prostration before the Lord--which was the climax of the Children's Congregation Day held every four weeks on the day before the regular Congregation Day. It will be recalled that in preparation for this celebration those who were to participate therein went through the process of the informal confession or Speaking just as regular communicants did each month.[1] This would then have been young Schleiermacher's first Speaking, and like his reception into membership it was almost certainly accompanied by a great emotional upheaval for him.

It is impossible to say precisely when during these early months of Schleiermacher's stay at the Paedagogium he became involved in the friendship with Albertini which did so much to shape his career inside the congregation. The only real clue is to be found in the Lebenslauf of the future bishop and poet when he speaks of a change which took place in his approach to study at the Paedagogium as occurring midway in his career there.[2] Since he came there in 1782, and left with his friend in September of 1785, it would be reasonable to assume that the change of which he speaks toward a more serious attitude in scholarly matters probably came in the last months of 1783 or early in 1784. This, however, does not give us the basis for a satisfactory dating because, besides it being far too indefinite, actually very little is known about the early progress of this friendship except that Schleiermacher speaks of it completely in intellectual terms in his "Curriculum." In any case, it is reasonable to assume that the scholarly passion which consumed Albertini long after his friend was no longer with him was caught from Schleiermacher.[1] It must not be supposed, however, that the friendship was a one-way affair, for there was a good deal which this native-born Herrnhuter, who had since his fourth year been a resident of Brethren institutions, could give to Schleiermacher.[2] For much of the ease with which the future theologian caught and adapted himself to the spirit of this movement of which he had become a part he could be thankful to the future bard of the Brethren.

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[1] Supra, pp. 108; 242-44.

[2] "Albertini's Lebenslauf," pp. 158-59.

The letter written by Frau Schleiermacher in Gnadenfrey on October 26, 1783, in which she reveled in the news of her son's reception into the congregation at Niesky was the last which Friedrich was ever to receive from that woman who had contributed so much to his mind and temperament, for shortly after her return to Anhalt she died of an undisclosed cause. A letter was dispatched by the father informing the children of her death, and in the manner typical of the Herrnhuters gave the full details of her final hours and moments. This letter, which went first to Gnadenfrey and then to Niesky, is not extant, but a letter from Schleiermacher to his sister written shortly after he received the shocking news is preserved for us. In it he wrote:

> He [Brother Zembsch] sent for me and Carl one Wednesday forenoon. I saw at once that he had nothing good to announce to us, and my heart began to beat directly I entered the room. He read the greater part of the letter to us; and the first day

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[1] In Schleiermacher's response to reading this document he places most of the credit for their actual undertakings upon Albertini, as he wrote in 1832: "What he [Albertini] says about his want of diligence at the Paedagogium must refer to a time previous to my arrival, and I know that it was from me that he received an impulsion towards the study of botany, and also of mathematics. . . . But as regards our other studies, the impulsion came more from him than from me." Briefe, II, 456 [II, 322].

[2] "Albertini's Lebenslauf," p. 158.

> it was to me like a dream which I could not believe. The description of her last hours has had a very good effect on me; and the event, in regard to which the Saviour has doubtless his wise intentions, makes me feel more than ever the blessing of being in this community. I often think of what she said in Gnadenfrey: "Now that all the children are going to the Brethren, I shall be of little more use here, so I may as well lay me down and go to sleep." And when I took leave of her here, I felt as if I should never see her again. Our father is the one whom I most pity; I fancy his state must be dreadful. Oh! how I wish that to him also might be granted the happiness of being in a congregation of the Brethren; but I do not think that this will be his lot.[1]

Perhaps the best commentary to this letter is a passage from a letter written eleven years later at the time of his father's death by Schleiermacher, then a curate at Landsberg. Here we read under the date October 13, 1794:

> His tender, loving soul stands before me in a thousand images, and I cannot as yet realize the melancholy certainty that it is all over. It is the first time in my life that I have felt deeply what it is to sustain an irreparable loss; for when our mother died, I was still too much of a child; there was something fantastic and romantic about my feelings which, in the midst of my sorrow, made me experience a certain childish self-satisfaction. Had I felt when I lost my mother, that which I now experience in giving up my father, it would have been too much for a human heart.[2]

Here we see a demonstration both of Schleiermacher's ability to analyze his own feelings and of his excellent memory. He indeed exhibited a certain rather priggish self-righteousness and hard-heartedness with relation to his mother's death, but there is one factor which he has missed in his later understanding of it which is even more significant than his immaturity. At the time he was totally engaged in his life as a member in the Brotherhood. This indeed is apparent from his letter; by the life which was going on about him, his life had been completely filled. He had taken with full seriousness the Brethren principle that one must turn his back on everyone and everything outside of the fellowship if he is to be worthy of election thereto. Finally, this young Herrnhuter was already strongly under the sway of the Brethren doctrine of death and eschatology. The Herrnhuters in a very real sense romanticized death, and it was thus only natural that he should do so also.

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[1] Briefe, I, 30-31 [I, 35], Niesky (December 22, 1783).

[2] Ibid., I, 131 [I, 129-30].

During the winter which ensued Schleiermacher for the first time participated in the small devotional groups or societies into which each Choir was divided. These appear to have operated only during the winter months at Niesky.[1] Besides the other activities of an academic and devotional nature his participation in the function of this small devotional and confessional circle must have done much both to fill the long evenings of winter and to enrich and deepen his participation in the Older Boys' Choir, of which he was then a part, and in the congregation as a whole.

On January 12, 1784, the recently received Paedagogium student celebrated his first Choir Festival in the congregation. This observance, as we have already seen, extended over three days, beginning on the evening of the day before and concluding for the communicants with a service of thanksgiving on the morning following the festival day.[2] It will be noted that Schleiermacher was not yet a communicant, but it was not long before the process began for him which concluded in his reception at the Lord's Table.

At the meeting of the Elders' Conference held on the morning of February 21, the name of Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher was presented by his Choir Helper for reception as a Candidate to the Lord's Supper. His case was discussed and the conference was apparently assured of his readiness for this step, for the Lot was drawn and the result was affirmative. Thus on that same afternoon young Schleiermacher, who had been meanwhile informed of the blessing which had been bestowed upon him by the Saviour, attended the Communion Lovefeast as a Candidate, and in the evening he was allowed for the first time to look on at that most holy rite of the church celebrated after the fashion of the Herrnhuters.[1] The impression which one might receive when confronted by that unique combination of sound, sight, and spiritual feeling which made up a Brethren Communion on such an occasion has been touched on above,[2] and in these particular years the most distinctive element in that cultic event, music, was in an especially high state of development at Niesky.[3] There can be little doubt that Schleiermacher, like C.I. LaTrobe, found himself spiritually transported and deeply inflamed by his first exposure to that sacramental epitome of Brethren devotion.

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[1] Meyer, p. 139.

[2] See supra, pp. 339-48. Meyer, pp. 139, gives a reconstruction of the Older Boys' Choir Festival in Niesky for 1785.

In yet another meeting of the Elders' Conference on the very next Communion Day the name of the Candidate, Schleiermacher, was once more introduced, this time for reception as a Confirmand.[4] It will be recalled that this was the most crucial step in the process of admission to the Congregation of the Supper, the innermost spiritual fellowship of the Brethren.[5] Once more the Lot was favorable, and on his second experience as an on-looker at the Sacrament he did so as a Confirmand. The highly engaged spiritual condition of the fifteen year old lad is to be observed in a letter which he dispatched on the very next day to his sister. Because of its revealing nature this epistle is introduced here.

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[1] Meyer, p. 140. [2] Supra, pp. 252-54. [3] Supra, pp. 192-93.

[4] March 27, 1784; Meyer, p. 140. [5] Supra, pp. 109-112.

> [March 28, 1784]
>
> Dearly beloved Sister!
>
> The congregation here has celebrated the office a week later than in Gnadenfrey and other congregations; consequently yesterday, I was for the second time, by the grace of the Saviour, permitted to be a looker on. In the afternoon, before the Lovefeast, I received your letter. I am assured that you will rejoice with me--that with me you will thank our good and merciful Saviour, and also pray to him to bestow upon me his grace, more especially during the fortnight between this and Maundy Thursday, when I am to partake of his flesh and blood in the Holy Communion, so that it may day by day show forth more gloriously in me. "I will draw all men unto myself" [John 12:32b] was the text yesterday; and as regards me also he will graciously fulfill this promise. He has risen from the dead to help all miserable sinners on earth, and therefore I also have a part in him; he alone is my stay, the God who died for me upon the cross.
>
> On the occasion of your approaching birthday, the first that you will celebrate in the congregation, I wish you the special peace of the Saviour, and many blessings; I will think of you on that day. Ah! did but the love of Christ fill our hearts day and night! Were we but always pleasant in his sight, were we but in constant, uninterrupted communion with him, did we but cling to him so that not even for one moment could we be drawn away from him! With these wishes for us both I conclude. Remember me, and love your brother, who loves you in Jesus.[1]

It was during this time that Schleiermacher underwent special instructions in preparation for the Holy Supper. These were, as usual, imparted by the local Preacher who had responsibility also for the regular weekly religious instruction at the Paedagogium. In 1797 Schleiermacher wrote to his sister concerning Brother Kohlreif who had been at that time the Preacher at Niesky:

> Kohlreif, whose death I have also learnt from the newspapers, was very dear to me; nay, I may say that of all the superintending brethren with whom I was closely connected he was the one I loved most. I know that he was misjudged in various ways in the congregation. Was this, perhaps, because he looked at things from a more liberal point of view than the majority, and because

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[1] Briefe, I, 32 [I, 36-37].

> he discerned failings and spoke openly about them? I have retained a distinct impression of his lessons--in which he conveyed, however, many things which, through all my changes of opinion, have ever remained foreign to me--and particularly of those lessons which he gave to young Zembsch and myself privately, when we had received permission to partake of the Communion. I was then all flaming imagination, and thought that he would fan the flame still brighter; but no, by the hand of history and of more reasonable notions, he led me back to quiet earnestness and calm reflection.[1]

Likely on Palm Sunday the 4th of April, 1784, Friedrich Schleiermacher was confirmed at Niesky, using the new ritual which had been introduced at the Synod of 1782.[2] It will be recalled that only one question was to be asked of the Confirmand on this occasion (that touching on his own inner state) and that he received the blessing of the community and the laying on of hands while kneeling before the liturgist's table in the Prayer Hall.[3] On Monday or Tuesday he had his first Communion Speaking, and on Wednesday he participated in the Footwashing for the first time. Then on the evening of Maundy Thursday Schleiermacher found himself again at a celebration of the Holy Communion, only this time he was with the other communicants on the main floor of the Prayer Hall. It is but for us to imagine how this religiously inflamed lad accepted this experience. The store which Schleiermacher then set by the Sacrament is reflected in a disappointed letter written a couple of weeks later after he had been deprived of the privilege of participating with the Single Brothers in their Choir Communion at the annual Teaching Day held that year in Niesky on April 21.[1] He then lamented to his sister:

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[1] Ibid., I, 144-45 [I, 148].

[2] Meyer is at this point somewhat unclear and is apparently unaware of the change that had taken place in the celebration of confirmation at just this time, and of the fact that the "announcement of the Communion" and the confirmation service were generally celebrated on Palm Sunday afternoon rather than on Tuesday evening as at the regular monthly Communion. See Meyer, p. 141; "Verlass," par. 863; and supra, pp. 354; 403-406.

[3] "Verlass," pars. 862, 863.

> On the 21st, the unmarried brethren here celebrated a Teaching Day, on which occasion twelve youths from our house, who left for Barby two days later, were admitted into the Brothers' Choir. Already at the time of my confirmation I looked forward with joy to the Choir Communion, which is partaken of on this occasion, and you may conceive my grief when I found that we would not be allowed to share in it.[2]

To this report of his disappointment he added comments upon the holidays that had just passed:

> I quite agree with what you say about the recent beautiful festivals, and to me also they brought a blessing. It is true that all days that God gives, ought, in the community, to be days sacred to the memory of his martyrdom; but on occasions of such holidays and memorial festivals, we feel nevertheless a greater and more lasting blessing.[3]

The thoroughness with which Schleiermacher had become a member of the congregation in spirit as well as in name is attested particularly by his letters of this period. In one he was discussing the alteration of his preference for summer and winter, and concludes:

> However, neither my love for winter nor my hatred to summer disturb the cheerful state of my mind; but when I find that I do not love the Saviour enough, that I do not sufficiently honour him; when the daily intercourse with him does not go on uninterrupted, then I am disturbed. But as often as we draw near to him feeling ourselves sinners, who can only be saved through his mercy--as often as we pray to him for a look of grace, we never go away from him empty. He never abandons us, however much we may deserve it; yet the more undisturbed our minds the better, the more consistent, the more tranquil, the nearer to heaven--happiest for us would it be, were we there altogether. But his will be done; it is the best.[4]

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[1] The reason for this breach of custom is not disclosed; see supra, pp. 346-48.

[2] Briefe, I, 32-33 [I, 37].

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., I, 28 [I, 32]. Meyer has correctly dated this letter in September of 1784 and thus shows it to be badly out of order in the collected letters; Meyer, p. 142.

Here we are listening to the voice of as thoroughgoing a Herrnhuter as one might wish. The changes are rung in this passage on the more salient themes which were featured in the almost innumerable addresses, exhortations, and hymns which made up a major part of the religious life of a Brethren settlement. The fact is that it was almost inevitable that a young person of Schleiermacher's sensitivity and quickness of mind, when placed in the midst of, and quite literally immersed in, the kind of total piety which was to be found among the Herrnhuters, would either react violently against it or become almost immediately and in the whole self a part of it. In his case the response was very obviously the latter and he became "a brother of the Brethren."[1]

The final advancement of Schleiermacher as a member of the Brethren congregation at Niesky came at the end of August in 1785. It has already been noted that both he and his bosom companion Albertini, although both of an extremely tender age for such a move, were included among those who were at Michaelmas to be promoted to the Seminary at Barby. Rather strangely, Schleiermacher seems not to have been particularly pleased by this prospect, but apparently had anticipated yet more time to pursue his studies in Niesky.[2] He, however, accepted the necessity, as was then his custom, in the confidence that it was the divine will, and proceeded to prepare himself for the transition. A part of this promotion, it should be recalled, was advancement from the status of a youth, which Schleiermacher had held since his confirmation, to that of a single brother.[1] At sixteen both Schleiermacher and Albertini were really too young for this step into full adult status, but no other course was open since the organization at Barby was not a full-fledged congregation but possessed only a Single Brothers' Choir, and, apparently, a Married Choir.[2] Such cases of early promotion were, however, to be provided for with extraordinary supervision of those who had thus come into the adult Choir too early.[3] The Choir Festival of the Single Brothers was held on August 29, and the new members were received at a morning service following the festive benediction by the laying on of hands.[4] Schleiermacher was one of eleven who were called into the chamber of their Choir Helper on the eve of this reception and formally absolved in the rite of Footwashing, and who the following day were received into the Brothers' Choir, where on that afternoon and evening they participated for the first time as members in the Choir Festival Lovefeast and Communion. In anticipation of this event the brother confided his feeling to Charlotte in Gnadenfrey:

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[1] It will be noted that in this letter Schleiermacher registered his single complaint during his stay at Niesky. He complained, "My love of walking, too, has subsided, because I have too much of it, and because the country here is not particularly attractive." Briefe, I, 27-28 [I, 32]. This was by no means a unique complaint, for the periods of walking and their briskness were often an actual hardship upon the smaller and weaker boys, on both of which scores the future scholar qualified. In his rather negative report of the Brethren, Martin Cunow, a young contemporary of Schleiermacher, speaks of ". . . Spazierengehen, oft bis zu einem schmerzheften Gefühle in den Beinen steigerte. . . ;" Die Herrnhuter (Weimar: W. Hoffmann, 1839), p. 19.

[2] Briefe, III, 3; also "Curriculum."

> After all, the removal to another Choir, which awaits me in four weeks, is no insignificant step, and when I look back upon the past, my mind is strangely moved. I have been an apprentice in the community somewhat more than two years; that is not a very long time, yet in this short period how much have I not experienced, that is to say, much evil as regards myself, and much mercy as regards the Saviour; I have merited wrath, say I on my side; I have atoned for you, cries the Lamb from the cross. When I reflect upon what is required of a brother, I feel that I should despair, were I to venture upon the step, relying upon myself and upon my own strength; therefore, dear Charlotte,

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[1] "Verlass," par. 132. [2] Gammert, p. 22. [3] "Verlass," par. 132.

[4] Supra, **pp. 343-45.** In the case of Schleiermacher this function was performed by Brother Christian Gregor; Meyer, p. 78. We find a full reconstruction of this Chorfest in Meyer, pp. 148-49.

> think often of me in my communings with the Saviour, and pray to him to grant me his grace in my new calling.[1]

His spiritual condition is also to be observed in the Curriculum or Lebenslauf which he wrote at this time as a part of his Choir and academic promotion, in which he concluded:

> But if I look back to those things which my beloved God and Saviour did with me from early boyhood, to those ways in which he led me, I easily see that neither in word nor in deed is he ever praised enough by me, nor is it possible to give the thanks due to him. He gave life to me; he redeemed me with his blood and death; he protected me with his omnipotent hand; he led me from the destruction of this world into his church just as into a port from a storm; he remitted all my sins; he kindled the fire of his love in my heart (animus) more and more, as I hope he will continue to kindle it; he gave me his flesh to eat and his blood to drink. I have rejoiced always in the aura of his divine benevolence; also I shall daily look upon his wounds; I shall apply the merits of his death to myself and commend myself to his grace for the rest of my life.[2]

In this mood, and breathing in his very being the bloody doctrines of the Brethren, Schleiermacher and his fellows set out from Niesky on September 5, escorted by Brother Zembsch, for the first visit of the future theologian at the mother-house of that order--Herrnhut. It was apparently the custom that those who were being promoted from the Paedagogium to the Seminary should at this important juncture in their career receive the counsel and blessing of the Unity Elders' Conference which had in the previous year moved from Barby to Herrnhut. Thus the stop was made at that settlement, and the boys all were interviewed by and received the formal blessing of the Unity Direction.[3] In that manner were Schleiermacher, his friend, and their associates consecrated at the beginning of the final stage of their preparation for the Brethren ministry. In 1798 Schleiermacher recalled this excursion to his sister who was then visiting in Herrnhut:

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[1] Briefe, I, 33 [I, 37-38]. [2] "Curriculum," p. 148.

[3] "Wöchentliche Nachrichten" (1785), No. 36,5.

> What pleasure your visit to Herrnhut has given me I need hardly tell you in so many words, dear. How it has recalled to my mind my own journey thither (before I left Niesky for Barby)! I was indeed very isolated there; all my traveling companions found friends and relatives in abundance, but I not a soul; yet the place itself and the sight of the venerable men who constituted the Unity Elders' Conference, as also the beauty of the surrounding country, made the days of my stay very happy. . . . At the time I allude to we went from Herrnhut through Zittau to Eubin.[1]

The company of hikers returned to Niesky after a journey of nearly a week, only to prepare for their final departure from the place where, in Schleiermacher's own words, "I spent three of the best years of my youth, during which my love of knowledge and my religious feelings first developed themselves."[2] On the evening of the 16th of September, 1785, the boys were given the formal blessing of the community and on the following morning, amid the singing of chorales, the lads journeyed away.[3]

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[1] Briefe, I, 184-85 [I, 176]. [2] Ibid., II, 21 [II, 21].

[3] This departure is described on the basis of the congregational diary by Meyer, p. 151.

CHAPTER XVI

AT THE SEMINARY IN BARBY: DISILLUSIONMENT AND EXPULSION

There is no reason to suppose that upon his arrival at the Seminary at Barby on September 22, 1785,[1] Friedrich Schleiermacher harbored any but favorable impressions or prospects. He was at this point a thoroughly convinced Herrnhuter filled with hopes for a life of service in the congregation of the Brethren. He was possessed with a passion for learning and had every prospect of satisfying that drive within the structure and environment of the religious order to which he had become so attached. He had quickly become acquainted with academic arrangements there and had corresponded with his uncle evidently reflecting a very optimistic mood, for in November Professor Stubenrauch replied in a congratulatory manner thus:

> It has pleased me very much to be able to trace in your letters the whole course and arrangement of your studies. I have always known the Seminary in which you are studying to be a very useful institution, and well adapted to its purpose; and I rejoice that you have there excellent opportunities for acquiring a thorough knowledge of philosophy and theology, without being obliged to visit our academy, where so many a respectable youth has forfeited his entire peace of mind, has been burdened with doubts and empty speculations or useless criticism, and has lost what was dearest to him, without acquiring any adequate compensation. You are most fortunate--and you cannot sufficiently thank your faithful Lord and Saviour for it--in having escaped exposure to all such temptations to err from the truth that leads to salvation.[2]

The uncle is here apparently reflecting the congratulations which

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[1] Meyer, p. 157. [2] *Briefe*, I, 35 [I, 39].

Schleiermacher had showered upon himself at his present fortune, as well as his own opinion. We shall see soon enough how the new seminarist's mind had changed by the end of his first year at Barby. But first of all we must consider what those academic provisions were with which Schleiermacher had so enthusiastically regaled his deceased mother's brother.

From the hand of Brother Baumeister who had recently become Inspector of the Seminary and was still in that position during Schleiermacher's stay at Barby we have a report over the condition of the school in the first half of the 1780's which helps us to see both its function and purpose. His account proceeds as follows:

> From 1782 to 1784 thirty-three brothers have studied in the Seminary of which eleven were gratuitous. In classes which begin anew every semester, the students have received instruction in ancient languages; in philology; in philosophical, mathematical, and physical sciences; in church, general cultural, and political history; in the exegesis of the Holy Scripture and theology; natural history; and the like.[1]

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[1] In H. Plitt's history we find several class schedules from this general period. One is introduced here as a more concrete demonstration of the curriculum of the Seminary:

"Collegienplan für das Winterhalbjahr 1774-1775.

1) Wir haben künftiges Semestre zu besorgen 9 Veteranos und 6 Novitios.
2) Die Veterani continuiren folgende Collegia:
    1) Theticum 2) Hist. Eccl. 3) Ebraicum curs
3) Die Novitti könnten hören:
    1) Encyclopaediam 2) Logicam 3) Mathesin 4) Ebraicum
4) Für die Veteranos wäre hauptsächlich noch übrig zu hören; Hist. Imperii Rom. Germ. Phisiologia diaetetica. Exegeticum N. Testamenti. Jus ecclesiast. Algebra. Antiquitates Judaeorum et Christianorum
5) Die Novetii könnten noch ein Graecum haben. Sodann folgen Vorschläge für die Vertheilung dieser Collegia unter die Docenten; Scholler, Cunow, Noble, Bossart--'da uns unser Bruder Dober etwas fehlt.'

Hora	Scientia	Compendium	Docens
8- 9	Hist. Eccl.	Mosheim	Bossart
	Encyclopaedia	Salzer	Scholler
9-10	Theticum	Freilinghausen	Cunow
	Math. pura.	Kästner	Noble vel Scholler
10-11	Physiologico diaeteticum	Lösecke	J. Sam. Lieberkühn
	Logica	Feder	Bossart

> Besides the five hours [eight to eleven and two to four] which are devoted to classes each day, upon whose preparation and review all effort is extended, our brothers busy themselves partly with the cultivation of music and drawing, partly with reading, partly with the copying of the "Gemein Nachrichten,"[1] at least partly also with their own studies. It is a matter of concern with the teachers that not too much time should be taken from study by copying, etc. . . .
>
> The blessing of the Lord over the Seminary has been great and it is with all its unmistakable lacks and transgressions nevertheless undeniable that our Seminary is a planting of his own hand, upon which the blessing of the congregation and its Chief Elder rests. Whoever will now reflect that young people are prepared therein for the service of the church in those very years in which corruption of all kinds tends to arise with greatest power in human minds . . . will with us fall down before God's magnificent grace and mercy, that he has proven himself heretofore so faithful as the eye and watchman of our Seminary. We may and must maintain to the praise of divine grace that it is a school of the Holy Spirit in which he does not cease to draw souls to Jesus and to sanctify them as well-pleasing sacrifices.[2]

From the last paragraph of the above quotation it may be judged that the purpose of the Seminary was of the same nature as that of the Paedagogium--first, to provide for the spiritual welfare and growth of those entrusted to its care, and secondly, to prepare them for the service of the Brotherhood, the church, and the world. Thus the institution stood in complete harmony with the Choir House and congregation as a vital and essential part of the Gemeine Christi which the Brethren were trying to maintain. Their two-fold purpose was clearly set forth in a speech delivered at the beginning of the winter semester in 1783 in which it was stated thus by the anonymous speaker, probably Spangenberg:

Hora	Scientia	Compendium	Docens
2-3	Ebraicobibli	S.S.	Cunow
3-4	Ebraicum secund	Gramm. et S.S.	Cunow"

H. Plitt, p. 36.

[1] This was at least a partial means of self-support for almost all students at the Seminary; "Verlass," pars. 546,4; 557.

[2] H. Plitt, pp. 55-57.

> There are in particular two things which we aim toward in the Seminary. First, the chief thing is that our brothers become acquainted with the Saviour, gain a hearty and childlike intercourse with him, allow themselves to be taught by the Holy Spirit, and walk according to the mind of Jesus. . . .
>
> If I now lay that as a foundation, the other thing is "that I must, moreover, take learning seriously. I will look upon study as a vocation."[1]

In examination of the curriculum it will be observed that the inclination to gain a passable knowledge in many fields which was noted in the Paedagogium was carried still farther in the Seminary.[2] In its ideal of a general education it was in many ways more like a liberal arts college than a German university or an American theological seminary. This school avoided the narrowness brought by professional specialization in both of these latter institutions, and by the constant tailoring of the curriculum to the particular needs of its relatively small number of students this school was able to turn out a very high quality of cultured men.[3] On the other hand, the social context of this school was radically different from that of the Paedagogium. Although there were still room Overseers and Tutors here, their responsibilities were chiefly academic and economic. The spiritual life of the students in their new status as members of a Single Brothers' Choir was under the direct and complete oversight of the Helper in that Choir. They were here, as in any other such Choir, allowed to go and come at their own discretion, and to attend services of worship or not as they preferred, but in the matter of curriculum and reading material they were still under strict discipline.[1] To assure their proper academic development and protection against erroneous doctrines it was decreed in the Seminary Statutes that

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[1] "Rede an die studierenden Brüder" in "Gemein Nachrichten" (1783), II. Theil, 43. Woche, 1.

[2] As with the Paedagogium, Meyer makes an extremely thorough examination of the Seminary as an educational institution, and of the orientation of its instructors during Schleiermacher's stay there; see especially pp. 170-78.

[3] Cunow, pp. 21-22.

> the studying brothers can never on their own preference merely take up this or that science and attend this or that class, obtain and read this or that book, but they must in all these things seek and accept the advice of the Inspector and teachers as their true and experienced friends. In the same manner also in what touches upon the method of study, the necessary preparation and review of classes, the use of their time, etc., they are to direct themselves according to the same good counsel.[2]

From a conversation between the seminarists and the Unity Elders' Conference in January of 1775 we may grasp to some degree the general ideal which guided the process of course selection and student direction. It was considered that

> our young brothers should as much as possible be made acquainted here with the principles of the sciences because they cannot learn everything in all its ramifications during the short time that they are here, yet they can in the future broaden their knowledge and advance themselves on their own. . . . It is as a matter of fact difficult to determine which of the sciences is to be emphasized more in a particular case since one cannot establish a consistent plan and must pass, as it were, from one saddle to another. Nevertheless among the sciences the customary ones are pursued, some almost completely for one's own satisfaction, others more in order to give one a scholarly outlook, as for example the wide ranging study of literary history which requires so much time; others, however, are more solid and are of general use. Still it must not be the concern of our studying brothers whether they perhaps waste time with things which they will never use, for these cares are the responsibility of the teachers.[3]

At the Seminary the instructors were extremely well acquainted with their students, a fact which made this kind of personal curriculum possible and advisable. It was that factor which during the period made regular examinations unnecessary in Brethren schools.[4] Such examinations and the competition that they promote were felt to be distractive and in fact the cause of false motivation for study. One was to study for the glory of God, not for self.[1]

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[1] "Seminary Statutes" in H. Plitt, pp. 38-42.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 161-62. [4] Cunow, p. 21.

We may gain a rare insight into the classroom methods used in the Seminary from a visitation report from the year 1779 and written by Spangenberg. He had been assigned to inspect the institution and had attended several classes. His report goes partly as follows:

> Brother Scholler[2] discussed with his auditors and gave them an opportunity to express their thoughts, calling now on this or that one, then putting a question to the entire class; that made them attentive and one could see that they profited by it.
>
> Brother Baumeister[3] lectured on Jeremiah and called now on this one, now on that one, to read the Hebrew text and to translate. If a difficult word came up which required further explanation, then he would call again on this or that student to speak of its significance. I could well mark that an extremely few had prepared, and it was clear that some of them were still far behind. Nevertheless I could thank God in my heart for the excellent opportunity to become acquainted with the Bible.
>
> Brother Baumeister teaches well and one can see that he grasps the genius of the Hebrew language. His explanations from geography and history were, as a matter of fact, short, but essential, useful, and clear.
>
> In his second lecture he spoke on the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians and read first the passage from Acts which deals with the preaching of the gospel at Philippi. Then he indicated to them the contemporary situation of the congregation and the object of Paul in this letter. Similarly he pointed out the divisions of the book and the incomparable presentation of the most essential points of Christian doctrine which we find therein. No less was the whole unique connection which Paul had with this congregation, and it with him, etc., pointed up. In the same manner he had previously given an introduction to the other books of the New Testament in order usefully to occupy the brothers in the absence of Brother Bossart. He spoke in this lecture, however, in an uninterrupted stream without asking questions of the brothers.

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[1] Gammert, pp. 17-18.

[2] Friedrich Adam Scholler was director of the school--1772-1782.

[3] C.A. Baumeister was director of the school after 1782.

> The third lecture of Brother Baumeister was on the Epistle to the Hebrews. This he had first read through with them in the Greek text, and had made clear all difficult words and idioms as well as anything else that required explanation. At this time he was going through the entire letter in a very closely-connected discourse and entertained his audience with the content thereof. His presentation was clear, profound, and edifying, also lively and becoming. The whole seminary was in this class.
>
> Brother Swertner[1] taught pathology and spoke on the causes of sterility and the inability to conceive. He read first from the author whom he used as a basis for his lecture and then discussed the material. His presentation is clear and decent, also he seeks so much as is possible to translate and clarify technical terms.
>
> I heard Brother Hegner[2] teach. He introduced chronology. He always read from the text book, then discussed it. I then thought, "Perhaps it would be better if each brother should beforehand read through the material over which the class was to be held for himself. Brother Hegner could then present the matter in a unified discourse and then ask one or another about this or that thing which stood clearly in the text." That would, in my opinion, encourage the auditors and the presentation would be more interesting and effectual.[3]

The experience of Schleiermacher in this school is reported with considerable detail in his 1794 autobiography which because of its central position in the interpretation of all other sources is reproduced at some length here. At that time he recalled:

> The Seminary at Barby, to which I was removed together with my friend in 1785, is in fact the university of the Brotherhood. My friend and myself were both unusually young when promoted to its benches; but our joy at this distinction was qualified by many a fear and tribulation. We went thither in the expectation of being appointed teachers in a few years; but if we were only to be teachers of science, it seemed to us moving in an intolerable circle to be learning something merely for the sake of teaching it to some one else, who in turn was learning it to be able to impart it to others; for in the congregation we saw no application of the sciences to the affairs of life, which rendered it worthwhile to spend so much time and trouble upon them. On the other hand, if we were to be teachers and wardens in the community, we felt persuaded that we were, and should long be, deficient in every qualification for such an office. However

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[1] Peter Swertner was teacher and physician at the Seminary--1773-1783.

[2] J. Conrad Hegner was an instructor and clerk of the Unity Direction--1779-1785.

[3] H. Plitt, pp. 48-50.

happy we might feel in pursuing our common studies, and in the consciousness of our friendship, this happiness was disturbed every time we gave ourselves up to serious reflection. We were still striving in vain after supernatural experiences, and for that which in the phraseology of the Brethren was termed intercourse with Jesus; the most violent tension of our imagination remained fruitless, and the voluntary aids which it lent were always discovered to be deceptive. Up to this period we had sought consolation in Greek poetry, and had found it a glorious solamen; now, however, the matter was brought more and more home to us. But a new leaf was soon to be turned over. We were reposing on the trophies of the wide-spread philosophical reputation which we enjoyed, and we began to philosophize. The increase of external liberty also seemed to loosen the fetters of the mind; for certainly it was not the miserable logic which we heard, nor the limited reading which we enjoyed, nor the example of older comrades who played the part of freethinkers, that awakened in us the spirit of investigation. The plot of the psychological drama had reached its climax; the time had come when the confusion must be reduced to order, and this could only take place in accordance with the internal condition of our minds. The investigations of modern theologians into the Christian system, and the inquiries of modern philosophers regarding the soul of man, were of no avail to us, for although we heard occasionally that something of the kind was going on in the world, we could only guess at the results from what we discovered ourselves. We trespassed indeed inasmuch as we obtained books through means of forbidden correspondence and by secret and circuitous routes, but it was only for Wieland's poems and Goethe's *Werther* that we pined--it was for our feelings only that we sought food from without--as for our intellects, they were in too great a state of fermentation, and we were too much absorbed in watching their fermentation, to be receptive for the ideas of others. But the more I am tempted to dwell upon this the first blossoming period of my mind, the more I feel that in pages which are not destined for myself, I ought not to venture to depict even a few of the numerous recollections that rush in upon me.

My convictions soon differed so widely from the system adopted by the Brethren Unity, that I thought I could no longer conscientiously remain a member of the congregation, and the utterances of my ideas also became so distinct, that the attention of the superiors was attracted to the trefoil (for a young Englishman of remarkable talent had by this time joined my friend and myself).[1] In vain was every means of conversion employed; I could no longer be drawn out of the path I had entered; but long after, I still felt the exhaustion consequent upon the immense exertions I was obliged to make to conquer the numerous obstacles and impediments that were placed in my way as soon as it was discovered that I had entered this path. My father granted my request to be allowed to leave Barby, and to go to the University of Halle. This I did in the spring of the year 1787, and under very unfavorable circumstances. Utterly unacquainted with the world of which I had seen nothing since my

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[1] Reference is made here to Samuel Okely who had come with them from Niesky.

> fourteenth year--with the consciousness of being very deficient in suppleness of mind, and outward polish--having the most disadvantageous opinion of the brutality of my future comrades, and despairing of being able to make friends among them, I found within myself no remedy against the evils I anticipated; for I was shy, and enervated by long subjection to depressing circumstances.[1]

On the basis of this account and incorporating documentation from Schleiermacher's correspondence of the time it is possible for us to reconstruct with a high degree of certitude this period in the life of the future theologian. His enthusiasm upon arrival at Barby and becoming acquainted with the intellectual experience that was to be his has already been noted, and the religious state of the sixteen-year-old has been examined. It thus remains for us to come to some understanding of the steps by which the convinced and contented Herrnhuter of autumn 1785 became the exhausted and disillusioned exile of Easter 1787.

Indeed in the first semester of Schleiermacher's stay at Barby we can note none of the rebellion and independence which was later to mark his career at the Seminary. In fact, at the close of that winter semester his religious condition does not seem to have changed at all. He wrote in March of 1786 in almost the same terms as he did in his "Curriculum" with which he bid farewell to the Paedagogium. In his letter we read: "It is true that when I look back upon my life of seventeen years, I recognize so many remarkable proofs of the kind and merciful guidance of the Lord, and of his watchfulness over all circumstances relating even to the meanest of his rational creatures, that I feel constrained to prostrate myself in the dust, and to say: 'With what mercy, and patience, and love hast Thou led me, O Lord.'"[2] But at the same time we observe the emergence of a vocational problem which was to contribute much to his later unrest, for already at this time he was fearful for the future, apparently feeling that he was not really cut out for the life of a cleric in the Brethren congregations. "When I look into the future, I am much troubled," he stated in this same letter, "not by the question how great, for that is rather indifferent to me, but by the question when and where."[1]

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[1] Briefe, I, 9-11 [I, 10-12]. [2] Ibid., I, 37 [I, 41].

It was during this first semester at Barby that Schleiermacher apparently felt obliged to defend the Brethren against what he conceived to be an indirect reproach to their basic tolerance of those of differing persuasion.[2] This would not indeed be of any real importance except as it reflects on his own strictures less than a year later against the narrowness of the school of which he was then a part. At about the beginning of the following semester we find a letter from his hand to Lotte, then staying with their father at Anhalt, in which he reflects a rather ambiguous attitude toward those things which might be seen as typical of the Herrnhuters, and in particular a deep concern that the Brethren should not be misunderstood. In this undated letter written in April of 1786 we read concerning the loss of Charlotte in being away from the congregation:

> That you were deprived of the satisfaction of celebrating Passion week and Easter in the congregation I regret with you; but I trust that the Saviour has vouchsafed to you some consolation and compensation. The office at Anhalt is not, indeed, performed in so solemn and edifying a manner as among us; the thoughts are more easily drawn off, holy feelings of love and reverence are not excited to the same extent; the whole relation of our hearts to the Saviour does not appear so distinctly as in the verses which the liturgist gives out; but, Charlotte,

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[1] *Ibid.*, [I, 41-42].

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 35-36 [I, 39-40]; I, 38-39 [I, 42-43].

> the essential matter is, nevertheless, the same. The body of Christ, which was given as a ransom for us, is partaken of, and so likewise the blood which was shed in forgiveness of our sins, and the effects must be the same provided we present ourselves at the table in a reverential and loving spirit, and with hearts humbled with thoughts of the mercy of the Saviour and of their own shortcomings, yet comforted and joyful, because they are allowed to strengthen themselves with his strength. This you have, no doubt, experienced.[1]

The letter then concludes with a group of four instructions to the sister during her stay at Anhalt. The last two of these reflect to a certain degree a rather apologetic attitude which was at this time becoming a part of Friedrich's feeling about the community of which he was still an enthusiastic member. Here we read:

> Thirdly, remember that you will be watched on all sides, and that from your conduct conclusions will be drawn relative to the community. Be not, therefore, dull and dejected, that people may not thereby be confirmed in their notion that Herrnhuters are all discontented dissemblers. Fourthly, speak properly; and do not make use of any expressions which you have learnt in the sister-house; for they are good for nothing and no one will understand them.[2]

Here, to be sure, we have reflected the rather officious attitude not seldom found among young theological students in dealing with their families and friends--the natural concern for the good reputation both of a sister and of the community of which they were both a part, and a far from unusual attitude of disrespect among theologians for the jargon of the simply pious. But at the same time we find something more--a defensiveness with relation to the Brethren which although hardly perceptible here was ultimately to destroy the relationship within which Schleiermacher then stood.

The relative placidity of that first semester at Barby was soon enough to be interrupted by the intellectual adventures of the second. The summer semester of 1786 may be seen as the turning point in Friedrich Schleiermacher's life as a Herrnhuter. The close relationship which existed between Schleiermacher and Albertini was expanded during this time to take in first Samuel Okely, the young Englishman of whom we read in the 1794 autobiography, then also Johann Jacob Beyer, and Emanuel Zäslein.[1] The latter two of these young men appear to have been more or less peripheral figures in the "club" which was at that time forming at Barby. The "trefoil" of Schleiermacher, Albertini, and Okely were the nucleus of the intellectual ferment which was described in the account above. The third member had actually come to Barby at the same time as had the two fast friends, but had apparently been no part of their relationship at Niesky. He appears to have been of a passionately rationalistic temperament, exhibiting absolutely no interest in or tolerance for affairs and persons which could not be reduced to the canons of reason. His interest in Kant and ultimately in Hume illustrates perhaps most clearly just how far his thinking might go as well as the advanced state of his thinking--from the Brethren point of view, his heterodoxy--already at the time when he joined the little club at Barby.[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, I, 29 [I, 33-34]. [2] *Ibid.*, I, 30 [I, 34].

It was in his relationship with this group that Schleiermacher's indistinct uneasiness about the religious constitution of which he had thus far been such a devoted member became increasingly clear. Some time in the late spring and early summer of 1786 a much more definite impression of what he judged to be the narrowness of the Herrnhuters, and of his situation in Barby, took shape in his mind. In July of 1786[1] we find his increasing dissatisfaction expressed in a letter to his father which was apparently intended to sound out the elder Schleiermacher's reaction to the already formed desire to be educated elsewhere. In this exploratory letter we read:

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[1] See discussion of these persons and their character in Meyer, pp. 203-209. Briefe, III, 5-14, gives us some insight into the operations of this club.

[2] Meyer, pp. 204-206. In Briefe, III, 9-13, we find very revealing letters from this young man.

> With one thing only I am not content. I wish very much to study theology, and that thoroughly; but I shall not be able to boast of having done anything of the kind when I leave this place, for in my opinion we are kept within too narrow limits in point of reading. Except for what we see in the scientific periodicals, we learn nothing about the objections, arguments, and discussions raised in the present day in regard to exegesis and dogmatics. Even in the lectures delivered to us sufficient mention is not made of these matters, and yet knowledge of them is absolutely necessary for a future theologian. The fact that they fear to lay them before us awakens in many minds a suspicion that the objections of the innovators must approve themselves to the intellect and be difficult to refute. I do not, however, share this opinion; and upon the whole, the small amount of discontent I feel in regard to this subject does not as yet disturb my tranquillity, and you are the only person to whom I have mentioned it.[2]

This second semester appears to have been the period in which impatience with the intellectual limitations which were placed upon the students at Barby came to full flower and finally bore fruit in a change of theological convictions which made the position in which Schleiermacher and his associates stood in the Brotherhood more and more untenable. Beyer, a former member of the club who had since moved on to Jena to study, wrote in September of 1786 voicing concern at the "Neology" of views which Schleiermacher had expressed in a letter to him, and he speaks also of the radical skepticism of Okely:

> Especially greet Okely for me. His condition affects me deeply, but so far as I understand, it is not dangerous. A skepticism of that kind does not last for long; it is a powerfully moving

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[1] This undated letter is located in time by a reference to it six months later in Schleiermacher's so-called Beichtbrief; Briefe, I, 42 [I, 46].

[2] Ibid., I, 39-40 [I, 43-44].

> condition for a human spirit; he works himself free, and would rather be deceived than believe nothing. Don't you believe that is true?[1]

Between this letter on September 7, 1786, and the next letter from the same hand on October 23 the skepticism and heterodoxy of this small group had become a matter of knowledge to those in charge of the Seminary. In this epistle Beyer wrote, "So it has then really happened and you think upon flight still this winter."[2] He goes on to speak of the extremely straitened circumstances in which the little group then stood. Thus at the beginning of Schleiermacher's third and last semester at Barby began the process by which it was hoped to turn him away from the path into which he had entered and the struggle on his part to overcome the forces which were thus exerted to hold him within the Brotherhood. This period from Michaelmas of 1786 to Easter of 1787 must be seen within the context of Brethren discipline as it was applied in any settlement congregation, but particularly as it was utilized in the Unity schools.[3] It had apparently been possible for the newly awakened thinkers to keep the nature of their theological convictions and doubts from the authorities of the school and community for some time, and it appears to have been the young Englishman who first registered rebellion and exposed the whole group to the inquiry of the Choir Helper, Brother Thomas Moore, a deeply pious but intellectually somewhat limited man, and to the Inspector, Brother Baumeister.[4] The reaction was swift; before the end of the year Okely was expelled from the congregation,[1] and Schleiermacher had likely withdrawn himself from the Lord's Supper in order to avoid excommunication.

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[1] _Ibid_., III, 6. [2] _Ibid_., III, 7.

[3] See _supra_, pp. 133-48.

[4] Meyer, pp. 221-23; this is based upon his examination of Okely's journal.

We have already observed the first overtures which Friedrich had made toward his father in regard to his growing doubts and discomfort. It would seem only natural that he should have followed up with a frank disclosure of his present situation, but this was far from the case. The response of the father to Schleiermacher's July letter had been quick, and if rather naïve, it at the same time revealed the concern of the father over the spiritual condition of the son which was one with the great sacrifice by which Friedrich had first been placed in the congregations of the Brethren. The naiveté of this letter is to be seen primarily in the fact that its writer interpreted the revelation to which it was a response in a strictly literal manner. The relevant section proceeds as follows:

> His [the Saviour's] invisible hand ever leads us along the safest path, if we do but give ourselves up to his guidance like little children. Do this as regards your studies also, dear son, and be assured that you will lose nothing by it, should the objections and criticisms of the innovators remain unknown to you. Keep out of the way of this tree of knowledge, and of that dangerous love of profundity which would lure you towards it. I have read almost all the refutations of infidelity, but they have not convinced me; but I have on the contrary, learned from experience that faith is the regalia of the Deity, and can only be the work of his mercy. Besides, you do not intend to be a vain theologian, but are preparing to render yourself capable of bringing souls to the Saviour, and for this purpose, you need not all that knowledge; and you cannot sufficiently thank your Saviour for having brought you into the community of the Brethren, where you can so well do without it.[2]

At this point the father went on to direct the attention of the budding theologian to exegetical rather than speculative studies and to several writings which he felt might confirm his son's faith. This response of Gottlieb Schleiermacher had not in the least dissuaded his son from the line of thinking into which he had fallen, but on the other hand, the failure to perceive the actual situation of the son and the deep concern that he should remain where he was did much to contribute to the dilemma in which Friedrich soon found himself. It is very likely that at this point he discarded as yet partially formed hopes of continuing his studies elsewhere and decided if possible to remain at Barby and in the congregation.

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[1] The record of the deliberation on this matter is introduced in Meyer, p. 224.

[2] _Briefe_, I, 40-41 [I, 44-45].

At the time this decision entailed for Schleiermacher primarily a vocational problem. There were but two paths open to him if he remained at Barby. He must either become a teacher or a clergyman among the Herrnhuters. There was really no place for him to develop the scholarly vocation which had first captured him at Pless and which had been nourished at Niesky in the school there and particularly in his relationship with Albertini. The educational ideal at Barby seems to have been one of professional training for Brethren clergy and educators with pure science playing no significant role at all. As Schleiermacher pointed out in 1794, the role of a Brethren educator was the object of rebellion on the part of these young thinkers because of its ultimate futility, i.e., being taught to teach teachers to teach. It should here be noted that this attitude was not entirely of their own making but actually reflected the position of Inspector Zembsch of the Paedagogium with relation to the education of his students.[1] On the other hand, as Schleiermacher revealed in his autobiography, the circle of which he was a part had become doubtful of their calling to be officials in a Brethren congregation, which was the other vocational alternative open to them. Thus during this period of increasing doubt he and his comrades were more and more troubled about what was to become of their lives.

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[1] In a letter which C.G. von Brinkmann wrote to Zembsch in 1803 in appreciation for what the venerable educator had meant to him we read: "Ich besinne mich noch sehr wohl, wie oft Sie uns dies einschärften, dass wir nicht hoffen könnten, Nisky oder Barby als vollendete Gelehrte su verlassen, aber, dass es unser Pflicht sei, uns dort zu jedem künftigen Beruf so gründlich vorzubereiten, dass wir uns späterhin über all mit Leichtigkeit zu orientiren wüssten. Unser Studiren wäre an sich zwecklos, wenn es weiter zu nichts dienen sollte, als in einen ewigen Kreislauf andere wieder zu lehren, was

When their doubt came into the open, at least insofar as it became known to the officials of the Barby congregation, the whole affair took on an entirely different complexion. The difficulties of the winter semester which began late in 1786 were a matter not merely of an inner struggle but also of intense external pressures. The precise form of the persuasive measures which were brought to bear in the case of Schleiermacher during the winter of 1786-1787 is not known to us aside from those steps which applied to his relationship with his father. At the same time, however, it is not difficult for us to imagine and to recall some of the alternatives which were open to those in authority at Barby. To speak of such pressures as external in the kind of relationship which existed in a Brethren congregation is hardly adequate. It should always be borne in mind that Schleiermacher was a Herrnhuter, and as such was thoroughly immersed in the religious community and life which it has been the task of this work to describe. He knew himself and was known by those about him at a spiritual depth which was indeed unusual. He truly treasured the good opinion of associates and superiors with whom he had been religiously involved for several years, and he also put a high valuation upon the religious experience in which he participated from day to day and which had become an

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wir selbst gelernt hätten, unser Hauptberuf sei, für andere zu denken." The whole of this letter is to be found in Gammert, pp. 32-47.

essential and necessary part of his personality. It was judged by a contemporary of Schleiermacher that to one who had fallen into his present frame of mind excommunication or even complete exclusion from the congregation would have no real significance--would in effect be no disciplinary factor at all.[1] This, at least in the case of Schleiermacher, was simply not true. He continued to value his election to be a member of the congregation and also the religious life of which he was there a part. To one in such a position the pressures which could be brought to bear both from within and without by those who all too well knew what was going on within him were in their almost infinite subtleties equalled only by their excruciating and finally debilitating character.

Almost certainly the crowning factor in this program of dissuasion to which Schleiermacher was during this time subjected was that which affected his relationship with his father. Fortunately in this case we have several very revealing letters which assist us in our reconstruction. The first of these was apparently written at the insistence of the authorities in Barby when it became apparent that it would be necessary for the young "heretic" to withdraw or be expelled from that congregation. Although this letter is a rather lengthy one, its important bearing with relation to the development of Schleiermacher during his last months at Barby requires inclusion of substantial portions. The letter, dated from Barby on January 21, 1787, is couched in the following terms:

> The older we grow, dear father, the longer we witness the course of events in the world, the more persuaded we become, that neither for ourselves nor for others ought we to wish any of those things which are generally the object of desire, lest we should in reality be wishing for evil. Everything is, under some circumstances,

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[1] Reise, pp. 429-30.

happiness, and under others, unhappiness, except peace, tranquillity of mind, and submissiveness of heart; and this is what I wish for you, in addition to that which must be most valued by a father, well-founded joy in your children. The more I, as your son, wish you this from the bottom of my filial heart, the more it costs me, the more it pains me in the depth of my soul, that I must now announce to you something which will cause your hope, in fulfillment of this wish, to waver.

I confessed to you, in my last letter, my dissatisfaction with the limited scope of my position here, and pointed out how easily, under such circumstances, religious doubts may, in our times, arise among young people. I thus endeavoured to prepare you for the intelligence that these doubts have been awakened in me, but I did not attain my object. You believed that your answer had set me at rest; and for six whole months I most unjustifiably remained silent, because I could not find in my heart to destroy this illusion.

Faith is the regalia of the Godhead, you say. Alas! dearest father, if you believe that, without this faith, no one can attain to salvation in the next world, nor to tranquillity in this --and such, I know, is your belief--oh! then, pray to God to grant it to me, for to me it is now lost. I cannot believe that he, who called himself the Son of Man, was the true, eternal God; I cannot believe that his death was a vicarious atonement, because he never expressly said so himself; and I cannot believe it to have been necessary, because God, who evidently did not create men for perfection, but for the pursuit of it, cannot possibly intend to punish them eternally, because they have not attained it.[1]

Alas! best of fathers, the deep and acute suffering which I endure while writing this letter, prevents me from giving you in detail the history of my soul as regards my opinions, or all my strong reasons for entertaining them; but I implore you, do not look upon them as merely transient views, without deep roots. During almost a whole year they have had a hold upon me, and it is long and earnest reflection that has determined me to adopt them. I entreat you not to keep back from me your strongest counter-reasons; but I candidly confess that I do not think you will succeed in convincing me at present, for I hold firmly by my convictions. And now are told these tidings which must be so terribly startling to you! Try to enter entirely into my feelings, and you will, perhaps, be able in some measure to understand what it must have cost me to write these lines, devoted to you as I am, my good father, with such tender filial affection, acknowledging as I do your great love for me, and being conscious that I owe everything to you; for that I entertain these feelings, I can aver with a good conscience, and I am sure that you also are persuaded of it. They have been written with trembling hand and with many tears; but even now I would not send them forth, had not my superiors encouraged me; and even in a manner charged me to write to you. Comfort yourself, dear father, for I know you were long in the same state that I am now. Doubts assailed you at one time as they now do me, and yet you have become what you now are. Think, hope, believe, that the same may be the case with me; and be assured that, although I may not be of the same faith as you, I will, nevertheless, ever strive to become an honorable, upright, and useful man; and, after all, that is the most essential thing.

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[1] When this enumeration of doubts and beliefs is compared with the theological position of the Brethren as outlined in the Synod of 1769 there can be little doubt as to the reason for Schleiermacher's expulsion; see supra, pp. 448-51.

I have openly laid my thoughts before my present superiors, and upon the whole, I have been treated very kindly. They have told me that they would wait some time to see whether a happy chance might not take place, but, at the same time they have given me frequently and distinctly to understand, which is indeed a matter of course, that I must not look forward to obtaining even the most insignificant office in the community, until my convictions have undergone this change. I know, dear father, that however great may be the pain which I am now causing you, you will not withdraw from me your fatherly love and care. You will see, without my suggesting it, that it will be necessary even in case it cannot soon be realized--which, alas! I am convinced it cannot be--that measures should at once be taken to enable me to become a useful man beyond the limits of the community, as within it I cannot at present be so. If your circumstances will at all admit of it, pray, allow me to go to Halle, if only for two years. You must see that my success in life depends upon this. I can hardly believe that you will give your consent to my continuing theological studies there, for you will not be willing to add one more to the heterodox teachers of our country. However, if you can do so with a good conscience, as I would at all events probably devote myself to a scholastic career, it will suit me much the best, for I am better prepared herein than in other sciences, and my inclination also lies this way. There, also, I would be more likely to change my views than by continued study in the congregation, for I would have more opportunities of testing every diversity of opinion, and would, perhaps, learn to see that many reasons are on one side not so strong, and on the other, stronger than I at present conceive. However, I leave it entirely to you to determine what I shall study. . . .

If you would communicate with the Brethren in Herrnhut upon the subject, and represent the matter to them, you might perhaps, succeed in obtaining their consent to my going to Halle, in which case should I hereafter change my convictions, I would be at liberty to return to the community. The Brethren will no doubt understand that this diversion of my thoughts to quite different subjects would be the most likely means gradually to effect the desired change. However, should this even for a time entirely separate me from the congregation, it will, nevertheless, be better than that I should remain in the community with unaltered convictions; should I change in Halle, it is not impossible that I might return to the Brethren.

You will perceive in reading this letter, dear father, how hard it has been to me to write it. May God give you strength to receive the intelligence without injury to your health, without too great pain, and without suffering it to impair your fatherly love for me. He knows best what it has cost me to impart it to you.

> And now, one request only; make up your mind as quickly as possible. All the courses in Halle begin after Easter, and of what use would it be that I should remain another half-year here, consuming a great deal of money, and yet at last have to go?
>
> In sorrow, dear father, I kiss your hands, and entreat you to look at everything from the most favorable side, and to consider well, and to bestow upon me in future, also, as far as it is possible, that fatherly affection which is so indescribably valued by
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> Your distressed and most dutiful son.[1]

In this pathetic letter are reflected both the subtle pressures which were then being brought to bear upon the lad in the community and the mixture of filial concern and covert fear of outright rejection by his father which then colored his feelings about his remaining parent. It is quite obvious that the fear of damage or complete destruction of the father-son relationship has grown up in him or has been planted there by others, or more probably both. Before he had yet received his father's response to this first shocking disclosure, which was in fact to reveal what appeared to be the complete failure of all that which had been undertaken by Chaplain and Frau Schleiermacher on behalf of their talented young son, Friedrich penned yet another letter which reveals the development of the situation and more clearly the problems which he faced in Barby. Under the date of February 12, 1787, we read:

> Tenderly beloved and best of fathers,
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> By this time you will have received the distressing letter. Oh! how often I have wished that I had been less honest, and that I had not disclosed my thoughts to anyone, or at least that I had not sent off the letter to you! I should then have spared my good father all the pain and troublous consequences of this matter, the end of which God only knows. But once it must have been done, and now I am glad that I took courage, because I have since then been informed that I cannot be allowed to remain here longer than Easter. Do not write to Herrnhut, dearest father; it would be lost trouble. A dissenter like myself cannot be tolerated here; they fear that I may impart to others the dangerous poison, and wherever I may be I can no longer be considered as a member of the Brotherhood.[2]

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[1] Briefe, I, 42-45 [I, 46-49].

[2] Actually the stand that was here taken by the officials at Barby anticipated the official action of the Unity Elders' Conference

I wish, dear father, that you were as convinced as I am, that, under the present circumstances, this step cannot be otherwise than beneficial to me. With my views regarding the doctrines and the constitution of the Brotherhood, I could not at all events have felt tranquil, cheerful, and happy here. I should not be able to get rid of my doubts did I remain here, whereas, while studying theology at Halle, this may very probably occur. To you it will perhaps appear unlikely that in the very midst of so many heterodox teachers I should change my views; but if I know myself, this is the likeliest way for me to become convinced of error. It is the insufficiency of the proofs given here in support of certain doctrines, as well as the fact that the opinions of dissenters are either passed over in silence or mentioned without any reference to the reasons on which they are grounded, and also the absence of every opportunity for investigating these subjects myself, together with my natural predilection for whatever is evidently suppressed, that is the cause of my having gradually attained the point where I now am. In Halle all this will cease. I shall be in a position to prove everything, while the attractive manner in which it may be presented will have no effect on me, as I have accustomed myself to divest everything that I read or hear of every ornament, and then to ponder over it. But what is more, I shall have my uncle there, to whom I may freely open all my thoughts, and with whom I may converse about them. This I can do to no one here. The laborers[1] refuse to enter upon any argument with me or to undertake to refute me, and with my friends I am strictly forbidden to speak upon the subject.

I hope, dear father, that you will consider these reasons valid, and that you will allow me to continue the study of theology, as in any case, if I do not change my opinions, I shall never accept any other than a scholastic appointment. . . .

And now, dearest father, be so kind as to inform me of your determination with as little delay as possible, that your poor dejected son may not be driven forth from here without knowing whither to turn his steps. You can hardly picture to yourself what I have suffered, as the laborers have intimated to me that, under the circumstances, it was possible, and even probable, that you might throw me off entirely, and leave me to my fate, in which case they declared to me in advance, that I could reckon upon no pity, no mercy here, no hope to be allowed to remain here.[2] My blood boiled at hearing you judged so unjustly, so unkindly; but I suppressed my indignation. Oh! how many difficult and distressing scenes I shall still have to go through. I

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which should properly have preceded it. In actuality, it was not until February 26 that the Direction received word from Brother Baumeister on the matter, and definite action was taken only on March 3. Extracts from the Minutes of this body are to be found in Meyer, pp. 232-33.

[1] The term "laborers" refers to the Choir and Congregation Helper at Barby.

[2] Actually there appears to have been some hope still harbored for Schleiermacher at this point; see ibid.

commend myself to Divine Providence, and to your prayers and your fatherly care, as

Your most dutiful son,
Fritz[1]

At some point between the writing of the first of these letters and the second some three weeks later, matters had come to a showdown between the eighteen-year-old Schleiermacher and the "laborers," i.e., particularly the Choir Helper at Barby. The extended period of tolerance had come to an end and the more subtle forms of pressure had given place to concrete threats of disciplinary action. Even beyond these threats of expulsion were the suggestions to the boy, who all too well understood how much his membership in this community meant to his parents, that the present state of affairs would likely lead to a complete break between father and son. The fears of Friedrich Schleiermacher which were reflected in the first letter had been verbalized at some point during the weeks which intervened before the second, either by Brother Moore or Brother Baumeister, or possibly by both. We do not know with any certainty whether or not the authorities at Barby communicated with Gottlieb Schleiermacher, but the temper of his reply to his son's disclosure suggests the probability that he had been informed of the state of affairs, and the similarity of his approach with what at the same time was being depicted to his son at Barby opens the possibility that he was responding in a manner which had at least been in part suggested by the workers at the Seminary. The reply was penned at Anhalt on February 6, 1787, and its contents greatly assist us in understanding the dilemma in which the young doubter found himself. The father was obviously bitter in his disappointment as he wrote:

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[1] Briefe, I, 50-52 [I, 53-56].

Oh, thou insensate son! who has deluded thee, that thou no longer obeyest the truth, thou, before whose eyes Christ was pictured, and who now crucifiest him? You were so well started, who has held you back from obeying the truth? Such persuasion is not from him who has called you; but a little leaven leavens the whole loaf. The same wickedness of heart which, four years ago, made you fear that through it you would be lost in the world, and which drove you into the congregation, alas! you have furthermore nourished in yourself, and it has now leavened your whole being, and is driving you out of the congregation. Oh! my son--my son! How deeply do you humble me! What sighs you call forth from my soul! And if the departed watch over us, oh! what a cruel disturber of the tranquillity of your blessed mother have you become, now that even your stranger stepmother is weeping over you.

Go forth, then, into the world, whose honors you are seeking. Try if its husks can satisfy your soul which refuses the divine cordial which Jesus bestows on all hearts that thirst for him. Have you, then, never tasted one little drop of balsam from his wounds? And was it all hypocrisy and deception which you used to write, and which you have so often protested that you felt? But if it were truth, oh! then it will witness awfully against you on the last day, if you do not turn back again to the eternal merciful God. John 12:48-50; Heb. 6:4-6.

Alas! into what a state of delusion has the wickedness of your heart plunged you! You believe that in the world you will find the way back again to the community to which you belonged (for, alas! in your heart you are no longer there); and equally contradictory are your objections, which you seem to think so strong. Nay, strong and powerful are the conceit and pride of your heart, but not so your arguments, which a child could refute. . . .[1] If then, my dear son, you be really earnestly anxious to possess the only saving faith, then seek it, pray for it on your knees to the great God and Creator, who, as man, bled for you on the cross; pray for it as for a gift that his mercy alone can bestow. But, if it be your own glory that you are seeking, if you disdain the God of your fathers, if you will go forth and serve strange gods, then make your own choice; but I and my house will serve the God who has ransomed us.

Alas! my heart trembles with a fearful foreboding that the affectionate warnings of your father, who is tenderly concerned in your well-being, that my experiences and even your own, will prove fruitless; for your letter shows how strong is the delusion under which you are laboring. Thou only, O my God and Saviour! canst open the eyes of this poor blinded child. Oh! have mercy upon him, for the sake of thy own dear merits, and such share of them as thou hast already vouchsafed to him, that this may not prove utterly vain, and that it may not witness against him in the day of judgment!

And now, O son, whom I press with tears to my sorrowful heart! with heartrending grief I discard thee, for discard thee

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[1] At this point the father introduced his refutation of the doubts of the son, which arguments were of such a nature as to have no real hope of success, but indeed any refutation would likely have met the same fate.

> I must, as thou no longer worshippest the God of thy fathers, as thou no longer kneelest at the same altar with him--yet, once more, my son, before we part--oh! tell me, what has the poor, meek, and humble-hearted Jesus done to thee, that thou renouncest his strength and his divine peace? Did you find no consolation when you laid before him your need, the anguish of your heart? And now, in return for the divine long-suffering and patience with which he listened to you, you deny him? You break the promise which you so often pronounced: "With thee, Jesus, I will abide?" Why wouldst thou leave him?--hast thou never received the word of life from him?
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> . . . If it be possible (and why should it not be, as to God nothing is impossible), then listen to the entreaties of your father who prays: "Turn back, my son, turn back! Human virtue is not to be perfect but to turn back speedily from the path of error." O Lord Jesus, Shepherd of the human race! bring back to thyself thy straying lamb! Do it for the glory of thy own name! Amen!
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> I shall not as yet write to Halle, because I hope that the blessing of the Lord may attend my words and my prayers.
>
> Should you write to your uncle--to do which I give you my permission in case your thoughts are not changed--then regard yourself as having taken leave of me and of the congregation; but longer than a year and a half, reckoning from Easter next, I cannot let you study; in that time you must make yourself efficient for some tutorship or other.
>
> I can add no more except the assurance that with sorrowing and heavy heart, I remain your deeply compassionate and loving father.[1]

As a matter of fact, when he received this severe letter Friedrich Schleiermacher had already communicated his problem and intentions to his uncle Stubenrauch at Halle. In a later letter Stubenrauch attempted to calm the lad at the reaction of his father and to reassure him of the latter's continuing love. On March 16 he wrote:

> That your dear good father would be much grieved I could easily conceive; but I did not anticipate that he could have added so much to your distress by his manner of looking upon the matter. I rejoice, however, that in spite of the severity of his letter, you do not misjudge his parental love, and to this, indeed, you must attribute those expressions which are most calculated to increase your melancholy; for, being the first outburst of a disappointment that came upon him so unexpectedly, they bear the impress of his deepest distress; and at such a moment it is but natural that he should exaggerate every danger, and see nothing but misfortune.
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> . . . .

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[1] *Ibid*., I, 46-50 [I, 50-53].

> With your answer to my former letter I am quite satisfied. I think you were right in openly confessing the truth to your superior, and feel certain that had you availed yourself of subterfuges, you would not have been able to sustain them. That you have refrained from all proselytizing I fully believe; but I am surprised that they are not better prepared at Barby, and more especially in the Seminary, to bear with gentleness with such honest doubters as may at times be found among the students, and to give them time and opportunities to recover from their errors, without forcing them directly to leave the congregation.[1]

The emotional situation to which these comforting words were directed is most adequately reflected in the reply of the son to Gottlieb Schleiermacher's severe letter. In this we read:

> Oh! could you picture to yourself the distressing, the miserable condition of your son! I was but too wretched beforehand, and now your letter has more than doubled my wretchedness. However, I recognize in it the tender heart of a father who still loves his apostate son and leaves no means untried to bring him back into the former path. But can there be anything more terrible to a son who so deeply loves and reveres his father, than such a position? Oh! how many bitter tears have flowed from my eyes! How many sleepless nights, how many joyless days, has the thought of your grief, which I feel as keenly as you do, cost me! It is torture to me to think that I am the cause of it, and yet that it is not in my power to relieve it. Oh, how often have I wished that I could still cling as trustingly and firmly to your faith as I used to do! For I did cling firmly to it. What I said I felt was not hypocrisy; I did really feel it; but it was only the natural effect of the novel circumstances amid which I was placed.
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> . . . .
>
> O best of fathers, if you but knew how sincere I am herein! It is not love of the world that has inspired me with the wish to leave the congregation (which departure, were it even not my wish, has now, alas! become a melancholy necessity), but the conviction that were I to abide in it, I should never be able to get rid of my doubts, for I am debarred from the possibility of examining for myself in how far the objections of the innovators may or may not be well founded, as I am forbidden to read anything of the kind, and no one here will even refute my objections.
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> . . . .
>
> Believe me, dearest father, removal into a free sphere, where I shall be able to investigate all these questions thoroughly,

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[1] Ibid, I, 56-57 [I, 60-61]. This judgment concerning the behavior of the Brethren in this matter was seconded by Brother Zembsch who confided to Schleiermacher, apparently in 1805, that "Brother Baumeister . . . seems at that time not to have taken into consideration that it is only through scepticism that theologians are formed"; ibid., II, 457 [II, 323]. Zembsch's sympathetic attitude at the time is revealed in an interesting letter from Albertini to Schleiermacher after the latter's departure; ibid., III, 14-15.

> will be the best, indeed the only means of reclaiming me. Let me take away the consolation with me that I am still in possession of your parental affection, and that you still entertain the hope that, although your son may never again return to the community of the Brethren (for I must confess that there is much in the doctrines and constitution of the latter, which is not likely ever again to be approved of by me, for example, the Lot),[1] he may, nevertheless, return to a firm faith in Christianity; for I am quite conscious that a sceptic can never enjoy that undisturbed tranquillity of soul which is the lot of a believing Christian.[2]

The dominating feature in Schleiermacher's correspondence of this critical period was his concern for the effect his change of opinions was to have upon his relationship with his father. The impact of the threats of his superiors at Barby combined with the intimations of rejection in his father's first letter is reflected in the manner in which Friedrich repeatedly tries to reassure himself of, and at the same time pleads for, the continued love of his father. If one had only Gottlieb Schleiermacher's first severe letter on which to make a judgment of his attitude toward his son, it would be clear that the worst threats of his elder son's Choir Helper had been quite correct. He clearly stated there his intention to turn his back upon Fritz, but at the same time he expressed his continued love and concern. To be sure, the position was left somewhat ambiguous, as such things often are, and unfortunately at this point young Schleiermacher was in no position to accept any but a complete and clear reassurance. Thus on the basis of his own fears and their seeming substantiation in that first letter, this unhappy youth came to believe that his father neither could nor would love him until he had altered his theological views. The scar which this situation made upon the relationship between the two, as well as the injustice of Friedrich's judgment of his father's love, become soon enough apparent to us from their subsequent correspondence. Even in the father's very next letter, although it shares something of the mood of the first in such statements as: "I deplore your delusion," and references to his son as a "mangy sheep" who is likely to "contaminate the whole flock" at Barby,[1] we find a much more gentle and loving spirit on the part of Chaplain Schleiermacher. The letter is filled with concern for the future plans and welfare of his son who, it was now certain, must leave the congregation. Then in the third letter, although we find admonitions to return to the faith and prayers for divine grace to that end, the father seems almost fully reconciled to the situation which then existed, as he salutes the lad, "My dear son! God bless thee in Halle."[2]

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[1] For some reason the example which Schleiermacher here gives was dropped out of Rowan's translation.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 52-54 [I, 56-58].

From the side of the son, however, the scars created by the explosion between himself and his father ran much deeper and were to be erased only after several years. The letters of Friedrich to his father spread over the next three years are reflective of his belief that the latter could accept him only if he could once more be free of his heterodox religious views, and as a result they are obviously strained and artificial. Unfortunately the two were never to see each other face to face after Friedrich was placed in school at Niesky, a not unusual practice which in itself could and did often cause bitterness among youthful Herrnhuters.[3] Although father and son had continued to write after Friedrich's departure from Barby, his letters were often more an exclusion than an inclusion of the father as the young theologian shaped his correspondence to what he conceived were his father's wishes and prejudices. In the letter in which he consoled his sister upon the death of their remaining parent in 1794 Friedrich wrote in reflection upon this period of estrangement:

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[1] Ibid., I, 58-60 [I, 62-63]. [2] Ibid., I, 61-62 [I, 65-66].

[3] An interesting documentation of such resentment is to be found in C.I. LaTrobe, Letters, pp. 3-4, where he tells of his younger brother's resentment at being cheated of the pleasure of knowing his father. "'What did I know of our father but by hearsay?' complained the youth. '. . . I heard, indeed, enough of his excellence; and both his treatment of me, and his letters to me, produced a great desire to reap the benefits of the conversation, advice, and direction of such a parent; but before I returned [from Niesky and Barby] he was no more in this world.'"

> In my life . . . there was a period, the remembrance of which now often forces itself upon me, during which I mistook the heart of our excellent father; when I thought that he was too hard upon me, and judged me falsely because I was not of the same opinion as he. A certain coldness of feeling towards him, which arose in consequence, now seems to me the darkest spot in my existence. But in secret I have acknowledged my injustice, and he forgave me without my asking it. Afterwards I learned to appreciate his heart more truly, and I have at least rewarded him with some years of ardent and perfect love and unrestrained confidence.[1]

The termination of this period of coldness and resentment on the part of Schleiermacher towards his father had come in the spring of 1790 when the father was upon the occasion of his birthday visiting with Charlotte in Gnadenfrey. The wisdom, sensitivity, and love which are so clearly revealed in the letter which on the next day Chaplain Schleiermacher penned to his son and which set the key for their subsequent relationship require that he be allowed to speak for himself. On May 6, 1790, he wrote:

> Yesterday, praise be to God, I spent my birthday cheerfully, and thankfully in company with your sister; cheerfully and thankfully, because of my happiness as a father, of which I felt so conscious, while united with you all in spirit; for Lottchen spent the greater part of the forenoon in reading to me portions of yours and Carl's letters. And I beg you, nay, command you, in advance, dear son, not to upbraid her for having done so, if you would not that I in my turn shall reproach you, as indeed you deserve, for having so misjudged me and having in consequence felt so little confidence in me, as to have deprived me of many a pleasure which I might have derived from your letters, had you not, as I fear you have, classed me among those morose

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[1] Briefe, I, 131-32 [I, 130].

> parents who despoil themselves of the joys of their old age because they know not how to be children with children, and youths with youths. If you go on in this way, dear son, which however, I trust you will not, now that you are in Berlin--I shall hear nothing of what is stirring in your soul at the sight of the many works of art (the imitator of what is most beautiful in nature) which will enrich you with joys as yet quite new to you --joys which must ever draw you nearer to him who is the Creator of them, and who is all love. And do you think, dear son, that you will be doing honor to your blessed mother, or that you will be giving satisfaction to your fond old father, if, either from misplaced timidity, falsely called filial reverence, or what is worse--but which, though you may dislike to hear it, must be named:--if, from selfish motives, you continue thus to conceal all that is youthful and attractive in yourself from your loving and sympathizing father, who never misconstrues what is simply human; and if, for the sake of representing yourself to him as a staid man, you rob him of many a pleasure of the heart? Had you but once gladdened me on my birthday with a pleasant piece of poetry, such as the verses you have addressed to Selma, or something **similar**, I could forgive you everything else. But, indeed, even as it is, I will forgive you in the hope that in the future you will afford me some compensation for the deprivation of your personal company which I endure in my old age, by writing more naturally and more openly to me.[1]

Thus ended the misunderstanding which had had its beginning in the fears and disillusionment of Schleiermacher's last days at Barby.

There is yet another feature which must be observed in the exchange of letters between Schleiermacher, his father, and his uncle during this time. We have already seen the problem which the young theologian had in reconciling his religious experiences in the congregations of the Brethren with his present theological doubts. Apparently even before his father's challenge to his sincerity he had been confronted with this difficulty. In the first letter to his uncle, written before he had received the severe letter from his father, Schleiermacher had drawn the conclusion that the religious experiences which he had enjoyed during his life as a Herrnhuter were in some way self-induced and false.[2] In order properly to comprehend the motivation and significance of this conclusion on the part of young Schleiermacher as it related to his religious thought at the time and in the future it is necessary that we recognize several factors. First of all, it is quite clear that as a Herrnhuter Schleiermacher had sought and had apparently enjoyed the kind of religious experiences which were expected by and of a brother of that period. Regardless of the doubts which in time came to obscure these stirrings of his religious life, there is no valid reason to doubt the sincerity with which they occurred. Secondly, it is necessary here in summary to recognize the vital relationship which existed between the orthodox position on Christology held by the Brethren and their view of feeling and religious experience. For the Herrnhuter, "feeling" (Gefühl) was the key to religious experience, but as has already been noted this feeling as conceived and experienced by the Brethren was in no sense an indistinct or general factor, but was quite specific. In their religious experiences, both in corporate cultic acts and in individual devotion, they by means of feeling relived the events and actions of Jesus' life, death, and resurrection--in short, the events of divine revelation. The validity and significance of such experiences were, of course, closely related to the orthodox view of revelation and incarnation. It should thus come as no surprise that when Schleiermacher came to reject those elements of Christology which were so vital to religious experience as the Herrnhuters conceived it, he should also have grave doubts of those religious experiences which had been his during his stay in the congregations. What actually is surprising under the circumstances is the fact that although he came to consider his own religious feelings as a Herrnhuter in a negative light, he did not at the same time reject the experiences of others about him.

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[1] *Ibid.*, I, 81-82 [I, 82-83]. [2] *Ibid.*, I, 55-56 [I, 59-60].

Apparently on grounds which might be considered almost empirical Schleiermacher affirmed the validity of the religious experiences of the Brethren, this especially in his autobiography of 1794.[1] It would seem that the very saturation of his environment with such awakenings and feelings convinced him of their genuineness, and he came to believe that it was this conviction which in turn led him for a time to look upon his own experiences as genuine. It was then while in this rather ambiguous position that Schleiermacher came under the influence of the Romantic movement through which he came to a renewed confidence in his own religious feelings without at the same time once more accepting the orthodox view of Christ which had earlier played a controlling role in his understanding thereof. Consequently Schleiermacher broadened his concept of religious feeling and experience from a specific emotional reliving of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ to a general psychological realm which was the seat and source of "the religious" as such. Thus in his intellectual biography do we see how Schleiermacher transformed the Brethren concept of Gefühl and made it the keystone of his philosophy of religion.

The existence of Schleiermacher during his two years at Halle, whence he had removed immediately after Easter of 1787, and where he lived for the first part of his stay in the garret of his uncle's home, is all too clearly reflected in his autobiography. His condition was far from an ideal one, suffering as he did both from fear and exhaustion. Although he had in fact just won a significant moral victory against what was seen in the Introduction as a betrayal of the true spirit of the Brethren and which was soon to bring the movement into demoralization and decline, he was morally exhausted and disappointed. Fifteen years later in reflecting on his state and existence at Halle, he wrote to his confidant, Elenore Grunow:

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[1] Ibid., I, 7 [I, 7]: "For in vain I aspired after those supernatural experiences, of the necessity of which every glance at myself with reference to the doctrine of future retribution convinced me--of the reality of which, externally to myself, every discourse and every hymn, yes, every glance at the Brethren, so attractive while under their influence, persuaded me."

> Far from loving the vanities of the world, I feared them; and had I known of any other retreat like the Herrnhut establishments to which I could fly from them, I would have fled thither in preference. In like manner, I lived at the university like a true Herrnhuter, without taking any heed of what my fate might be; and had it not been for my uncle, I believe literally, that I should never have thought of presenting myself for examination, in order to establish some claim upon an appointment.[1]

Thus Fritz Schleiermacher in his nineteenth year ventured once more into a world which in four years had become a stranger to him. Doubting himself and fearful of those about him, utterly exhausted in mind and body and without any fixed aim or program, he took up his life in that great world--a Herrnhuter rejected by his spiritual home, a monk without a monastery.

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[1] _Ibid_, I, 318 [I, 307].

CHAPTER XVII

HERRNHUTER OF A HIGHER ORDER

Despite Schleiermacher's apparently sincere expressions that one day it might become possible for him again to be a member of the Brethren congregations it was already clear at the time of his departure from Barby that such was an extremely unlikely hope. As matters developed then and later, it was a practical impossibility especially in light of the fact that the theological narrowness and reactionary spirit against which he had rebelled tended during the next several decades to increase rather than to diminish as a dominant force among the Herrnhuters. At the same time, although he did not ever again become an active member of such a community, he did for the remainder of his life maintain and even from time to time renew varying relationships toward and within this movement. And perhaps more important than these direct or indirect contacts with the Brethren are the signs and expressions which are to be observed in the life and letters of this ex-Herrnhuter as he through them took his place in the first rank of modern theologians. The burden of this final chapter will then be to trace the later contacts which were made or maintained between Schleiermacher and the Brethren and finally to observe certain factors in his person and thought in which he either consciously or unconsciously tends to bear the marks of his spiritual origins among the Herrnhuters.

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The contacts which arose between Schleiermacher and the Brethren during the period following his forced withdrawal from the school and congregation at Barby fall generally into two categories. The first of these are those continuing relationships with persons who remained a part of the Brotherhood, and the second, those which emerged as a result of his continued interest in the movement of which he had once been a part. In the first category we will restrict our examination to the ex-Herrnhuter's relationship with his "other self," Albertini, and that with his sister Charlotte, both of whom until their deaths, shortly before Schleiermacher's own, remained members of the Brethren congregations.

As we have already observed, Jean Baptist Albertini was one of the inner members of the philosophical club whose end had been so disastrous at Barby. Samuel Okely had been expelled, only to be followed a few months later by Schleiermacher. It was assumed from all sides that Albertini also would soon follow,[1] and it would seem that at one point he himself must even have made this assumption.[2] As time went by, however, he did not withdraw, but rather moved back toward the views accepted by the congregation, or at least suppressed those which were not.[3] Schleiermacher, however, continued to direct to his friend books which could not be procured in the Seminary until finally the latter requested that he do so no longer.[4] But their friendship continued, and in the autumn of 1787 Schleiermacher visited for a day with Albertini in Barby,[5] and the following year while awaiting appointment to a teaching position, Albertini made a visit in Halle.[1] Things do not, however, seem to have been the same. Albertini was apparently subjected to a great deal of pressure from his former colleagues in order to effect his separation from the Brethren, and his continued status as a brother was at the protest of his friends.[2] If we may judge from the reactions and attitudes of his fellow doubters, the religious scepticism of Albertini had gone as far as that of any of them, yet he could not bring himself to take the final step of separation--to stand up against his superiors in the congregation and the pressures which were brought to bear upon him by them. His loyalty to the Brethren and to the congregation in the end won out over that to his youthful friends. It must not be supposed that such a decision was easy for Albertini to make, nor that his final conclusion to remain inside rather than to leave the congregation was a cowardly act. It should be remembered that of the inner circle of that little club of doubters which formed at Barby, Albertini was the most deeply involved with the Brethren. He had since his fourth year been a resident of their institutions, and his entire family, especially his father, was passionately involved in the movement.[3] While both Schleiermacher and Okely could look to a home which would receive them outside the congregation, Albertini had no such prospect. Had he left the congregation it would have meant a complete break with his family, with whom, because of the disciplinary provisions of the congregation, he could never have done any more than visit.

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[1] Briefe, III, 15.

[2] This seems the only justification for the assumption of his closest associates that he would withdraw; ibid., p. 24.

[3] Ibid., p. 26. [4] Ibid., p. 21. [5] Ibid., p. 19.

There are at least two sides to Albertini's motivation in refusing to follow his youthful friends into exile from the congregation. The first of these relates to his family. Albertini had become convinced that his withdrawal from the Brotherhood would be harmful to his father and might even destroy the love which his father bore for him.[1] We may properly assume that beyond the fact that this native-born Herrnhuter knew all too well the great store which his father set by the congregation and the expectations which his parent held for him, Albertini had been a personal witness of what the break with the Brethren had cost his bosom friend in regard to his father. He must certainly have been remembering Schleiermacher's own feelings as he rejected the ex-Herrnhuter's suggestions that he should leave the Brotherhood.[2] Yet this reason can hardly be the only consideration, for in 1789 Albertini's father died, and in the letter by which he announced this sad news to Schleiermacher he seemed even more determined than ever to remain in the congregation.[3] This brings us to the second side of his motivation, and ultimately the most decisive. Albertini, having lived his entire life as a Herrnhuter, and being acquainted with nothing else, was more dominated by and dependent upon the whole religio-social structure of the Brotherhood than were his two fellows. Schleiermacher reflected at the time of Albertini's death that "in spite of all the sceptical tendencies that had been developed in us, he was even at the time of our separation firmly determined to remain in the congregation."[4] Perhaps the most adequate indication of the factor which turned him back toward Herrnhut is one which was suggested in an exegetical lecture some years later when in discussing the suffering of Jesus in Gethsemane Albertini stated that if anything had the power to turn one who had entered into religious error back from his doubts, it was this narrative; then he added, "And that is my experience."[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 22, 23. [2] Ibid., pp. 23-24.

[3] "Albertini's Lebenslauf," pp. 158-59.

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[1] Briefe, III, 22. [2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., pp. 23-26 (December 25, 1789).

[4] Ibid., II, 457 [II, 322].

Albertini himself does not seem, however, to have come to a justification for his remaining which was rationally satisfactory to him, and thus found grave difficulty in speaking of it. The insistence of his former "colleagues in doubt" upon resolution of the ambiguity which his refusal to leave the Brotherhood introduced into his life distressed him and finally led to his withdrawal from them. This was certainly the case between "Orestes and Pylades." The last letter that Schleiermacher was ever to receive from his "other self" was written on Christmas Day of 1789 at Barby whence Albertini had removed with the Paedagogium a few months earlier. The note with which their overt relationship ended is best sounded by the future bard of the Brethren in his own words.

> This would complete the casual answering of all your questions which touch upon my present condition: only one yet remains, inhowfar am I a philosopher? and inhowfar a brother? a critical question to which I must repeat the already often given answer, because in the meantime nothing has changed with relation to it, and regardless of your censure it seems entirely satisfactory to me. My opinion, about which we have already quarreled verbally, still always remains, that a fast and unshakable conviction of the truth of the Christian religion according to the orthodox system certainly guarantees a happy and peaceful life; but--.[2]

At this point in his final letter Albertini dropped the discussion and went on to other concerns, and thus the crucial question which was driving them apart stood unresolved between them. When they once more met many years later, the same barrier remained there still and resulted in a stand-off of silence.[1] Yet at the time of Albertini's death Schleiermacher still pondered the question[2] although he had long since resigned himself to the silence of his friend, who for not unrelated reasons had declined to write his own Lebenslauf.[3]

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[1] "Albertini's Lebenslauf," p. 161.

[2] Briefe, III, 25-26.

Although the overt friendship ended, its essence continued on within them both. In December of 1787, only six months before his untimely death by drowning, the third member of the trefoil, Samuel Okely, had spoken thus of this reality:

> I read and reread your and Albertini's first and only letters. If I want to feel you then I only have to look at them. Will we ever see one another again? Who knows! But even eighty years of absence should not cool our friendship.[4]

We have evidence that "Orestes and Pylades" followed each other in their thoughts and apparently their reading also and that at the very close of the life of each his "other self" was among his last reflections.[5] The continuing intimacy which was nourished without direct correspondence or conversation is exhibited in a comment which Schleiermacher made to his sister in 1798 when he wrote concerning her visit in Herrnhut:

> I am very sorry that you did not see Albertini, for I am very anxious to know how he lives with his wife, whether he has

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[1] Meyer, p. 252; the meeting took place at Herrnhut in October, 1822.

[2] At that time Schleiermacher confided, "I would fain have learnt something more explicit about the various changes that had taken place in his mind since the period of our separation; but even had I questioned him on the subject, I should hardly have learnt much." Briefe, II, 457 [II, 322].

[3] He pointed rather to his verses and said he had expressed all he had to say in them; "Albertini's Lebenslauf," p. 157.

[4] Briefe, III, 19.

[5] Ibid., II, 456 [II, 321]; Meyer, p. 267.

> children, and whether he still keeps me in remembrance. How often, when I am reading with Schlegel or with Henrietta Herz, my mind reverts to him and our common studies at Niesky! We are indeed far from each other now, and all connection between us has ceased, but the depths of his heart are still known to me, and I can form to myself a very lively and distinct image of what he must be at present. Should we ever meet he will probably find his former Pylades more altered than he is himself.[1]

The second relationship of which we speak here which served to the continuation of Schleiermacher's association with the Brethren had a very different history, although in many ways a similar character, when compared to that with Albertini. I refer, of course, to the continuing relationship with Charlotte Schleiermacher, his elder sister.[2] The comparative ease with which Lotte made the transition to the Brethren view of religion and Christianity has already been noted. In light of this fact, and of the fact that she was not subjected to the same intellectual ferments which affected her brother, it is hardly surprising or difficult to understand that while Friedrich and finally even the robust and rebellious Carl separated from the Brotherhood, Charlotte during the remainder of her lifetime was a Herrnhuter and a single sister. At the same time, it must not be supposed that she did not also have certain difficulties and inner problems which arose from the spiritual and social rigors of life in a Choir House. All in all, however, her adjustment was as good as could be expected from one who had not been born and reared in the congregation, and certainly better than most. The greater part of her life, like that of her brother Fritz, was bound up with education of one kind or another, and she appears to have shared his talent and passion in that sphere. Yet this was far from all that she shared with him.

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[1] Briefe, I, 186 [I, 178].

[2] "Charlotte's Lebenslauf" which has already been used extensively, and indeed during the early years is our main source for knowledge of the family life of the Schleiermachers, is an unusually good and for that matter lengthy and full example of that particular literary form. That document is here our main source of knowledge.

It is difficult to make a judgment concerning the childhood relationship between the two elder Schleiermacher children but it was almost certainly an extremely close and intimate one. Living as they did much in solitude during the absence of their father, and considering the confidence which they exhibited in one another in their subsequent correspondence, there can be little doubt of this fact. Friedrich Schleiermacher turned to his sister and poured his hopes and fears into letters during those first lonely years after he had been deprived of the deep emotional and spiritual support upon which he had come to depend in the religio-social structure of the Brethren.[1] She also shared with him from her own side the joys and sorrows which were a part of her life in the Choir House, and through her Schleiermacher possessed a living link with the life which had been his as a Herrnhuter. It was with the object of visiting her that he made the journey to Gnadenfrey at Easter of 1802 which was the occasion for some of his most important reflections upon the significance of the Brethren in his life. Finally, it was through her presence that the direct influence of the Herrnhuters came into his own home and played a role in the education of his children.

Charlotte had remained in and around Gnadenfrey from the time she had been admitted to the Choir House of the Single Sisters in 1783, fulfilling teaching and tutorial functions both in the

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[1] Unfortunately his letters to Charlotte up to 1794 are lost and we know of them only through the father's comments on them; supra, p. 554.

Choir House itself and among the nobility of the surrounding countryside.[1] Late in 1813, however, she went for a visit with her brother who was then already settled in Berlin and remained in his home for a stay of six months,[2] at which time she took a tutorial post in nearby Potsdam. Then in the autumn of 1816, partly because of failing health and partly to assist in the rearing of her brother's growing family, Lotte entered Friedrich's household, fulfilling the function of a beloved and valued maiden aunt.[3] There she remained until 1825 when she became a resident of the Congregation House of the "town and country" congregation which had been operating in Berlin since Zinzendorf's time. She took up once more the life of a single sister in the most complete sense, for despite poor health she could there participate in the services and fellowship which marked the full life of a Herrnhuter.[4] During the six years which remained to her there the attention of her brother was constant, and he appears to have maintained a close relationship with the officials of that congregation at least during the life of his sister.[5] There can be no doubt, for example, that it was through Lotte's presence in his house that Schleiermacher once more took up the habit of religiously reading the Gemein Nachrichten, which for some years already had been appearing in print rather than in manuscript as before.[6] It was then through this means that it became easier for him to follow the general and at the same time almost unavoidable intrinsic interest in the Herrnhuters which during his life never seems to have faded.

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[1] "Lebenslauf der ledigen Schwester," pp. 513-23.

[2] Ibid., p. 523. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid., pp. 527-28.

[5] This relationship is reflected in Briefe, II, 455-58 [II, 321-24].

[6] Ibid., p. 456 [II, 322].

This brings us directly to the second category of contacts which marked the life of Schleiermacher as an ex-Herrnhuter--those which rose in whole or in part out of his own continuing inner involvement with the religious community which had been his spiritual home during a formative period in his development. The interest of outsiders in the life and work of the Brethren is a factor already well known to us, and the continued involvement of one who had once lived as a part of such a community should come as no surprise. It would be indeed unusual, considering Schleiermacher's lifetime concern with theology and the church, if he had not been haunted from time to time by nostalgia for the beautiful and meaningful cultus thereof, and had he not from time to time even formed the resolution to revisit and participate in that life. This was most certainly the case with Friedrich Schleiermacher. He repeatedly expressed a desire to visit the Brethren congregations, particularly at the Easter season,[1] and upon those few occasions when time and his chronically infirm purse would allow it, he carried his intentions into practice and made a pilgrimage to the spiritual haunts of his youth.

Rather than reproducing a tiresome analysis of the numerous instances when Schleiermacher's yearning after the cultic life of the Brethren congregation made itself felt in his life and heard in his letters,[2] but one example is introduced here. There are in the life of a man with this theologian's dramatic consciousness of history and of time occasions which lead to a particularly reflective mood and to analysis of his own inner life. Such a moment for Schleiermacher occurred at the dawn of a new century and the passing of an old. It should be remembered that the first day of the nineteenth century found Schleiermacher in Berlin and at the very peak of his involvement with the Romantic movement. This indeed was intellectually one of the most exciting times of his life. More than a month after that day he wrote to Charlotte about his feelings at the turn of the century.

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[1] The last such expression came apparently just two years before his death in 1832; ibid., II, 458 [II, 324].

[2] For an almost exhaustive recounting of such events see Meyer, pp. 255-68.

> During the last night of the century my thoughts were much with you and with the congregation in general; indeed they always are, during the first hour of the new year and on the first Easter morning, being drawn towards you by the remembrance of the beautiful and most appropriate manner in which the festivals are celebrated among you. Of your illuminations, the effect of which was not, I dare say, impaired by the moonlight, I drew in my mind a most agreeable picture. Here the night was not celebrated with any solemnity; there was neither ringing of bells nor firing of cannon, and the most people made the transit while drinking, gambling, or dancing, for on all sides I heard of balls and punch parties. I had only to preach in the afternoon of New Year's Day and was therefore able to go in the morning to the cathedral, which was much fuller than usual, and where the whole court was present. Mr. Stosch, one of the chaplains in ordinary, is one of our best preachers, but on such days it is rare that any man satisfies the expectations raised, and he was not more fortunate than others. After the sermon the hymn, Te Deum laudamus, as altered by Niemeyer, was sung, and then again I thought with a sigh of the congregation. As the Te Deum is so rarely performed, nobody knew how to sing it; they were always waiting for the organ, and the voluntaries at the end of the verses, as also the repetitions, so confused the people that they were generally a verse behindhand or beforehand. Christmas joys I had none this year; at the distribution of Christmas gifts I have indeed never been present while in this place, but I was generally at the Eichmanns' early enough to see the children in their first exultation. This year, however, I did not go. How I wish I could have been in the Institute with you and S.! Such simple and natural pleasures are dearer to me than any of those that other people run after with so much eagerness.[1]

In this passage we find revealed in a straightforward statement the yearning after the cultus of the congregation which was awakened as the various milestones of the liturgical year passed, but perhaps even more revealing are the subtle indications of the young theologian's religious tastes and associations. The sentimentality and longing for quiet but intimate fellowship which he here reflects are elements which were at the very heart of the Herrnhuter's practice of religion. The loneliness of Schleiermacher which he so clearly demonstrated at that time was not a result of a lack of friends but was rather due to the absence of that completely engulfing religious fellowship which he had once known, and of which the occasion aroused his pensive recollection; it is not an exaggeration to say that Schleiermacher never did become completely acclimated to the religious environment of which he was a part after his withdrawal from Barby. Another ex-Herrnhuter summarized the case well when he said concerning his own problem that "for a runaway child of Herrnhut the shoe never ceases to pinch."[1] It was certainly this perennial longing which resulted from time to time throughout Schleiermacher's whole life in repeated intentions to visit a congregation, especially in the passion season and Holy Week. And finally it was this yearning which gave rise at least during one period of his life to his dream of creating and living in that "other retreat like the Herrnhut establishments" which he had sought upon leaving Barby and for which his heart ever continued to seek--a Herrnhut of a higher order.

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[1] Briefe, I, 264-65 [I, 252-53] (February 14, 1801).

Of the various occasions on which Schleiermacher's desire to visit the congregations of the Brethren bore fruit in action (in 1787, 1795, 1802, 1805, 1809, 1817, and 1821) only two are sufficiently known to us to justify an attempt to present the events which transpired therein. Both were visits which took place in the Easter season, the first at Gnadenfrey in 1802 and the latter at Barby in 1805. It was with relation to the 1802 visit that Schleiermacher made most of the comments upon which may be based the idea that he at one time hoped to bring into existence a religious community which would be a modified form of Herrnhut. Our discussion of this project will be postponed until later in this chapter, however, as we are concerned here only with the events of the visit itself insofar as we know them and the circumstances which surrounded that stay. Actually a reference has already been made to Schleiermacher's visit at Gnadenfrey which came at the close of his first extended stay in Berlin where he had been chaplain in the Charité hospital.

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[1] This statement was made by the philosopher Jacob Friedrich Fries after a separation of thirty-one years from the congregation; Meyer, p. 280.

In the spring of 1802 a significant era in the young theologian's life was coming to an end. In Berlin he had become thoroughly engrossed with a circle which must have been considered quite left-wing for anyone, but especially for a Reformed clergyman. He had become the roommate of Friedrich Schlegel; had become the almost constant companion of a Jewess of very advanced views, Henriette Herz; and had become romantically involved with Elenore Grunow, wife of a colleague. It will be remembered that on his mother's side Schleiermacher stemmed from a Reformed clerical family of high reputation, thus it should come as no surprise that as the situation in Berlin tended to threaten open scandal, affairs were arranged so as to remove Friedrich from the scene. Thus the chaplain in his thirties and with his early works--the Speeches on Religion and the Monologues behind him, went to take up a position as court preacher in the small Hanseatic city of Stolpe in Pomerania.[1] It was Schleiermacher's plan to depart from Berlin for Gnadenfrey as soon after Easter as possible, preferably Easter Monday.[2] Thus he arrived at Gnadenfrey for a projected visit of eight days immediately after the end of the spiritual peak of the Holy Week exercises. The primary intention of the journey, of course, was to carry out a long postponed visit to his sister who resided there as a member of the Single Sisters' Choir, but for Schleiermacher it became a great deal more. The visit which it was necessary for some undisclosed reason to extend to a period of almost two weeks[3] constitutes in a very real sense a homecoming of Schleiermacher to the Herrnhuters.

It should be recalled that this was his first immediate contact with the movement since his involvement with the Romantics; thus he came to it this time with a new set of concepts and categories. With this new intellectual armory it was possible, indeed even imperative, for the mature Schleiermacher to once again appropriate elements of the Brethren life and cultus and in a conscious manner to recognize for the first time the lasting impact of his experience among the Herrnhuters for his entire life and thought. To be sure, he had attempted to express the significance of this period of his life in his autobiography eight years earlier, but apparently only when he once more observed a Brethren congregation in action as a mature man did he become fully aware of the debt which he owed to this movement, and thus he made an effort to articulate that which he now realized. It is interesting to note that the visits of Schleiermacher to the Brethren repeatedly stimulated this response in him. In a letter to his fellow ex-Herrnhuter, Gustav von Brinkmann, more than a year later, the Stolpe court preacher recalled an attempt to speak of this debt to the wife of one of his former teachers, only to be rebuffed, and then indicates that only with his sister Charlotte was he able really to share his thoughts.[1] The younger brother Carl who was at this time already settled in Silesia as an apothecary also came to Gnadenfrey for a few days during Friedrich's visit,[2] and this appears to have been the first and perhaps the only reunion of the three children after they had parted in this very same place almost exactly nineteen years before. It was, of course, during this visit that Schleiermacher wrote the remarkable letter to Reimer in which he spoke of himself as now at last once more a Herrnhuter, only of a higher order,[3] and it was also in these days that he made his only references to the creation of a spiritualized form of the Brotherhood in a letter to Elenore Grunow.[4] There is even a strong indication that rising from this visit Schleiermacher felt a "wish once more to live among the Herrnhuters."[5] He, however, departed again for Berlin on May 4,[6] and arrived there five days later to complete his preparations to leave for Pomerania.

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[1] Probably the best picture of these events may be gained from the reading of Briefe, I, 137-299 [I, 135-288].

[2] Ibid., I, 292 [I, 281]. [3] Ibid., I, 294 [I, 283].

The 1805 visit to Barby in a sense punctuates the other end of the theologian's lonely exile in Pomerania, as it came on the first Easter after his appointment as professor and university preacher at Halle. This occasion seems to have had no object other than the renewal of acquaintances, particularly that with his old teacher and friend Brother Zembsch, who was then in his final months as Inspector in the Paedagogium.[1] In a letter written to the woman who was ultimately to become his wife, Henriette von Willich, Schleiermacher outlined his plan for the visit in the following terms:

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[1] *Ibid.*, IV, 87-88.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, 297 [I, 286].
[3] *Ibid.*, I, 294-95 [I, 283-84].
[4] Dilthey, pp. 580-82.
[5] *Briefe*, IV, 88.
[6] Dilthey, p. 580.

> And now, for a bit of news. On Wednesday next I contemplate going to Barby, to visit the Herrnhut school, where I spent three of the best years of my youth, during which my love of knowledge and religious feelings first developed themselves. At that time the school was located in a different place, which I also intend to visit on my return from Silesia, and Barby was then the seat of the Herrnhut university, to which I subsequently resorted, and at which my inner life and thoughts grew, until they burst asunder the fetters of the dead letter, and eventually drove me out of the congregation into the world. At that place I shall spend the holidays; and, if possible, I will partake of the Holy Communion with the congregation on Maundy Thursday, and remain there long enough to share in the glorious religious services of the Brotherhood on Good Friday and Easter Sunday. You may imagine what feelings and memories will throng in upon me on those occasions. They will be delightful days to me, I hope.[2]

A few weeks after his return to Halle Schleiermacher expressed himself concerning the experience and significance of those days in Barby in a way revealing not merely of his judgments but, even more important, the degree to which it was still possible for the mature theologian to respond to that capstone of the Brethren cultus, Holy Week in a settlement congregation. On May 5, 1805, Friedrich Schleiermacher wrote to his friend Charlotte von Kathen thus:

> For the Easter festival, I must tell you, I spent with the Herrnhuters in Barby. Delightful, sanctified days they were to me, full of wonderful memories and many enjoyments of the present. Formerly the seminary or university of this congregation was in Barby, and hence I went forth from the community to follow my own path, and came here to Halle, it may now be about eighteen

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[1] See "Lebenslauf des . . . Bruders Theodore Christian Zembsch" in Nachrichten aus der Brüder-Gemeine--1826 (Gnadau, 1826), pp. 619-31.

[2] Briefe, II, 21 [II, 21].

years ago. At present the Brotherhood's educational institution for boys, which was formerly in Lusatia, is located in Barby; to this my father entrusted me four-and-twenty years ago, and while there I became a member of the congregation, impelled by a true inward desire. The locality, therefore, recalled vividly to my mind the opening and the close of my career within the congregation. Even the rector of the institute, from whom I first learnt Greek and Hebrew, and who loved me like a father as long as I was under his care, was still alive; and though an old man of seventy-seven, was still active and cheerful and heartily rejoiced to see me again. Then there was the beautiful service on Good Friday, based altogether on the great idea of the atonement, and consisting of the reading of the whole history of the passion, without any sermon, and only interrupted at intervals by appropriate sacred music and a few verses of a hymn, and concluded at the hour of Christ's death with an impressive prayer.

On the Saturday was the Lovefeast at the grave of Christ and on Easter morning the celebration of the resurrection at sunrise in the churchyard. Verily, dear Charlotte, there is not throughout Christendom, in our day, a form of public worship which expresses more worthily, and awakens more thoroughly the spirit of true Christian piety, than does that of the Herrnhut Brotherhood! And while absorbed in heavenly faith and love I could not but feel deeply how far behind them we are in our church, where the poor sermon is everything, and even this is hampered by meaningless restrictions, while on the other hand, it is subject to every change in the times, and is rarely animated by a true and living spirit.

It will soon be my duty to institute divine service here, which is to present a pattern, and to act as a stimulus, to new and farspread generations of religious teachers; but how wretchedly cramped am I not as to means, and how much I deplore that I cannot transplant hither the best and most attractive elements of what I witnessed at Barby! I might have had one other gratification while there, had I ventured to ask for it. They would not have refused me permission to partake of the Lord's Supper with the congregation, but I would not ask for what I knew to be contrary to rule. Nowhere else than only there is the Holy Communion celebrated.[1] Already on Easter I accomplished the half of my homeward journey, my old rector having accompanied me a good bit beyond the town. The next morning, while moving rapidly onwards in enjoyment of the most delicious weather, and leaving the bearer of my portmanteau panting and groaning far behind me, delightful memories of the days just past blended with affectionate longing for you all, my excellent friends. While dwelling on my loneliness in the world, and on my separation from those whom I believe form the truest Christian community which exists in the outward world, I consoled myself with the thought of the secret and scattered church to

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[1] This rendering of the sentence: "Man feiert kein Abendmahl als nur dort" has been substituted for Rowan's: "Nowhere is the form of Communion so edifying as there."

> which we all belong and of the common spirit that animates us, and of our piety and our love for one another. Do you not feel, Charlotte, how I then thought of you more especially; you, the purest and most holy among us all.[1]

There is little which can or should be added to this outpouring of the theologian and educator's heart, the statements stand so clearly in relation to his position in life and to the very essence of his motivation and thought that to point here in any direction that he himself does not point would be anticlimactic. In it he was dealing with his estimate of the general cultic and ecclesiastical significance of the Brotherhood. On other occasions, and generally related in some manner with renewed observation of the congregation in action, Schleiermacher made expressions of what the Herrnhuters had meant for his own personal development. It is now to these that we turn as we examine the impact of the religious orientation, training, and experience of the youth upon the personality and work of the man.

We have already introduced what is certainly the most famous such statement, that made in a letter to George Reimer during Schleiermacher's stay in Gnadenfrey in 1802 wherein the latter points to himself as now a Herrnhuter of a higher order.[2] Yet fifteen years later we find an even more significant expression of his own view of the debt which he owed to the Brethren in his formation. On August 30, 1817, the Schleiermacher of the Glaubenslehre[3] wrote to his wife from the Herrnhut settlement of Ebersdorf in the following manner:

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[1] Ibid., II, 22-24 [II, 22-24]. [2] Supra, pp. 1 and 488.

[3] He began to write that major doctrinal work on his fiftieth birthday, a little more than a year later. Heinrich Meisner, Schleiermacher als Mensch; sein Wirken (Stuttgart: Verlag Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1923), p. 289.

> My state of mind while amid a congregation of the Brethren Unity is always very peculiar. The greater part of my youth and the decisive moment in regard to the entire development of my life, are forcibly recalled to my mind. This point of transition, however casual it may appear on the one hand, seems to me on the other to have been so strictly necessary, that I cannot at all conceive myself without it. And though it would be quite impossible for me to live within the timid limitations of a congregation of the Brethren, the quiet simple life that reigns there makes such a refreshing impression on me, when contrasted with the noisy vanities of the world, that I cannot help feeling and thinking, that were these communities to be reorganized and modified in accordance with the spirit of the times, they might be converted into delightful and most enviable places of abode.[1]

This statement, when related with the observations and judgments which he made in 1802, demonstrates that although his renewed presence in the congregation did much to stimulate his introspection and reflection, Schleiermacher's conscious judgment of the profound formative influence of the Brethren upon his personality and thought was one which maintained itself with consistency throughout his adult life. Indeed this judgment was founded upon a remarkable degree of intellectual and emotional self-knowledge and upon an immediate observation of his own inner responses to renewed contacts with the environment in which he first "awoke to the consciousness of the relations of man to a higher world" and where "that mystical tendency developed itself" which he thanked for having carried him "through all the storms of scepticism."[2] In short, it was as he came into contact once more with it that he was moved to recognize the Brotherhood and confess it to others as in the highest sense his spiritual homeland.

We now must turn to several features of the adult Schleiermacher which may be recognized as in whole or in part stemming from his youthful experience as a Herrnhuter. In this analysis the theologian himself will be of considerable assistance since the mystical approach to reality which was to become one with his Romantic outlook is not the only feature of his world view whose origin he was to trace to Herrnhut. If one is to take seriously the contention of Dilthey that Schleiermacher filled a role in modern German intellectual history which was parallel with that of Plato in Greek thought,[1] and if we wish at the same time to come to an insight relative to this ex-Herrnhuter's genius for intellectual systematizing, there is one particular observation which he made concerning himself that is of great value to us. In a letter written in December of 1803 to his fellow exile from Herrnhut, Gustav von Brinkmann, a Swedish diplomat and poet, Schleiermacher recounted his futile efforts to express to the wife of a former teacher at Niesky what his experience as a Herrnhuter had meant to him. At that time the central point which he had unsuccessfully attempted to get across was summarized in the following manner:

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[1] Briefe, II, 331 [II, 267].

[2] Ibid., I, 294-95 [I, 283].

> When I was in Silesia a year and a half ago I desired very much to address myself with Tschiersky about how much it is worth to me to have been in the congregation and my wish was to confess myself to her just as openheartedly as you have done with the excellent Zembsch.[2] Only she behaved toward me very stubbornly, refusing to hear and to believe, and it was impossible for me to see enough of her to overcome this attitude. She wanted to reduce everything to good learning and the protection against evil; and yet this was obviously the least significant. I could not even get so far with her that I could make her realize how much it would be worth that one should early learn to view the world from a single idea; but she thought that this could be of little profit if one subsequently abandoned the idea. Here I should have pressed my confession of faith concerning the actual esoteric of the Saviour and the congregation, if I had had time.[3]

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[1] See particularly Dilthey, pp. 191-217 and 588-604.

[2] Gammert, pp. 32-47, gives the full text of the letter written in 1803.

[3] Briefe, IV, 87.

Schleiermacher then launched into his discourse concerning the Esoterische and Exoterische in the Brotherhood which has been utilized in our discussion of Brethren theology above.[1]

The point toward which we are directing our attention here, however, is the fact that Schleiermacher traces his ability to conceive the world on a grand or total scale to the conscious practice and ideal of the Brethren that all life and reality should be viewed from the dedication to a single principle, or, for them, reality; namely, the Saviour and his church. We have seen how the whole massive structure of piety among the Herrnhuters was governed by their basic calling to be the congregation of Christ.[2] It was to this and to his early involvement therein during "decisive years" of his life[3] that Schleiermacher pointed as the place of origin for his own subsequent conceptual and systematizing ability. Even if he finally abandoned the principle which stood at the center of the world for the Herrnhuters, he did, nevertheless, gain with them the ability to reduce his world to singleness and simplicity. It might properly be said that what the Brethren did in practice by their approach to life, world, church, nature, indeed to all creation and salvation, from a position of true monastic simplicity--in short, seeing all through Christ and the Apostles, Schleiermacher carried with the same degree of thoroughness into the world of thought, producing for the first time a truly "systematic" Protestant theology based upon a cogent and thoroughly applied world view. This is not to imply that Schleiermacher is unique in emerging with such a comprehensive theological approach to all reality, for we must certainly in such a matter always point to Thomas of Aquino, a product of that movement in many ways remarkably similar to the Brethren--the Order of Preachers, known as Dominicans.[1]

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[1] Supra, p. 424.

[2] Supra, pp. 51-55.

[3] "Früher aber sehr entscheidender Jahr"; Briefe, I, 297 [I, 286] (May 19, 1802).

In the very same letter to Brinkmann Schleiermacher pointed to yet another and certainly no less significant personal accomplishment or capacity for which he thanked the Brethren. I refer here to the psychological perception which lent an intrinsic validity to his analysis and reconstruction of the religious factor in human experience and in reality. It was this perception which contributed the human insight absolutely essential to a truly great preacher and furnished the capacity for understanding and empathy which is indispensable to a genuinely liberal human being. Schleiermacher's self-judgment in this matter **which** was so vital to the validity of his other judgments of himself was disclosed thus:

> There are many men who as a matter of fact have no mean capacity but yet are not in the position to discover the truly inner in another man. This is the reason why we are often not so well understood by people who are of some worth to us as we wish, and why our talent of understanding must appear to us as somewhat distinctive if we would be honest. Insofar as one can attribute something inner to outward circumstances I believe that we can always in this matter attribute something to the reckoning of the congregation. The early practice of looking into oneself (In sich selbst schauen) and in such detail as it is almost nowhere else possible, certainly forms the most mature observer of man.[2]

The intention here is not to trace Schleiermacher's rather rare perception of human motivation and emotion to this single influence, for certainly there were many Herrnhuters and only one Schleiermacher, but against the background of our study of the inner workings of a Brethren congregation it would be surprising if a person of his basic sensitivity had not emerged from involvement therein with a keen ability to look both within his own heart and into the hearts of others.

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[1] See discussion in J.J. Pelikan, The Riddle of Roman Catholicism (New York: Abingdon Press, 1959), pp. 227-30.

[2] **Briefe**, IV, 87.

Closely related to Schleiermacher's ability to, as it were, feel his own feelings is the matter which was discussed at the conclusion of the last chapter when an effort was made to see the biographical connections between the psychological-religious factor of feeling (Gefühl) among the Brethren and that which characterized Schleiermacher's subsequent religious thought. Gefühl for the Herrnhuter and for Schleiermacher were far from the same thing. But the relationship exists between them and it is vitally tied up with the religious experience of the young theologian inside and outside the Brotherhood.[1]

Perhaps more important than any other area in which Schleiermacher's life and thought were shaped by his experience as a Herrnhuter was that relating to his over-all conception of religion. It is strikingly evident that as a Herrnhuter Schleiermacher became thoroughly acquainted with what might be called a total expression of religion, and if we are to believe his later reflections, he never quite got over it. One may well say that his most influential contribution to the queen of sciences was the reintroduction of religion at its heart, as the essence of its method.[2] For this task, although he utilized the intellectual tools of the Romantics and their forerunners in the process, he first of all brought to bear in and through those intellectual tools and structures his own experience of the reality of religion, a reality which he had "empirically" appropriated in the Brotherhood and was never to lose.[1] Perhaps this type of indirect application of his experience among the Herrnhuters is best to be seen in Schleiermacher's concept of the religious community--the church. Even as the Gemeine was a central doctrine for the Brethren and lay at the very heart of their practice of piety, so was it also one of Schleiermacher's most creative and vital doctrines. We have already observed the use of an organic concept of the church at work as a part of the first principle of Herrnhut. In the theology of Schleiermacher this corporate concept which had been founded on rather literal Scriptural grounds by the Brethren was for the first time in the modern period given a respectable intellectual dress as the general concept of "corporate life" (Gesamtleben) which had been drawn by the Romantics from Shaftesbury by way of Herder and Goethe was applied to the doctrine of the church.[2] The creativity of Schleiermacher in working out this organic concept with its exquisite balance between the individual and the communal is certainly not to be questioned, but neither may we overlook the ubiquity of this figure of the church as the body or image of Christ in Brethren preaching,[3] and even more important, its application in the declared principles of the congregations and in every provision of their structure.[4]

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[1] Supra, pp. 555-57.

[2] Dilthey, pp. 587-88.

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[1] Hirsch, IV, 496.

[2] See the valuable little monograph, Hans Reuter, Zu Schleiermachers Idee des "Gesamtlebens" (Berlin: Trowitzsch und Sohn, 1914); also Schleiermacher, On Religion, Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers, trans. John Oman (New York: Harper, 1958), pp. 146-209.

[3] This theme appears to have enjoyed particular popularity during the 1780's. See for example "Gemein Nachrichten" (1783), II. Theil, 11. Woche: "Rede in der Gemeinstunde d. Sten Merz"; and 33. Woche: "Rede und Gebet in der Früh-Versammlung d. 13ten Aug."

[4] Supra, pp. 51-52.

Although the traces of his experience as a brother are to be found at various and rather widespread places in his life and thought, there is no area where they are more overtly apparent than in his practical concern for the life of the church in his own time. In a nation where theologians have traditionally taken an active hand in church life, Schleiermacher stands out among the most exemplary in such participation. A consistent underlying theme and motivation in the churchly activities of this theologian was furnished by his experience of the kind of religious fellowship which the Herrnhut congregations offered--an experience which led him to the judgments which have already been introduced that these congregations "form the truest Christian community which exists in the outward world," and that "there is not throughout Christendom, in our day, a form of public worship which expressed more worthily, and awakens more thoroughly the spirit of true Christian piety, than does that of the Herrnhut Brotherhood."[1] Nowhere in his public writings, however, does this ideal and an attempt to apply it come so clearly into focus as it does in his Zwei unvorgreifliche Gutachten in sachen des Protestantischen Kirchenwesens zünachst in Beziehung auf den prussischen Staat[2] written during his exile at Stolpe and published in 1804. In this work Schleiermacher makes concrete proposals first for the unification of the Lutheran and Reformed churches in Prussia and secondly for the overcoming of the much lamented decline of religion (particularly of church attendance) which was then being experienced in Germany. Those ardent opponents of the Brethren who were certainly not difficult to find in this period must certainly have tired of hearing of the exemplary excellence of the Herrnhuters--the evangelische Brüdergemeine--long before they had finished reading this piece.

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[1] Supra, p. 575.

[2] In Friedrich Schleiermacher's sämmtliche Werke, erste Abtheilung, Zur Theologie (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1846), V, 41-156.

In this the first work in which Schleiermacher took up the cudgels in a practical fashion for church unity in Germany, a project which followed him throughout his life, it is to the Brethren that he points as those "from whom there is yet much of excellence that is to be learned."[1] He introduces the example of the Herrnhuters particularly with regard to a tolerant attitude toward intercommunion, pointing out that

> Lutherans and Reformed who belong to this community have a common communion without there needing to be any discussion of an alteration in confession of faith. In this matter (and thank God in all others) each person forgets to which confession he belongs. Yet the Brethren Unity is seen as genuinely Lutheran in Saxony and other lands and every individual who leaves that constitution or stops in a place where there is no Brethren congregation communes then once more with the congregations of his confession again without need for any talk of a change.[2]

Here is to be observed in action the origin of certain influences of Pietism upon the unionist movement in Prussia, and although feelings were doubtless not so strong at this time, certainly two decades later this argument alone would have been adequate to throw the "ächt lutherisch" character of the Brethren into question. It should be distinguished here, however, that neither Schleiermacher nor the Brethren are in this proposing a theological reduction but rather a celebration of Christian unity which transcends confessional differences. The reduction was a by-product, perhaps even a necessary one, given the situation and history of German Protestantism. But as we should have expected from Schleiermacher's evaluations of the Herrnhuters that have already been introduced, as well as his continued spiritual involvement with that fellowship, it was in his suggestions for the improvement of the cultus in order to overcome the decline in religion that this churchman's strongest Brethren sympathies, indeed even longings, emerge. Throughout the whole section on the improvement of worship Schleiermacher reflects strongly the ideal which he is attempting to adapt to the situations in the German state churches as he knew them.[1] There are, however, several points at which the application of his ideal is particularly striking and even overtly stated. There can be little doubt that he is thinking of the rich liturgical year among the Herrnhuters when he proposes a multiplication of religious festivals in the state church, and indeed he goes so far as to introduce the idea of Choir Festivals as a matter in which "the already frequently praised Brethren Unity" is also "to be envied."[2] The idea of a Children's Hour as celebrated among the Brethren is also to be seen as the model on which the young churchman proposes to design a special preaching service for the children after withdrawing them from the too early attendance at the regular Sunday sermon which was neither designed for them, nor understandable by them.[3] The most striking applications of the Brethren cultus are to be found in Schleiermacher's comments about the celebration of the Holy Communion and, almost inevitably, church music.

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[1] Ibid., p. 76.

[2] Ibid.

After depicting the indifferent and sparsely attended Communion services of city parishes and the exhausting celebrations in country congregations Schleiermacher went on to suggest what he thought the Eucharist should be like.

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[1] It should be noted that despite the superscription of this work, Schleiermacher did not intend that his proposals should be restricted to Prussia alone, but were meant for the whole of Germany.

[2] Ibid., p. 125.

[3] Ibid., p. 126.

> To the Holy Communion itself should on each occasion be dedicated its own assembly. The celebration should be seldom and a significant portion of the congregation should participate. A ritual should be introduced which is more conducive to the rest and quiet which is so suitable to the character of the rite and which at the same time will ease the bodily exertions of the preacher. The perfect model would here also certainly be the Brethren; only the chief aim could probably be reached without departing so far from past customs.[1]

Here the use of Brethren cultus as a paradigm is not merely obvious but is conscious and positively affirmed.

First place among the "brotherly" wishes of Schleiermacher with relation to the church that was his during the latter part of his life must, however, be given to that element which was also given first place in our discussion of the Brethren cultus itself and which more than any other feature constitutes the unique character of the Herrnhuters' liturgical tradition--music, particularly congregational song. Of the three components into which he divides worship in his discussion in this work--song, discourse, and prayer--this was the first and most thoroughly and sympathetically treated. It is unmistakably Schleiermacher the spiritual Herrnhuter who is speaking as we read:

> In consideration of what one could utilize in the cities to awaken a sense and desire for the introduction of song and little by little reach true religious singing one could point to the almost universally used church music on festival days. Here the preacher, if he is on a friendly footing with the musical director, and is not afraid of the bother, has the best opportunity, partly to compose religious verses if he has the necessary talent, and partly to utilize ancient and modern hymns which are not contained in the collection used by the congregation. Only the congregation must not merely be inactive listeners, but the music should be frequently interrupted by individual stanzas set to familiar church tunes in order to bind the artistic singers and the congregation in a liturgical-musical whole.
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> Neither may the church music be a mere by-product and the usual lame singing allowed to destroy the beautiful impression

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

> of a purposefully thought out and well executed music but, in order the more to honor it, it must be made the object of its own meetings, completely separate from spoken discourse, with which at the most prayer could be combined.[1]

With relation to the writing and application of religious poetry in song, however, the would-be reformer leaves absolutely no doubt as to the origin of his suggestions. In dealing with the deplorable poverty of his own times in true religious expression through poetry and hymn writing he had in the course of the discussion come around to some of the problems of adapting Catholic hymnody to use in Protestant worship about which his feelings were rather negative. Here Schleiermacher introduces his own suggestion:

> Nearer to us lies . . . the song of small Protestant churches, for example the old Bohemian and Moravian Church, or more recently the Evangelical Brethren Unity. That in the latter the execution of communal religious song has been especially developed and is significant at a level to be found nowhere else is granted without reservation by anyone who has merely had the opportunity to attend a gathering of a well organized congregation of this church. This in itself is enough to assure us that they are on the right path with religious poetry. Their advantage, however, reveals itself even more certainly in that they have worked song into a position of independence, and it serves not only as a setting for the spoken discourse, but is alone the object of whole assemblies. Their Singing Hours (_Singstunden_) in which verses from various songs are arranged into a single whole--and under an accomplished arranger even the variation of melodies brings forth a musical impression well measured to the poetry--make a tremendous religious effect, and such a service is worth more than many beautiful sermons. Yet the prospect of introducing the like in our public worship is all too faint, and futile wishes only trouble the heart.[2]

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 121-22.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 108-109. At this point Schleiermacher introduced in a footnote a rather technical evaluation of Brethren hymnody which is included here: "In relation to content the song of these congregations stand in bad repute. For the most part this indeed rests upon such songs as they themselves have not adopted in their own cultic gatherings. Even in these songs is, however, much dalliance with the wounds of Christ which has so little symbolic sense, and which here will be just as little defended as the immoderate and in part incorrect use of the Biblical figures of Christ as the Sacrificial Lamb and as Bridegroom of the church--although the latter figures are themselves very meaningful and it would be a great shame if Christian poesy had to dispense with them. All this does not,

Thus did the ex-Herrnhuter reveal both his hopes for the church of which he was a minister and the heart-troubled longing toward the semi-monastic fellowship which he could neither forget nor again become a part of. This yearning, however, gave rise to an even more extensive wish or dream than that revealed in his suggestions for reform of the Prussian church, and finally to a quality of life which followed him to the end of his days, both of which give us new insight into what Schleiermacher was as a "Herrnhuter of a higher order."

We have already taken note of Friedrich Schleiermacher's desire even upon leaving Barby to find another retreat like that of Herrnhut.[1] His subsequent longing once more to become a part of that fellowship has also been noted, but always with a simultaneous recognition of the impossibility of avoiding hypocrisy on the one side and offense on the other.[2] It was doubtless this dilemma which gave rise during his visit at Gnadenfrey in 1802 to a dream which he then revealed to Elenore Grunow in two letters, only one of which is still extant. It should be remembered that this idea was from precisely the same time as were his comments to Reimer concerning his spiritual return at last to Herrnhut. Because of

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however, hinder us from being able to borrow from this collection a large number of the most powerful songs and verses for our use with only slight modification. In these also would be handled the actual sinful situation of man without exaggeration in a genuine Christian spirit. Indeed even from those which we could not adopt, partly from the causes touched on, partly because they deal only with the unique state of the community, much is to be learned concerning the manner of dealing with religious ideas in song."

[1] Supra, p. 558.

[2] Briefe, IV, 88; "Ich gestehe Dir gern, der Brüder unmässiger Anhangen an ihrem Exoterischen und meine eigne Unfahigkeit, unter dieser Bedingung zwischen der Heuchelei und dem Anstoss durchzukommen, ist das Einzige was meinen Wunsch einmal wieder unter den Herrnhutern zu leben zurückhält." (To Brinkmann, December 14, 1803.) Ibid.

the deeply revelatory character of that remaining letter, a substantial portion of it is introduced here. On the evening of May 3, 1802, the eve both of Charlotte's celebration of Choir Festival and of Friedrich's proposed departure from Gnadenfrey, the young Romantic wrote:

> Let me tell you of a lonely half hour which I had this evening. Lotte left me at seven o'clock to attend another worship service; I went out to enjoy the beautiful evening. . . . I turned in at the Gottesacker and with my gaze directed towards Gnadenfrey I thought on that of which I recently wrote to you, that if I could idealize this society there is nowhere that I might rather live with you. I depicted to myself the great world with all its charms and, because there is so much of truth in me, all that upon which my fanity fawns, but I nevertheless felt that I had not lied to myself and you. I thought of Jette [Henrietta Herz], and it seemed to me as if she too must also share such a life. The Gottesacker lay also on the slope of a hill, surrounded by a hedge and planted with several rows of trees which have not the heart to prosper between human corpses. On the one side lay the sisters, on the other the brothers, just as they sit in the Prayer Hall. Each grave has a gravestone which, however contains no epitaph but only a notice. I must smile over the stones of the great nobles. I do not idealize these men, who had been brought hither uneducated, narrow, knowing little of the universe, and in the seeking out of the godly and ungodly merely going into the minutest detail of the human soul. So certainly they yet had the sense which held the world together and if they did not know much of the good, and perhaps would have timidly thrown it away, at the same time they would still have loved no evil. Peace be with them, thought I, they may now know more and be better; and thus I passed between the graves. From the Gottesacker a beautiful avenue of lindens led into the settlement nearly up to my dwelling. It struck eight o'clock; I sat down on a bench in the avenue and thought that now Lotte was celebrating the Footwashing with her sisters. I thought of the beautiful symbol--in my church it must not be lacking--of the humility, and of you. I would also wash your feet and you should then bend down and kiss my forehead.[1]

To our knowledge he never again spoke thus, but then, "futile wishes only trouble the heart," and it is a rare man who can speak of that which is nearest to the heart even once. The reverberations of this powerful dream are, however, to be traced in the other expressions that he from time to time made of his loneliness in the world, of his desire for the quiet, simple, withdrawn life. In writing to his wife from Ebersdorf fifteen years later Schleiermacher still reflected this wish. We have already heard his pensive statement that "though it is quite impossible for me to live within the timid limitations of a congregation of the Brethren, the quiet simple life that reigns there makes such a refreshing impression on me when contrasted with the noisy vanities of the world, that I cannot help feeling and thinking, that were these communities to be reorganized and modified in accordance with the spirit of the times, they might be converted into delightful and most enviable places of abode."[1] But here the now more realistic dreamer goes on to express what he considered a less futile wish. "Dear heart," he wrote,

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[1] Dilthey, pp. 580-82; this letter is not included in Schleiermacher's Briefe, but is rather interestingly the note with which Dilthey ends the first and ultimately the only volume of his Leben Schleiermachers.

> there can hardly be happier people in the world than we may ever be if we can but keep sufficiently aloof from the world, and learn to bear cheerfully the petty annoyances of life. And I trust we shall day by day succeed better in so doing. When I consider how much wiser we have already grown, and how much better I have become through you, I despair of nothing that may still lie before us. God bless you and strengthen you.[2]

Thus he spoke in 1817 when his life which he had characterized in contrast to that of his sister in the Choir House with the statement, "I am in constant movement but not, as you say of yourself, like a pendulum, but like a hunted hare,"[3] had reached its most perplexing point. It can only be imagined how this desire to withdraw from the world must have heightened in the several years which followed as the liberal movement of which he was so enthusiastically a part came under the attack of the reactionary forces which gained power in 1819, and the famous professor and teacher was from day to day in constant fear of arrest or worse.[1] The fact that he did not withdraw from the world as he was tempted to do is perhaps the greatest testimony to the moral integrity of one of the most ethical men in ecclesiastical history.

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[1] Briefe, II, 331 [II, 267].

[2] Ibid., II, 332 [II, 267-68]. [3] Ibid., I, 285 [I, 296].

The fact that Schleiermacher's spiritual roots in the Brotherhood continued to mark life to its very end may probably best be seen by an examination of that very event--the death of a Herrnhuter. His widow furnishes us with an account of his last hours not unlike those which are to be read in the "Gemein Nachrichten" by the hundreds. In this account we read:

> The last morning his sufferings greatly increased. He complained of excessive internal heat, and the first and the last murmur escaped his lips in the words: "Lord, I suffer much!" His features assumed entirely the character of death, the death film spread over his eyes, the death struggle had been fought. He then placed his two fingers on his eye, as was his habit when reflecting deeply, and began to speak.
>
> "I have never clung to the dead letter, and we have the atoning death of Jesus Christ, his body and his blood. I have ever believed, and still believe, that the Lord Jesus gave the Communion in water and in wine." [He had been expressly forbidden to take wine.]
>
> While saying this he raised himself up, his countenance lighted up, his voice became clear and strong. He then asked with priestly solemnity: "Do you agree with me in this belief, that the Lord Jesus consecrated the water also that was in the wine?" to which we replied with a loud yes! "Then let us take the Communion: the wine for you, the water for me," he added solemnly; "but there is no time to fetch G.;[2] quick! quick! Let no one take offense at the form." The necessary thing having been brought in while we waited in solemn silence, an expression of heavenly rapture spread over his features, a strange lustre shone in his eyes, a look of beaming love fell upon us all and after a few devout words of prayer, he commenced the holy ceremony. He first gave me the bread, then each of the other persons present, and lastly himself, pronouncing each time in a

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[1] The assassination of Kotzebue on March 23, 1819 and the reactionary response to that event struck very close to Schleiermacher, keeping his life in constant uproar for more than a decade.

[2] The clergyman.

> distinct voice, the words, "take eat," etc. So loud, indeed was his voice, that the children, who were kneeling at the door of the adjoining room, heard him quite plainly.
>
> In like manner he gave to each the wine with the usual words; then addressing himself likewise, he took the water, and then said: "On these words of the Scripture I rely, they are the foundation of my faith." After he had pronounced the blessing, his eyes turned once more to me with a look full of love, and he said, "In this love and communion we are, and ever will remain united." He sank back on his pillow. The expression of heavenly rapture still dwelt on his countenance. After some minutes he said--"Now I can no longer remain here"; and in a little while he added--"Place me in another position." We placed him on his side. He breathed heavily several times and life was gone. In the meanwhile the children had come and were kneeling round his bed. His eyes closed gradually.[1]

It is obvious that Schleiermacher had not been the only one in his household who in those last years had deeply inbibed the contents of the Gemein Nachrichten.

The final seal was placed on the brotherly nature of his last hours when a feature which was not the general custom was included in Schleiermacher's burial procession. He was accompanied to his last resting place by a trombone choir, a fact which led his friend, Brother Theodore Dober, Brethren Preacher in Berlin, to report: "Thus then has Schleiermacher in this respect been buried as a Brother."[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, II, 512-13 [II, 337-39]. Schleiermacher died February 12, 1834.

[2] Meyer, p. 267.

APPENDIX A

LITURGIES

LITANIES OF THE CHILDREN NO. 3[1]

T. 519[2]
All - Most holy Lord and God,
Boys - Holy almighty God,
Girls- Holy and most merciful Saviour,
All - Thou eternal God!
Lamb of God unspotted,
To our pray'rs O lend an ear,
Have mercy, O Lord!

T. 235
Here are we children poor and mean,
O make us thine and wash us clean,
Grant, that both soul and body may
Thy merits share from day to day!
Till we shall with the Church above
United to praise redeeming love.
Amen.

T. 22.b.

B. - 1. Thy blest humanity on earth
Shows us our human nature's worth;
G. - Grant, that thy childhood may impart
True child-like joy to ev'ry heart.

B. - 2. From year to year--whilst we increase
In stature--may we grow in grace,
G. - In learning and obedience too
May we thy blessed path pursue.

T. 22.d.
B. - 3. Thy bloody sweat and agony
Fill us with fervent love to thee,
G. - Thy thorny crown, thy cross and pain
Our glory, joy, and strength remain.

A. - 4. Yea, with thy death, O Lamb of God,
With thy blest wounds and precious blood,
With all thy suff'rings and distress,
Us, thy poor Children, ever bless.

---

[1] *Litanies for the Choirs in the Congregations of the United Brethren* (revised and enlarged; London: 1793), pp. 7-9.

[2] "T. 519," etc., refers to the tune number in Gregor, *Choral-Buch*.

T.22.e.

5. Thus will our infant tongues record
The death and suff'rings of our Lord,
That thou, who diest in our stead,
Art God, by whom all things are made.

6. Thee, gracious Lord, we now implore,
To manifest thyself still more,
And thus to teach us by degrees,
To live a life of happiness.

G. - 7. May we thy mind still better know,
B. - May we in grace and knowledge grow,
A. - And learn all that, whereby we may
Adorn thy doctrine ev'ry way.

T.22.1.

8. By day and night our steps direct,
And soul and body, Lord, protect
From ev'ry thing, that grieveth thee,
Or unto us might hurtful be.

9. Impart to us each needful good,
A heart, besprinkled with thy blood,
Thankful and wholly giv'n to thee
For thy soul's bitter agony.

T. 235

O may we ever feel thee near,
And be employ'd in praise and pray'r,
In feeble accents we'll proclaim
The glories of thy saving name.
Amen.

THE CHURCH LITANY[1]

Kyrie,	ELEISON![2]
Christe,	ELEISON!
Kyrie,	ELEISON!
Christe,	HEAR US!

Lord God, our Father, which art in heaven,

HALLOWED BE THY NAME: THY KINGDOM COME; THY WILL BE DONE ON EARTH, AS IT IS IN HEAVEN; GIVE US THIS DAY OUR DAILY BREAD; AND FORGIVE US OUR TRESPASSES, AS WE FORGIVE THEM THAT TRESPASS AGAINST US; AND LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION; BUT DELIVER US FROM EVIL.

Chor. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever.

AMEN.

(Immanuel,)[3] Son, thou Saviour of the world!
OWN US TO BE THINE.

Chor: O my Lord most faithful!
Give me what thou'st merited,
And I'm rich and thankful.

Lord God, Holy Ghost!
ABIDE WITH US FOR EVER!

Chor: Give thy folk one mind ev'ry where,
And teach our needy souls by faith
T' enjoy the merits of Christ's death.

Our Lord Christ Jesus!
BE GRACIOUS UNTO US!
O thou God and Father of the church![4]

---

[1] This translation, except for the sections in parentheses or where otherwise noted, is taken from Swertner, No. 740, pp. 221-30 (subsequently noted as "E."). All alterations or adjustments have been made on the basis of the German text and arrangement found in Gregor, Gesangbuch, No. 1464, pp. 706-715 (subsequently noted as "G."). The petitions in common type, unless otherwise indicated, are read by the Liturgist, and those in capitals by the Congregation; the Kyrie Eleison and the portions marked for Choir, Congregation, etc., are generally sung.

[2] The Kyrie Eleison is translated in E.

[3] E. reads "Lord God, Son," etc.

[4] "Gemeine," or congregation.

PRESERVE US IN THY LOVE!
Thou Searcher of the hearts, God Holy Ghost!
MAINTAIN THY TEMPLE IN SANCTIFICATION AND HONOR!

Chor. Most Holy Blessed Trinity!
Br. We praise thee to eternity.
Sr. We praise thee to eternity.
Cong. We praise thee to eternity.

Cong. Thou slaughter'd Lamb, our God and Lord,
To needy pray'rs thine ear afford,
And on us all have mercy!

From all coldness to thy merits and death,
From all error and misunderstanding,
From all loss of our glory in thee,
From unhappily becoming great,
From self-complacency,
From untimely projects,
From needless cares,
From confusions,
From light-minded or dark fanaticism,
From tumult and sedition
From war and blood shedding,
From distress by fire and water,
From (hail)[1] and tempest,
From plague, pestilence, and famine,
From the murdering spirit and devices of satan,
From the wicked world,
From all hypocrisy,
From the deceitfulness of sin,
From sins unto death,[2]
From all sin,
PRESERVE US, GRACIOUS LORD AND GOD!

Cong. Lord, thou hast reassum'd thy throne,
Yet thou art present with thy own;
Preserve us all from sin henceforth,
And from all mis'ry of this earth.

With thy human birth,
With thy holy circumcision,
With thy (meritorious)[3] tears,
With all the troubles of thy life,
With thy great poverty,
With thy having been in the form of a servant,
With thy being despised and rejected,
With thy sickliness and dolorous look,
With thy temptations,

---

[1] "Hagel," lightning, is substituted in E.

[2] E. cites I John 5:16. It should be noted that E. is much more liberal in making Scriptural citations than is G. G. has been followed in this matter in the text.

[3] "Deine verdienstlichen Thränen," rendered in E. as "thy prayers and tears."

With thy perplexity in the garden,
With thine agony and bloody sweat,
With thy bonds and scourgings, and all that thou hast endured,
With thy crown of thorns,
With thy blessed cross,
With thy sacred wounds,
With thy inestimable blood,
With thy meritorious death,
With thy coming again to thy church, or our being called home to thee,
COMFORT US, GRACIOUS LORD AND GOD!

Cong. Most holy Lord and God!
Holy, almighty God!
Holy and most merciful Saviour!
Thou eternal God!
Grant that we may never
Lose the comforts from thy death!
Have mercy, O Lord!

With all the merits of thy life,
BLESS US, GRACIOUS LORD AND GOD!
With thy child-like obedience,
With thy diligence at work,
With thy meekness and humility,
With thy watching and fasting,
With thy powerful intercession,[1]
With thy dying words,
With thy rest in the grave,
With thy (holy)[2] resurrection,
With the last days of the Son of man,
With thy victorious ascension,
With thy sitting on the Father's throne,
With thy holy sacraments,
With thy gracious presence,[3]
BLESS US, GRACIOUS LORD AND GOD!
WE POOR SINNERS PRAY,
HEAR US, GRACIOUS LORD AND GOD!
Rule and lead thy holy christian church;[4]
Increase the knowledge of the mystery of Christ, and diminish misapprehensions;
Teach us how to receive those that are weak in faith (and do not allow consciences to be perplexed);[5]
Make the word of the cross universal among all those who are called by thy name;

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[1] Reference is here made to the so-called "High-Priestly Prayer" of Jesus in John 17, but is noted neither in E. nor in G.

[2] "Heiligen," rendered in E. as "glorious."

[3] E. cites Matt. 28:20.

[4] "Christliche Kirche."

[5] The clause, "und die Gewissen nicht verwirren lassen," is not translated in E.

(Unite and bring together the scattered children of God),[1]
Abide their only shepherd, high-priest, and Saviour;
Send faithful laborers into thy harvest;
Give spirit and power to preach thy word;
Preserve unto us the word of reconciliation till the end of days,[2]
And through the Holy Ghost daily glorify (thy merits and wounds).

Chor. That we thy sacraments and word
May to our end keep pure, O Lord!

Prevent or destroy all designs and schemes of satan,
Fight our battles against him, and defend us against his accusation
For the sake of that peace which we have with thee, may we . . .[3] live peaceably with all men.
Grant us to bless them that curse us,
And to do good to them that hate us;
We pray thee to have mercy upon our slanderers and persecutors, and not to lay that sin to their charge;
Hinder schisms and scandals;
Put far from thy people all seducers;[4]
Bring back all that have been seduced;
Grant love and unity to all our congregations.[5]

Cong. In Jesu's love and peace,
On earth's extended face,
Dwell our congregations:
Both here and o'er the seas,
We raise our supplications,
That the God of grace
All of us may bless,
Till the end of days.

Give thy people constant victory against the enemies of thy person, cross and wounds;
Help us blessedly to execute thy last will; (John 17)
HEAR US, GRACIOUS LORD AND GOD!

---

[1] "Die Zerstreueten Kinder Gottes vereinigen und zusammen bringen" is translated, "Unite all the children of God in one spirit," in E., and John 11:52 is cited.

[2] "Dein Verdienst und Wunden täglich verklären" is translated, "daily glorify the merits of thy life, sufferings, and death," in E.

[3] The words translated "as much as lieth in us" are not in G. Rom. 12:18 is cited in E.

[4] The reference here is to "seducers" with false doctrine (Verführer).

[5] "Gemeinen."

Thou Light and Consolation of all the Gentiles[1]
Watch over thy messengers both by land and sea;
Accompany the word of their testimony, concerning thy blood, with spirit and fire;
Bless our congregations gathered from among the heathen;
Preserve them as the apple of thine eye,

Chor. From satan's vile temptations,
Or lying accusations,
Preserve them, gracious Lord and God!

As thou hast visited the Negroes (and Savages),[2] so visit all other heathen;
HEAR US, GRACIOUS LORD AND GOD!

Chor. O praise the Lord, all ye heathen!
Cong. Praise him, all ye nations!

Deliver the people of Israel from their blindness;[3]
Bring yet many of them to the saving knowledge of thee;
Until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in, and so all Israel shall be saved;[4]
O that Ishmael also might live before thee! (Gen. 17:18, 20)
HEAR US, GRACIOUS LORD AND GOD!
Give to thy people tents to dwell in, and open doors to preach thy gospel,
And set them to thy praise on earth;
Grant all overseers, pastors, and ministers of the church, soundness of doctrine, and holiness of life, and preserve them therein;
Sprinkle all those who minister in the sanctuary;
Help all elders to rule well, especially those that labor in the word and doctrine;[5]
Keep our episcopacy precious before thee, to feed the church[6] of God, which thou hast purchased with thine own blood;
Bless and protect the nursing-fathers and nursing-mothers[7] of thy church,[8] together with their ministers;[9]

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[1] "Heiden," better translated "heathen."

[2] In place of "und Wilden," E. substitutes the more specific "Greenlanders, Indians, and Esquimaux."

[3] E. cites Rom 11:25. [4] E. cites Rom. 11:25, 26.

[5] E. cites I Tim. 5:17.

[6] "Gemeine Gottes"; E. cites Acts 20:28.

[7] "Die Pfleger und Säugammen," thus actually "the male nurses and wet nurses."

[8] "Kirche."

[9] "Gehülfen" or helpers, not to be confused with any particular clerical order; Is. 59:23 is cited in E.

Watch graciously over all kings, princes, and governments, and hear
our intercessions for them all;[1]
Guide and protect the magistrates of the land wherein we dwell,[2] and all that are put in authority under them,[3]
That we may lead under them a quiet and peaceable life in all
godliness and honesty!

HEAR US, GRACIOUS LORD AND GOD!

Teach us to submit ourselves to every ordinance of man for
thy sake,[4]
And to seek the peace of the places where we dwell;
Grant them blessing and prosperity;
Let this earth be like a field which the Lord blesseth;
Give peace and salvation, O God, to thy land, and to all orders
of men therein!

HEAR US, GRACIOUS LORD AND GOD!

They that go down to the sea in ships, they see thy wonders![5]
Bless and protect our brethren and sisters who travel by land
or sea.

Cong. Command thy angel, Lord that he
Watch o'er thy flock by land and sea.

Care also for the necessities of the church;[6]
And bless our table service; (Acts 6:1, 2, 3).[7]
Let all things be conducted among us in such a manner, that we
provide things honest, not only before God, but also before
men;
Let our commerce be holy unto thee;
Bless the sweat of the brow, and the faithfulness in handicraft
business;
But let none entangle himself with the affairs of this life;[8]
Nor let in any labor be perceived the aftertaste of sin.

(Cong. Into my hand that precious task[9]
I take with joy grasping;
Whatever God of me may ask,
That state and call I'm clasping.)

---

[1] "In the congregations which lie in the German Empire the prayer reads, 'over the Roman Emperor, all kings, princes and lords' etc." (G., p. 711 n.).

[2] The ruler of the country is particularly mentioned.

[3] "Here the local administration, where there is such, is included with the words, 'and especially lead our dear local magistrate,' etc." Ibid.

[4] E. cites I Pet. 2:13. [5] E. cites Ps. 107:24.

[6] "Gemeine."

[7] The reference is made here to the appointment of deacons to attend to the needs of the poor, the widows, the orphans, etc.

[8] E. cites II Tim. 2:4.

[9] This stanza is deleted from E.

O that we might never be forced to let a necessitous person go unrelieved! and that none of us might eat his morsel alone![1]
O that we might see none suffer for want of clothing! and that we could be eyes to the blind and feet to the lame![2]
O that we could refresh the hearts of the dejected! and that we could mitigate the burden of the laboring man![3]
And to do good might be our hearts delight! that the blessing of him that was ready to perish, might come upon us! (Job 29:13).[4]
Thou knowest what spirit we are of;[5]

Cong. Can we do good, we'll it embrace,
Thank God for his enabling grace.

Thou Lover of men!
Send help to all that are in distress or danger;
Set at liberty such who are unjustly imprisoned;
Let those who are imprisoned for the word of God, live by thy word which kept thee in the desert;
Comfort all the weak-hearted and afflicted;
Be the support of the aged;
Make the bed of the sick, and show that thou loveth them; and when thou takest away men's breath, that they die, then thou surely wilt remember, that thou hast not died for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world.[6]

Cong. Thy blood, the noble humour,[7]
Has such strength and power;
That this thy blood alone the entire world can cleanse,
Lo, even from the fierce satanic jaws our rescue and release.

Now thou God over all, blessed for evermore![8]
(Be the Saviour of all men;
Have mercy on all thy creatures);[9]
For thou hast, by thyself, reconciled all things unto thyself, whether things on earth, or things in heaven.[10]

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[1] E. cites Job 31:16, 17.

[2] E. cites Job 29:13, 16.

[3] E. cites Job 30:25.

[4] E. also cites Rom. 12:8 and II Cor. 9:7.

[5] E. cites Luke 9:55.

[6] E. cites Ps. 41:3; I John 2:2; and Rom. 5:8.

[7] This stanza is deleted from E.

[8] E. cites Rom. 9:5.

[9] In E. these lines are reversed:
"Have mercy on thy whole creation (Rom. 8:9-22)
Yea, be the Saviour of all men; (I Tim. 4:10)."

[10] E. cites Col. 1:20.

HEAR US, GRACIOUS LORD AND GOD!

Cong. We humbly pray with one accord,
Remember us, most gracious Lord!
Think on thy suff'rings, wounds, and cross,
And how by death thou savedst us;
For this is all our hope and plea
In time and in eternity.[1]

Thou Saviour of thy body![2]
Approve thyself on thy congregations as a God of order;[3]
Walk in the midst of them with complacence;[4]
Govern them gently, and according to their measure; (Rom. 12:3; Wisdom 9:11).[5]
Make the spirit of the prophets subject to the prophets;[6]
And each of us, one to the other;[7]
Be the sanctification of (all the Choirs through the maternal nurture of the Holy Ghost).[8]
Bless the holy married state;
Let our marriage be honorable among all men, and the bed be undefiled;[9]
Teach the wife to be subject to the husband, as the church is to Christ;[10]
And teach the husband to love his wife, as Christ loveth the church;[11]
But let not the creature take place to the prejudice of the Creator, or divide with Christ.[12]

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[1] This is rather a loose translation of:
"Gedenk an deinen bittern Tod,
Sieh an dein heilge fünf Wunden roth,
Die sind ja für die ganze Welt
Die Zahlung und das Lösegeld.
Dess trösten wir uns allezeit,
Und hoffen auf Barmherzigkeit."

[2] E. cites Eph. 5:23. [3] E. cites I Cor. 14:33.

[4] E. cites Rev. 2:1.

[5] E. deletes citation of Wisdom 9:11.

[6] E. cites I Cor. 14:32.

[7] E. cites Eph. 5:21 and I Pet. 5:5.

[8] E. reads: "Be the sanctification of every member of thy church (I Cor. 1:30)" and thus deletes all direct reference to the Choirs as such.

[9] E. cites Heb. 13:4.

[10] E. cites Eph. 5:24; "Gemeine" is translated "church."

[11] "Gemeine"; E. here cites Eph. 5:25.

[12] E. cites Rom. 1:24 which clarifies this rather obscure reference to the sin of idolatry.

Let our pregnant sisters reap the blessing of thy having lain in the womb of thy mother;[1]
And those that bring forth, of thy being brought forth into the world;[2]
And those that give suck, of thy having sucked the breasts of a mother;[3]
Sanctify to thyself all fathers and mothers;
Bless thy gift the children;[4]
Visit them even in the mother's womb;[5]
Though they should never see the light of this world, yet they have thee, and all live unto thee;
But if they must groan in this tabernacle, then by baptism bury them with thee into thy death;[6]
Perfect thy praise out of the mouths of babes and sucklings;[7]
Let our children be brought up in the nurture and admonition of thee;[8]
(May the merit of thy covenant-wound assist the boys to the circumcision of the heart;[9]
And thine incarnation within a maidenly body make the maidens chaste;
Let thy holy youth serve the single brothers to the purity of heart;[10]
And all single sisters in the reputation of thy bridegroomly name proceed);[11]
Be thou the joy and blessed hope of the widowers and widows;[12]
Pour out thy Holy Spirit on all thy servants and handmaids;[13]
Purify our souls in obeying the truth, through the Spirit, unto unfeigned love of the brethren;[14]
HEAR US, GRACIOUS LORD AND GOD!

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[1] E. cites Luke 1:31 and 2:5.

[2] E. cites Matt. 1:25 and Luke 2:7, 11.

[3] E. cites Ps. 22:9.

[4] E. cites Ps. 127:3.

[5] E. cites Luke 1:41.

[6] E. cites Rom. 6:4.

[7] E. cites Matt. 21:16.

[8] E. cites Eph. 6:4.

[9] Rather than this and the following petition, E. produces; "May the boys and girls, after thy example, increase in wisdom and in stature, and in favor with God and man (Luke 2:52)."

[10] Rather than this petition, E. has: "Let the young men cleanse their way, by taking heed thereto according to thy word; (Ps. 119:9)."

[11] Instead of this line, we find in E: "And the unmarried women care for the things of the Lord, that they may be holy both in body and in spirit (I Cor. 7:34)."

[12] E. cites Luke 2:25-38 and I Tim. 4:5, 6.

[13] E. cites Acts 2:17, 18.

[14] E. cites I Pet. 1:22.

Keep us in everlasting fellowship with the church triumphant,
and let us once rest together in thy presence from all
our labor;
HEAR US, GRACIOUS LORD AND GOD!
O thou Lamb of God, which takest away the sin of the world,
OWN US TO BE THINE!
O thou Lamb of God, which takest away the sin of the world,
BE JOYFUL OVER US!
O thou Lamb of God, which takest away the sin of the world,
LEAVE THY PEACE WITH US!

Christe, HEAR US!
Kyrie, ELEISON!
Christe, ELEISON!
Kyrie, ELEISON![1]

Unto the Lamb which was slain,[2] and hath redeemed us out of
all nations of the earth;
Unto that man who purchased our souls for himself;
Unto that Friend who loved us, and washed us from our sins
in his own blood;[3]
Who died for us once;[4] that we might die unto sin;[5]
Who rose for us;[6] that we also might rise;[7]
Who ascended for us into heaven, to prepare a place for us;[8]

Chor. And to whom are subjected the angels, and powers,
and dominions;[9]
Lit. To him be glory at all times,[10] in that church[11]
which waiteth for him, and in that which is
about him;
Cong. From everlasting to everlasting, Amen.
Lit. Little children, abide in him on the day of his
appearing;[11]
Cong. In none but him alone I trust for ever,
In him my Saviour!

Liturgist

The Lord bless thee, and keep thee!
The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious
unto thee!

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[1] Here again the Kyrie Eleison has been left untranslated after the German fashion.

[2] E. cites Rev. 5:12. In E. this entire section is divided between the Liturgist and congregation. In this matter we have followed G. in leaving it all to the Liturgist.

[3] E. cites Rev. 1:5.

[4] E. cites I Pet. 2:24.

[5] E. cites Rom. 6:2.

[6] E. cites I Cor. 15.

[7] E. cites John 14:2, 3.

[8] E. cites Heb. 2:8.

[9] E. cites Rev. 5:12.

[10] "Gemeine."

[11] E. cites I John 2:28.

The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace!

Chor. In the name of Jesus,

Cong. AMEN.

O HAUPT VOLL BLUT UND WUNDEN

A.

1.

O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden,
Voller Schmerz und voller Hohn,
O Haupt, zu Spott gebunden
Mit einer Dornen-Korn,
Haupt, das sich sonst gezeiget
In Gottes-Glorie-Schein,
Und nun sich sterbend neiget,
Du Solst gegrüsset seyn!

2.

Du Freude Deiner Freunde,
Du Gnaden-volle Mien',
Du Schrek der bösen Feinde,
Wie bist Du so bespie'n?
Wie bist Du so erbleichet?
Wer hat das Augenlicht,
Dem sonst kein Licht nicht gleichet,
So übel zugericht't?

3.

Die Farbe Deiner Wangen,
Der Lippen ihre Schön',
Ist hin und ganz vergangen,
Du hast das Grab gesehn,
Du hast den Tod geschmekket;
Das hat, was an Dir lebt,
Verzehrt und weggeschrekket,
Die Zung an Gaum geklebt.

4.

Nun was du, Herr! erduldet,
Ist meiner Sünden Last,
Ich habe all's verschuldet,
Was Du gebüsset hast.
Schau her, hier steh ich armer,
Der Zorn verdienet hat:
Gib mir, o mein Erbarmer,
Den Anblick Deiner Gnad.

B.

1.

O Haupt voll blut und wunden,
voll schmertz und voller hohn:
o Haupt! zu spott gebunden
mit einer dornen-kron:
o Haupt! sonst schön gezieret
mit höchster ehr und zier:
jetzt aber hochst schimpfiret;
gegrüsset seyst du mir.

2.

Du edles Angesichte,
davor sich sonsten scheut
das grosse weltgewichte,
wie bist du so bespeyt?
wie bist du so erbleichet?
wer hat dein augen-licht,
dem sonst kein licht nicht gleic gleichet,
so schändlich zugericht't.

3.

Die farbe deiner wangen,
der rothen lippen pracht,
ist hin und gantz vergangen;
des blassen todes macht
hat alles hingenommen,
hat alles hingerafft,
und daher bist da kommen
von deines leibes kraft.

4.

Nun, was du, Herr, erduldet,
ist alles meine last;
ich hab es selbst verschuldet,
was du getragen hast.
Schau her, hier steh ich armer,
der zorn verdienet hat
gib mir, o mein Erbarmer,
den anblick deiner gnad.

A.

5.
Erkenne mich, mein Hüter!
Mein Hirte! nimm mich ein.
Ich weiss! was grosse Güter
In Deinem Leiden seyn;
Und dass du Mann des Schmerzens
Mir dadurch, dass Du starbst,
Die Neu-Geburt des Herzens
Und ewig's Heil erwarbst.

6.
Ich will hier bey Dir stehen,
Verachtest mich doch nicht:
Lass mich im Geiste sehen,
Wie Dir dein Herze bricht,
Wie Deine Glied'r erkalten
Vom letzten Todes-Stoss.
Möcht' ich den Leichnam halten
Auf meinem Arm und Schooss!

7.
Es dient zu meinen Freuden,
Wenn ich mich weiden kan
In Dein'm Verdienst und Leiden,
Mein Mann, mein Martermann!
So oft ich, als Dein Erbe,
Und Deines Leibes Glied,
An Deinem Leichnam sterbe,
Was für ein Gottes-Fried!

8.
Erscheine mir zum Schilde
Am Ende aller Noth,
Und lass mich sehn Dein Bilde,
Und zwar Dein Bild im Tod.
Nach Dir nur will ich blikken
Und meiner Gnadenwahl,
Dich vest an mein Herz drükken;
Ach könt' ichs tausendmal!

9.
Ich danke Dir von Herzen,
O Jesu! Freund in Noth,
Für Deine Seelen-Schmerzen
Und Marter bis in Tod.
Dein Herze, das gewisse,
Erhält mich bis zum-seh'n;
Wer ists, der uns entrisse
Der Hand, die nie lässt gehn?

B.

5.
Erkenne mich, mein Hüter,
mein Hirte, nim mich an:
von dir, Quell aller güter,
ist mir viel guts gethan,
dein mund hat mich gelabet
mit milch und süsser kost,
dein Geist hat mich begaben
mit mancher himmels-lust.

6.
Ich will hier bey dir stehen,
verachte mich doch nicht:
von dir will ich nicht gehen,
wenn dir dein hertze bricht;
wenn dein hertz wird erblassen
im letzten todes stoss,
alsdenn will ich dich fassen
in meinen arm und schooss.

7.
Es dient zu meinen freuden,
und kömmt mir hertzlich wohl:
wenn ich in deinem leiden,
mein Heil, mich finden soll.
Ach! möcht' ich o mein Leben,
an deinem creutze hier
mein leben von mir geben
wie wohl geschähe mir!

8.
Ich dancke dir von hertzen,
O Jesu, liebster Freund,
für deine todes-schmertzen,
da du's so gut gemeint.
Ach! gib, dass ich mich halte
zu dir und deiner treu,
und, wenn ich nun erkalte,
in dir mein ende sey.

A.

10.
Ich kan mich wirklich sehnen,
Sein letztes Athem-stehn,
Die letzte Perl der Thränen
Mir eingeflösst zu sehn.
Wenn Er mir wolt' erscheinen,
So wüsst' ich, dass das Er,
Ach Bein von meinen Beinen!
Mein Herr und mein Gott, wär.

11.
Wenn mein Mund wird erbleichen
In Seinem Arm und Schooss;
So soll die Myrrh der Leichen,
Die aus der Seite floss,
Dem sterbenden Gebeine
Die letzte Salbung geb'n:
Dann fahr ich zur Gemeine,
Mein Leib wird wieder Leb'n.

* * *

B.

9.
Wenn ich einmal soll scheiden,
so scheide nicht von mir;
wenn ich den tod soll leiden,
so trit alsdenn herfür:
wenn mir am allerbängsten
wird um das hertze seyn,
so reiss mich aus den ängsten,
kraft deiner angst und pein.

10.
Erscheine mir zum schilde,
zu trost in meinem tod,
und lass mich sehn dein bilde
in deiner creutzes noth,
da will ich nach dir blicken,
da will ich glaubens-voll
dich vest an mein hertz drücken:
wer so stirbt, der stirbt wohl.

* * *

A. Liturgische Gesänge der Brüder-Gemeinen, No. 10, pp. 41-44.

B. Geistesreiches Gesang-Buch den Kern alter und neuer Lieder in sich haltend, in gegenwärtiger bequemer Ordnung und Form, nach denen unter diesem Namen alhier schon editen Gesang-Büchern eingerichtet, herausgegeben von Joh. Anastasio Freylinghausen. 15. Edition (Halle: Verlegung des Wäysenhauses, 1775), No. 147, p. 70. It should be noted that this hymn did not appear in the earlier third edition of this standard pietistic hymnal which appeared in 1726.

ODE ON THE 13TH OF AUGUST 1786[1]

Choir II

We await thy goodness, O God, in thy temple!

Solo:

Today we eat the Easter Lamb
Which from the heavens to us came,
Whose flesh the world true life gives,
Whose blood us God's beloved makes.
All who with him in faith remain
May with us e'er peace maintain.

CONGREGATION

Oh, his martyr frame so deathly pale
Has oft for us hot tears made still;
So think we in all deep distress
With no delay on Jesu's death.

Choir I

Our souls cleave to the Lord;
He is our help and shield.
To be his own our hearts do thirst,
And on his holy name we trust;
Thy goodness, Lord, o'er us we see,
And all our hope is yet in Thee.

Solo

Prais'ed be Immanuel!
For to us, sick in flesh and soul,
Within but naked, miserable and poor,
He shows forth his so majestic love.

And of his flesh he doth us give
That makes us all with pure heart live;
His blood alive our soul doth make,
And this poor body for its sake.

New life is ours, we all may say,
To follow the elected way;
With soul and body him to please;
We would do all, nor e're seek ease.

CONGREGATION

His martyred corpse me now feed
That n'er in strength I'll be in need,
His altar-blood just now be spilled
Upon my heart's right thirsty field.

---

[1] This Lovefeast ode is available in the Bethlehem Archives in four different manuscript forms which were apparently used by various performers or groups of performers. Only one of these is complete, the others including only first lines in whole, or in part. We may assume that the ode was used on the festive Lovefeast of August 13, 1786 at Bethlehem. The translation is designed to preserve to the English reader the religious idiom of the German, and at least the appearance of verse.

Choir II

"I would to thee be as the dew," the Lord saith,
"That thou shouldst as the rose spring forth."

Liturgist

His sweat in heart's battle for thee flowed,
His blood on the Cross wood for thee poured,
His body given as thy sacrifice,
May they ever guard thy life.

Choir I

O thou heart full of grace and love,
Who can grasp thy boundless drive?
Thy great goodness melts asunder
All who thy love do plunder.

Choir II

Jesus comes that he
May fulfill, O soul, thy need;
See how near him he doth place
Thee, and would fondly thee embrace,
With all haste to make thee sure,
Safe, beautiful, strong, free, and pure.

Choir I

The blood of Jesus, God's own Son,
Makes us pure and free from sin;
O God's own Son's most holy blood,
Poured out for us upon the rood,
O'er us this blessed day
Sprinkle forth most gently.

CONGREGATION

How inexpressibly am I then bepleasured,
When by corpse and blood new life to me is measured.

Now I live, and would God but give me
That not I, but Christ should live in me.

Choirs I and II

The fruit of the most holy Meal
Highest good in this tearful vale (Kiss of Peace)[1]
Should be that unity of heart
With Love, the Brethren's own art.

CONGREGATION

Thou Friend with unity instill
This band so dedicated to thee
That it heartily heeds thy will
As by thy last will should be;
Indeed, in that Truth unite,
Which thy real essence must be;
All things are filled with light
By thine inestimable clarity.

---

[1] Although there is no definite indication on the MS as to when the Kiss of Peace was to be performed--as indeed there were no rubrics in it--this point is in this author's judgment the one at which the kiss was exchanged.

So be thy prayer fulfilled;
That the Father all the things
Which within thee are concealed
May also draw 'neath his love's wings;
And as Thou, with them, art one,
May they also oneness take;
So all may in love be done,
To one another joyful make.

At the Communion Lovefeast on the
27th of February 1779[1]

Solo

Just to the throne come comfortably,
There the seat of grace to see;
Can to you from God's own Son
Naught but love and favor come.

He longingly awaits
Till He can us embrace
And give to us that greatest good
Through His most precious blood.

Great grace is yours to find;
He Himself will with us bind;
And naught can ever move
Us to part from his love.

Duetto

My Shepherd, come I now
For Thee in thirst and hunger deep;
O Dearest, as thy guest allow,
And feed thy little sheep.

Promises to this poor self spoken
Can ne'er by Thee be broken.
Then seest how poor am I, and in need so dire,
And me from grace alone with thy gifts attire.

Solo

Now has He from riches full
Of His deity revealed;
And it is by His own will
Each may come, no more concealed;
That none by shame be stilled,
But with grace on grace be filled.
As to a hungry heart it flowed,
More the good to it bestowed,
Us ever sating drink--all delight--
In us pour its gracious might.

---

[1] This document from a MS in the Bethlehem Archives is only a fragment of a service and includes what appears to be only the part performed by the musicians. The translation is done in the same spirit as that indicated in supra, p. 610, n. 1.

LITANY OF THE LIFE, SUFFERING, AND DEATH OF JESUS[1]

Oh Christ, thou Lamb of God who takest away the sins of the world,
GRANT US THY PEACE! (T. 539,540)
LORD GOD FATHER IN HEAVEN!
Chor. Sacrifices and gifts hast thou not desired,
Lit. But to him hast thou prepared a body:
In order that all things might through him be reconciled unto himself,
Chor. Whether they be in heaven or in earth;
Lit. And that he should bring peace through his flesh.
LORD GOD SON, THE SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD!
Children
As the children have flesh and blood, so art thou in like measure participant,
Brothers
And therein have we certainly been made thy brothers.
Sisters
And through thy holy body, which from thy mother Mary came, and through that holy blood,
Cong. Thou helpest us in all our wants.
Chor. Kyrie eleison!
LORD GOD HOLY GHOST!
Lit. On him hast thou descended and remained.
Chor. In him dwells the fullness of the god-head physically.

---

[1] This translation is from the recension of the litany found in Gregor, Gesangbuch (1778), No. 585, pp. 305-308. It should be noted that this recension is somewhat shorter and a great deal more conservative in its use of colorful language than was that to be found in Das Litaneyen Büchlein (1757), No. 31, pp. 82-86 (The Litany Book [1759], No. 31, pp. 75-79). The earlier recension has, however, been of great assistance in the reconstruction of the rubrics and the antiphonal character of the litany itself and the traditions of its use which were presupposed but not reproduced in the 1778 edition. The parts of the litany in regular type are said or sung by the liturgist unless otherwise indicated. The parts completely in capital letters are said or sung by all. The entire litany from the beginning down to the petitions "From the sin of unbelief," etc., is sung as indicated. The petitions and responses are spoken and the sections marked "sung" are to be sung by all. The numbers indicated with "T" are the chorale tunes used, where that information could be discovered.

Chor. Most Holy Blessed Trinity! (T. 249)
Bros. We praise thee for the Lamb!
Sis. We praise thee for the Lamb!
Cong. We praise thee for the Lamb!

All. Lamb of God, holy Lord and God! (T. 132a)
Hear thou our needy cry,
Have mercy on us all!

From the sin of unbelief (John 16:18),
From all sins,
From all self-righteousness,
From lukewarmness and dullness of heart,
From indifference towards thy wounds,
From estrangement from thy cross,
From being weaned away from thy side,
PRESERVE US, GRACIOUS LORD AND GOD!

Sing. There is naught in us save misery:
Give to us hearts in thy blood made warm,
And to thy death and pain submitted.

Thine holy incarnation and birth
MAKE OUR HUMANITY DEAR TO US!
Thy circumcision
HELP US TO CIRCUMCISION OF THE HEART!
Thine holy childhood
HELP US TO A CHILDISH JOY!
Thy right understanding of the Scripture
FORTIFY US IN THE WORD OF TRUTH!
Thine holy walk on earth
TEACH US BLAMELESSLY TO LIVE!
Thine obedience and being subject
HELP US TO AN OBEDIENT HEART!
Thy childish simplicity
MAKE OUR HEARTS AND MINDS INNOCENT!
Thy precious sweat in labor
MAKE ALL OUR EFFORTS LIGHT!
Thy faithfulness in daily work
IN OUR PART MAKE US TRUE!
Thy weakness and infirmity
SET OUR FRAILTY ARIGHT!
The testament established in thy death (John 17)
REMAIN THE RULE OF THINE INHERITANCE![1]
The word of thy cross
REMAIN OUR CONFESSION OF FAITH!

Sing. By thy cross remain we would
And set forth the suffering of our God
Until we see him face to face.

Thy free surrender unto death
PROCLAIM TO US THE SECRET OF THY LOVE!

---

[1] Reference is here to the church and particularly to the *Brüdergemeine*.

Thine holy baptism in blood (Luke 12:49, 50)
CAST FORTH FIRE UPON GOD'S EARTH!
Thy suffering and dying form
REMAIN ALWAYS BEFORE OUR EYES!
Thy bloody sweat
ANOINT OUR SOULS AND BODIES!
Thy tears and anguished cry
COMFORT US IN PAIN AND IN ANXIETY!

Sing. So many tears as thou hast for us spilt (T. 36)
So many drops of blood as from thee flowed,
So many are the voices which there plead
And us represent.

Thine open arms
RECEIVE US!
Thy crown of thorns
TEACH US OF THY KINGDOM OF THE CROSS![1]
Thy pallid lips
KISS US ON THE HEART!
Thy pierced hands
SHOW US WHERE OUR NAMES STAND WRITTEN!
Thy nail torn feet
MAKE OUR WAY EVER CERTAIN!
The impression of thy shattered eyes
BE EVER IN OUR VIEW!
Thine heart for us rent
REJOICE IN US!
Thine holy martyred corpse
MORTIFY OUR EARTHLY MEMBERS!
The wound in thy holy side
REMAIN OUR REFUGE IN ALL NEED!

Sing. Most holy Lord and God! (T. 519a)
Holy, almighty God!
Holy and most merciful Saviour!
Thou eternal God!
Grant that we may never
Lose the comforts from thy death!
Kyrie Eleison!

---

[1] For the use of this term "Krenzreich" to indicate the church see Appendix for chapter xiii, infra, p. 635 (XIV, 3).

LITURGIES FOR HOLY WEEK

Zur Geschichte des Sonnabendes nach der Lection.[1]

Chor I.
Naher Freund, lass unsre Herzen
mit Dir in dein Leiden gehn,
im Leiden gehn.
Unter deinen Leibes- und Seelen-Schmerzen
immer nahe bey dir stehn,
ach bey dir stehn.
Dass uns jede Leidens-Stunde
mit verneuter Lieb verwunde,
und in jedes recht fühlbarlich
sich das Tröst; das war für dich.

Chor II.
O ihr selgen Leidens-Tage
für uns voller Lieblichkeit,
voll Lieblichkeit,
Für den Menschen-Sohn voll Plage,
voll von Angst u. Bangigkeit,
voll Bangigkeit.
O wär Er in unsrer Mitte
hier in dieser Friedens-Hütte
wie dort in Bethania!
doch gewiss, Er ist uns nah.
Drum nahenwir zu Seinen- Füssen
wie Maria niedersanck,
dort niedersanck,
sie zu salben und zu küssen
zu dem schweren Leidens-Gang,
dem leidens-Gang.
Unser Salb-Oel sind die Thränen,
Unsre Närden herzens-Sehnen,
womit die Gemein noch heut
Ihn zu Seinem Grab einweyht.

---

[1] This undated choral arrangement was found among a group of Holy Week liturgies dated from 1767 to 1785 and was designed for use at the close of the initial Holy Week Lection on the eve of Palm Sunday; see supra, pp. 352-53.

Zur Marter Woche.[1]

Sonntag: Um 4 Uhr, wird zum Eingang gesungen:
1tes Chor. Du solst deinen Kindern (etc.)
und nach den Worten: das Volck das schrie und sprach:
Beyde Chöre. Hosianna! gelobet sey der, etc.
Mittwoch: Zum Eingang: Weil unser göttliche Monarch [1086].[2]
Donnerstag: Nach der Worte: Es war aber S[ein] Schw[eiss] auf die Erde:
2tes Chor. O Anblick der mirs Herze bricht, etc. [112].
Freytags Lection. nach dem Worten: Seht welch ein Mensch:
Gemeine. In dieser Peinlichen Gestalt, darüber, etc. [121].
2tes Chor. Wiederholts mit süssen Thönen, etc. [122].
O da fällt mir ein: ich Armer, etc. [122]
Wundtes Haupt! zerfleischter Rücken, etc. [122].
nach den Worten: Er trug Sein Creuz u. Gieng -- auf -- Golgatha.
2tes Chor. Lasst uns im Geiste mit Ihm gehn, etc.
nach den Worten: es folgte Ihm nach -- Weiber -- die beweinten Ihn:
Beyde Chöre. Man kan vor Liebes Thränen die Sache, etc.
nach den Worten: Jesus aber sprach:
*1. Solo. Vater vergieb ihnen! -- sie wissen nicht was sie thun.[3]
Gem. Mit deiner kräftigen Fürbitte, tröste uns, l. Herrn Gott!

Freytag Nachmittag. um 3 Uhr: Zum Eingang.
I. Ch. O Leib mit Blut bedecket, etc. [147]
Gem. Sey mit 1000 mahl gegrüsset etc. [132]
nach den Worten: und Jesus sprach zu ihm:
*2. Solo. Wahrlich ich sage dir: Heute wirst du etc.
nach den Worten: spricht Er zu Seiner Mutter:
*3. Solo. Weib siehe das ist dein Sohn.
zu dem Jünger:
Siehe das ist deine Mutter.
nach dem Worten: schrie Jesus laut u. sprach:
*4. Solo. Eli, Eli lama asabthani, das ist, mein Gott, mein Gott, warum hast du mich verlassen:

---

[1] This undated musical arrangement is one of several for Holy Week found in the packet described in the previous note. Two such arrangements are included in this Appendix. Two copies of this particular arrangement were found. It should not be supposed that these schedules pretended to be exhaustive but were apparently intended for the special use of the Collegium Musicum at Bethlehem as a guide to special music for the week up to and including Friday.

[2] Numbers enclosed in brackets indicate the number of the hymn in Gregor, Gesangbuch. Words, phrases, or parts of words enclosed in brackets are emended from another manuscript.

[3] This simple setting for the "Seven Last Words" seems to have been one devised by and for the Herrnhuters and continued in use against more popular arrangements as it was particularly constructed for its use in the lection.

nach dem Worten: dass die Schrift erfüllet würde spricht
Er:
*5. Solo. Mich dürstet.
I. Chor. Sein Herz ist in seinem Leib wie zerschmolzen Wachs
Sein zunge clebet an seinen Gaumen, u. du legest
Ihm in des todes Staub.
nach den Worten: den Essig genommen hatte sprach Er:
*6. Solo. Es ist vollbracht!
I. Chor. Es ist vollbracht, nun ist das Heyl vollbracht!
durchs Lamm am Creuz geschlacht't,
das Himmel und Erde, ehemals durchs Wort:
Es werde, aus michs gemacht,
durchs Lamm am Creuz geschlacht't
ist unser Heyl vollbracht--nun ist das, etc.
nach den Worten: Jesus rief abermahl laut, und sprach:
*7. Solo. Vater ich befehle meinen Geist in deine Hände.
nach den Worten: und verschied:
Beyde Chöre u. Gem. Heiliger Herre Gott :/:

Gebeth:

[Nach dem Gebeth.
O du im verscheiden im Erblassten, etc. [166].
O allerschönster Blick, etc.
Strahlte doch aus einem jeden Blick] etc.
nach den Worten: gieng Blut ---heraus:
Ehre der Gnaden-Wahl etc.[1]
O Lammlein sey gebenedehyt, etc.

Ch. Drum ruft die fühlende Gem. etc. [643 v.8]
Gem. Ehre dem heilgen Seiten schein
Amen, Amen, Hallelujah, der Geist des Herrn etc.
Unmittelbar aus Gott gebohrn u. bleibt etc.
Amen!
nach den Worten: [sie werden sehen] in welchen gestochen
haben:
2tes Ch. Shaut auf u. seht die, etc. [643]
Fahr tief hintin! ja fahr, etc.
Wie wirds uns seyn? wie, etc.
Wir werden sehr gewiss, etc.
[Beyde Chöre.] Hallelujah! himmlisch Halleujah! etc.

In der Demmerung. I Ch. Jesus neigte sein Haupt! und verschied, etc.

Marter Woche 1782.[2]

Grün-Donnerstags Lection.

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[1] This is from "Die Pleurodie," Das Litaneyen Büchlein (1757), pp. 91-94.

[2] This setting is more complete in its treatment of Maundy **Thursday** than the one above.

Um 3 Uhr. Nach der einsezungs des Abendmahls.
Chor. Unsre Herr Jesus Christus in der, etc.
Um ½7 Nach den Worten: Jesus versamlete sich oft daselbst mit seinen Jüngern.
Solo. Geh mit Ihm O Gemeine geh, etc. [111].
Nach den Worten: Doch nicht mein, sondern dein Wille geschehe.
Chor. Ave Gott Schopfer mein, etc. [163].
Nach den Worten: Die fielen auf die Erde.
Chor. O Anblick der mirs Herze bricht, etc. [112].
Nach den Worten: u. ---schlugen Ihn ins Angesicht.
Chor. Er war der Allerverschteteste, etc.

Char-Freytag.

Früh, um 10 Uhr. Zum Eingang.
Chor. Für wahr, Er trug unsre, etc.
Nach den Worten: u. schlugen damit Sein Haupt.
Chor. Sein verspeyt Gesichte, etc. [176]
Nach den Worten: Seht welch ein Mensch.
Chor. Wiederholts mit süssen Tönen, etc. [122,v.1,2,3.]
Gem. Märtyrer von aus u. inner, etc. [122, v.3b.]
Dann kommen die 7 Worte.[1]
Nachmittags, um 3 Uhr. Zu Anfang.
Chor. Denck ich der Zeit, etc. [154,v.1&2].
dann im gefolge die 7 Worte.
Nach den Worten: Die Sonn verlohr ihren Schein.
Chor. Wer hätte in der Mittags Nacht, etc. [154,v.3]
Da Gottes Lamm am Kreuze starb, etc. [v.4]
Mir ists als obs Char-Freytag wär, etc. [v.5]
Nach den Worten: weigte Er das Haupt und verschied.
Chor. Heiliger Herre Gott, etc.
Nach dem Gebeth
Chor. Sincket hin ihr Segens Hände, matte Glieder, etc.
Nach den Worten: gieng Blut u. Wasser heraus.
Chor. Herr sey dir gebracht, etc. No. 643, v. 1,2,&8.
Für die Eröfnung deiner Seit, etc.
Ruhm, Preiss u. Danck, etc.
Schaut auf u. seht, etc.
Daraus ihr auserwehlte Leut, etc.
Nach den Worten: u. welchen sie gestochen haben.
2. Chor. Wie wirds uns seyn, etc.
Wir werden sehn, etc.
1. & 2. Chor. Hallelujah, Hallelujah, etc.
Gem. Dann wird der Wunden schein, etc. [644].
Abends um Uhr.[2]
Zu Anfang.

---

[1] See supra, p. 617; only the first of the seven words would be sung in the morning. The other six would be sung at the three o'clock service.

[2] In the manuscript the space for the hour is left blank. The hour for this service at Bethlehem in 1782 was seven o'clock; "Elders' Conference Protocol," March 26, 1782.

Chor. Jesus neigt sein Haupt, etc.
Nach den Worten: zu begraben.
Chor. O Du an den ich glaube, etc. No. 621, v.9.
Gem. Ich habe mich verschlossen, etc. [171].
Chor. Mein Leiche Jesu, etc.

Abends zur Liturgie[1]

Gem. Des Passions Getöne führt mich zu Jesu Gruft was, etc.
Chor. 1. Mein Leiche Jesu, etc.
Chor. 2. Für mich, :/: --ich hab u. halte dich, etc.
Chor. 1. Schönes Antliz Jesu, etc.
Gem. Wenn im Mund wird erblicken in Seiner Arm u. Schloss.
Chor. 1. Segens Hände Jesu, so Todtenfarbe
nehmet auf jegliche Nägel Narbe
den wärmste Kuss.
Chor. 2. Den wärmste Kuss den andächtigsten, etc.
Chor. 1. Blutigs Herze Jesu, jür uns gebrochen
und mit dem Speere für uns durch stochen,
Behalte uns.
Gem. Das Herze das gewisse erhalt uns bis zum Sehn,
wer ists der etc.
Chor. 1. Durchgebohrte Füsse, helfet uns Siechen,
Euch immer nahe, u. stets näher kriechen
bis wir Euch sehn.
Gem. Da wollen wir das Lämmlein küssen, u. es, etc.
Ch. 1. O gebrochne Augen Eure Abschied drücke sich uns
so ein, dass all' unter Blicke des Zeugens seyn.
Ch. 2. Bleibt immer zu, bleibt Leites Augen zu, etc.
Gem. Mein Herz will nicht weiter gehen, etc. [160].

61. Good Friday Liturgy[2]

My own Corpse of Jesus!
For my Fruition methinks thou liest in that Position,
for me alone!
Jesu's gracious Forehead!
With Death-Sweat shining; thou look'st as wert thou with some
Care pining: sure not 'bout me!
Gentle Eyes of Jesus,
On this Day closed! (for on Great-Sabbath ye your Repose had),
when shall mine see?

---

[1] This undated manuscript liturgy was found in the same packet and was designed for use after the reading of the burial lection on Good Friday evening; supra, p. 371.

[2] This liturgy is probably the same as was used in the Communion Liturgy in Das Liturgien-Büchlein (1755), p. 98 (see supra, p. 275, n. 1) but is particularly designed for use on the evening of Good Friday as the "Liturgy of the Graves"; supra, p. 371. The text given here is from The Litany Book (1759), No. 61, pp. 121-22; it is not to be found in Das Litaneyen Büchlein (1757).

Chastest Cheeks of Jesus!
Sunk in and pitted; to wet you be my Cheek's Tears permitted, and wait on you.
Kindest Lips of Jesus!
So pale, so livid, yet from Cross-Altar the Glow received retaining still.
Jesu's noble Aspect!
My Face's Canvas, when shall it once look just as that Man was? when laid out too.
Blessing Hands of Jesus!
So of Death-Colour; take on each Nail-print for all your Dolour the warmest Kiss.
You, O Jesu's Fingers!
Behold I quiv'ring, kneading with Anguish-Sweat, and deliv'ring the Paschal Dough.
Bleeding Heart of Jesus!
So palpitating; thy Myrrh, from whose Smell my Health I'm dating, preserve me still.
Weary Feet of Jesus!
Rest now a little; o rev'rent Farewel-Kiss, by just Title, on each Scar take.
Tip of th' Toe of Jesus
Last hence retiring! thro' the Cloud's Chink saw I thee appearing, how should I feel!
When Thee, Corpse of Jesus,
Once more we're spying, thy orphan Dove will forget her crying, and all her tears.

Zum Grossen Sabbath. d. 31ten Merz 1782[1]

Chor.
Du der Sein menchlich Leben
für uns in Noth u. Tod aus Liebe hingegeben
u. uns versöhnet mit Gott, Du Herze ohne Gleichen!
was sollen wir Dir nun für diese That zum Zeichen
des tiefsten Dankes thun?
Was sollen wir Dir thun?
Gemeine
Dank sey Dir Du geschlachtes Lamm
für dein unendliches Erbarmen!
wir liegen, holder Bräutigam!
in Deinen ofnen Gnaden-Armen:
für uns versank Dein theures Haupt;
für uns ward Dein Gebein durchgraben;
für uns dem lezten Feind erlaubt,
Dir noch einmal was anzuhaben.
So richte unsern Sinn ganz auf das Opfer hin!
Das bleib uns ewig im Gesichte,
u. in der Seele klar,
dass Gott in Christo war,
als Er uns durchhalf im Gerichte.

---

[1] This is one of a large number of manuscript Great Sabbath Lovefeast liturgies. They do not appear to have been printed at Bethlehem until some years later. Supra, p. 372.

Chor. 1.

Lasset uns dem Herrn singen, denn Er hats vortreflich gemacht.

Chor. 2.

Mein Herz ist bereit, Gott, mein Herz ist bereit, dass ich singe u. lobe.

Chor. 1. & 2.

Ja singet alle meine Glieder zu Seinem Lobe singt thousend Lieder, Hallelujah!

Chor. 1.

Ich will, dem Herrn will ich singen, dem Gott Israel will ich spielen. Mein Herz ist fröhlich in dem Herrn. Mein Mund hat sich weit aufgethan, ich freue mich deines Heils. ~~Es ist~~ niemand heilig, ausser Dir ist keiner.

Chor. 2.

Verborgner Gott! wer kan Dein Thun ergründen! Selbst Herzen, die ihr Wohlseyn drinnen finden, begreifens mich, bewunderns nur schaamroth, u. glaubens auf Dein Wort, zum Seligwerden, es musse seyn, dass Du Herr Himmels, u. der Erdens uns zu befreyn aus aller Noth, Selbst gingst in Tod.

Chor. 1.

Herr wenn du auszogst u. einhergingst, da erzitterte die Erde vor dem Herrn, dem Gott Israel. Und da Du in Gethsemane, die Erd als Mensch betrachtst, auf der, Du mir mein Heil erweintest u. erbatst; da zittertest Du selbst u. zagtest, u. sagtest laut jammernde vor Noth: Betrübt ist meine Seele, betrübt ~~bis~~ in den Tod.

Gemeine

Für uns überfiel Ihn Todes Schauer,
unser Heil ward Seiner Seele sauer;
für uns ist Er in Gebet
bald erblasset, bald erroth't.

Chor.

Siehe das ist Gottes-Lamm welches der Welt Sünde trägt.

Gemeine.

O Wunder ohne Massen--es hat sich selbst der wahre Gott--
gegeben in der Tod.

Chor.

Denn da alles vollendet war, neigt Er Sein Haupt u. verschied.

Gemeine

Sein ganzes Leiden bis zum Tod,
die Herzens Angst die Seelen Noth,
Sein theurer Schweiss, mit Blut vermengt,
der sich aus allen Gliedern drängt.

Sein Leib mit Striemen überdeckt,
ans Creuz geheft't u. ausgestreckt,
und ach! Sein kläglichs Angstgeschrey,
dass Er von Got verlassen sey.

Das lässt uns ein Erbarmen sehn,
dabey die Sinnen stillen stehn.
Herr Jesu möcht für diese Pein,
Sich nun Dein Herz an uns erfreun!

Chor. 2.

Da sind wir worden vor Seinen Augen, als die Friede finden. Er küsse uns mit dem Kusse Seines Mundes, dass man Seine gute Salbe rieche. Sein Name ist eine ausgeschüttete Salbe u. Seine Kleider sind eitel Myrrhen u. Aloe u. Keziah, wenn Er daher tritt in Seiner schönen u. herrlichen Pracht.

Chor. 1.

Er war voller Schmerzen u. Krankheit. Er war so verachtet dass man das Angesicht vor Ihm verbarg.

Chor. 1. & 2.

U. ist doch der Schönste unter den Menschen-Kindern.

Gemeine

Ich kan am Schmerzens-Mann mein Auge nicht gnug weiden
von der Menschwerdung an bis zum am Creutz verscheiden.
Mein Glaube hat davon den tröstlichsten Gewinn,
denn Seine Passion macht, dass ich selig bin.

Chor.

Nun ruht Er u. erquickt sich. Das ist der Sabbath der heiligen Ruhe des Herrn. Und Seine Ruhe wird Ehre seyn.

Gemeine

Ave o Du blass u. bleiche
Gott-u. Menschen-Sohns Leiche!

Chor.

Kommt! lasset uns anbeten u. knien u. niederfallen vor dem Herrn!

Gemeine

Ehre sey Deiner Ruh!
Andächtigkeit dazu,
erblasstes Angesicht,
Herze das für uns bricht!

Chor.

Das Lamm, das erwürget ist, ist würdig zu nehmen Kraft u. Reichthum u. Weisheit u. Stärke u. Ehre u. Preiss u. Lob!

Gemeine

Amen, Hallelujah!

Auf den Schlaff Saal am Grosen Sabath--[1]

Chor. Lass Schönster doch die Leichnams luft
durch diesen Schlaaf Saal wehe
u. lass dich wie in Josephs gruft
den Geistes Augen sehn.
Alle. Mein Leiche Jesu, etc.
Chor. Schönster aller Schönen
du bists aleine
an den die Seelige Chor Gemeine
doch alles hat
Dein Liebe Nähe
dein Leichns Qele
(da wird nieder gekniet) Segne u. Salb heut Geist, Leib u. Seele
der Jungfraulein.

---

[1] This undated liturgy was one for use in the Great Sabbath Evening Blessing for the sleeping room of the Older Girls' Choir at Bethlehem. Supra, p. 374. A certain inconsistency in orthography will be noted in this manuscript.

Alle. Ey du eiskaltes Leichlein
umfange meinen Leib
das von den kalten Tods tröpflein
was daran hangen bleibt.
Chor. Ihr Jungfraulichen Glieder (Pacem)[1]
so legt euch schlafen nieder
zum Leichlein in die Erd.

Wird noch wo nach mir gefragt
mein Gebeine wart mit Ihm
zu grab gebracht ganz alleine
wer wird mich ins Leichlein
tiefer gründen, wohl jemals aus finden

So schliessen sich die Sinnen, etc.

1. Fest-Versammlung der Gemeine am heiligen ersten Ostertage,[2] Sonntag, d. 26ten Merz 1780, zu Anhörung der Geschichte von der Auferstehung Christi, welche Lection mit dem Gesang folgenden Verse untermengte wurde:

Zu Anfang wurde gesungen: Hallelujah, der Heiland lebt,
nun ist auf Erden Friede!
Auf, ihr Erlösten, und erhebt
den Herrn mit einem Liede.
Allein Gott in der Höh sey Ehr u. Danck für seine Gnade etc.
Ach wär ein jeder Puls ein Danck und jeder Othem ein Gesang, etc.
(Nach den Worten in der Geschichte: Er ist nicht hie, Er ist auferstanden, wie Er gesagt hat)
Jesus mein Zuversicht, und mein Heiland ist im Leben, etc.
(Und liefen, dass sie es Seinen Jüngern verkündigten)
Zieh uns nach dir, so laufen wir, mit herzlichen Belieben, etc.
(Und verwunderten sich, wie das zuginge)
Den Glauben mehr, stärck den Verstand, dass uns dein Name werd wohl bekommt.
(und weiss nicht, dass es Jesus ist)
Ach wenn ich wein' ums selig seyn, in Seiner lieben nähe,
ists schon immer ein Beweis, dass Er vor mir stehe.
(So will ich Ihn holen)
Sie (die Maria) vergnügt nichts ausser Ihn, alle Dinge war'n ihr zu geringe.
(Zu meinem Gott und zu eurem Gott)
Nun singt die selge Zeugen-Wolck, willkommen unter deinem Volck, etc.
(Bis auf den heutigen Tag)
O dass der blutige Versöhner käme, und ihre Decke von den Augen nähme!

---

[1] "Kiss of Peace."

[2] This lection was published in the manuscript "Gemein Nachrichten" (1780), II. Theil, 13. Woche, and was used probably at Barby on the date indicated. It shows more completely than those above the extent to which the reading was saturated with chorales. It should be noted that the Barby community was not a full-blown settlement and thus did not have as active a musical organization as Niesky or Bethlehem.

(Darnach ist Jesus auch von Kephas gesehen worden)
Der bedurfte Trost; drum ward Jesus selbst sein Tröster.
(Jesus nahte zu ihnen und wandelte mit ihnen)
Man hat Ihn wo man um Ihn weint.
(Und legte ihnen alle Schrift aus, die von Ihm gesagt war)
O Jesu, drücke alle von dir drin enthaltene Stücke uns tief ins Herz!
(Und Er verschwand vor ihnen)
O wie wurd ihr Herz gerühret, o wie rege ward ihr Geist!
(Fried sey mit euch)
Freund und Bruder, den wir zärtlich lieben, dessen Herzen wir so noch; bist du da? wir fühlens, ja!
(Die Jünger wurden froh, dass sie den Herrn sahen)
Ach einem solchen Glücke auf ein paar Augenblicke,
dem würde, man zu gefallen, gern tausend Meilen wallen.
Wenn wird Er mir die Freude gönnen,
dass Ihn mein sehnlich Auge sieht? etc.
(Ihr aber sollt das alles Zeugen seyn)
Auch wir Seine Unmündigen, wolle Jesu Tod verkündigen, etc.
(Friede sey mit euch)
Spricht, Herr Jesu, auch zu mir: Friede, Friede sey mit dir!
(Welchen ihr die Sünden behaltet, denen sind sie behalten)
Tod, Sünd, Teufel, Leben und Gnad, alles in Händen Er hat.
Er kann erretten alle, die zu Ihm treten.
(Will ich es nicht glauben)
Lass mich deiner Nägelmaal, erblicken meine Gnadenwahl, etc.
(Mein Herr und mein Gott)
Wenn Er mir, wollt erscheinen: so wüsst auch ich dass Er, ach Bein von meinen Beinen, mein Herr u. mein Gott wär!
Selig sind, die nicht sehen, und doch glauben)
Haus Jesu, lerne, so lange du eben in der Ferne vom Heiland must leben, gläuben und dich Ihm einleiben. Wir werd'n Ihn auch mit Augen sehn, die noch nicht offen stehen, und o wie bald kann das geschehen; jezt liebt man ungesehen. Unsre arme Seele kanns
schon gewahren, Er kann sich fühlbar gnug offenbaren, auch ungesehn.
Seyd getrost, und hoch erfreut, Jesus trägt euch, meine Glieder, etc.
Ja in meinem Fleisch, werd ich Jesum sehen ewiglich. Der Umgang
mit dem Schmerzens-Mann ist alles, was ich wünschen kann bis Leib
und Seele scheiden. Taglich, o Herr, wir lieben dich, und deinen
Namen inniglich etc.
Der name den sonst niemand kennt, etc.
Wies 40 Tage nach Ostern war, so wünschen wir uns immerdar.
Amen.

2. Beschluss der Oster Feyertage, d. 2ten Apr. 1782.[1]

Gesungen

Es segne uns Gott unser Gott nach Jesu Testament durch Seine Marter, Blut und Tod bis an der Tag ihr End.

---

[1] "Gemein Nachrichten" (1782), II. Theil, 14. Woche. This also was probably used at Barby, then the seat of the Unity Elders' Conference and of the Schreiber Collegium who produced this periodical. What we actually have in this service is what has been referred to as a Singstunde: note the use of the Loosung and Lehrtext as well as the thematic unity and continuity in the hymn stanzas utilized.

O wlech ein immer während Fest, wenn Er uns Seine nennt, etc.
Er lass uns ferner tausend Guts zum steten Wohlergehn, um des
Verdienstes seines Bluts und Todes will'n geschehn.

Zum Beschluss dieser seligen Festtage, die uns der Heiland abermal bey Betrachtung der grossen Geschichte, dass Er um unsrer Sünden willen gestorben, und zu unsrer Gerechtigkeit wieder auferstanden ist, gemacht hat, heisst der Text:[1] *Dass Er gestorben ist, das ist er der Sünde gestorben zu einemmale* (das heist um unsrer Sünde willen, für welche Er ein vor allemal die Todes Strafe ausgestanden und sie dadurch völlig versöhnt hat); *dass Er aber lebet, das lebet Er Gott* (das heisst zur Verherrlichung und Wohlgefallen Gottes Seinen Erlosten) Rom. 6, 10.
Dazu sagt die Gemeine: *Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der den Tod überwand, ist auferstanden, die Sünd hat Er gefangen* (das heist, ihr die Herrschaft über Seine Gläubigen genommen) *Hallelujah*.
Und die Loosung heisst: *Gesegnet bist du mein Volck, Israel, mein Erbe*. Ies. 19,25. *Ja segne uns mit alle deinem Bluten und überstrom uns mit Versöhnungs-Fluthen*.

Das haben wir in diesen Tagen aus Gnaden reichlich und selig so erfahren. Er lasse ein jedes von uns gesegnet *bleiben*, und das was Er für uns und an uns gethan hat, uns immer recht erkennen, und zu Seinem Preise und zu unsrer Seligkeit Wohl anwenden, und unsre Herzen unaufhörlich danckbar dafür seyn.

Gesungen
Du heilige Drey-Einigkeit sey fürs Lamm Gottes benedeyht,
Amen Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Amen, Hallelujah.

Wird auch seines gleichen für uns auf Erden oder im Himmel
gefunden werden? Wir sagen: Nein.

Der selge Schöpfer aller Dinge zog an eines Knechts Gestalt
gering, damit Er das Fleisch durchs Fleisch erwurb, etc.

Er nahm auf sich was auf Erden wir gethan, gab sich an, unser
Lamm zu werden, unser Lamm, das für uns starbe, und bey Gott,
durch den Tod, Gnad u. Fried erwürbe.

---

[1] *Die täglichen Lehrtexte der Brüdergemeine für das Jahr 1782* (Philadelphia: Melchoir Steiner, 1781); "2. Aprilis--Das Er gestorben ist, das ist Er der Sünde gestorben zu eimemmal, das Er aber lebet, das lebet Er Gotte. Rom. 6,10.
Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der den Tod überwand,
ist auferstanden, die Sünd hat Er gefangen. Hallelujah!
191,1."
Die täglichen Loosungen der Brüdergemeine für das Jahr 1782 (Philadelphia: Melchoir Steiner, 1781); "2. Aprilis--Gesegnet bist du mein Volk, Israel, mein Erbe. Ies. 19, 25.
Ja, segne uns mit alle Deinem Bluten, und überström
uns mit Versöhnungsfluthen! 1079,3."
The parenthetical interjections in the reading of the *Loosung* and *Lehrtext* demonstrates a common practice of making expository remarks during the reading of the Scriptures in Brethren worship; see Spangenberg, *Nachricht*, p. 69.

Kein Tröpflein Bluts war Ihm zu theuer, Er gab es willig für uns her. O dass von seinem Liebes-Feuer ein jedes Herz entzündet wär! Er lass den Eindruck Seiner Leiden und seiner bittern Todes Pein, uns stets bis Leib und Seele scheiden, Im Herzen unauslöschlich seyn.

Seinen Tod und dess'n Ursach fruchtbar zu bedencken dafür, wiewol arm und schwach, Ihm Danckopfer schencken.

Sein ist der Ruhm, Er hat triumphirt und unsre Sache hinaus geführt. Wir sind Gottlob! Seine wollens auch bleiben, bis wir Ihn sehen, an den wir glauben, Hallelujah!

Wer will verdammen? Jesus Christ war todt und ist lebendig. Nun ist all unsre Schuld gebüsst und unser Heil vollständig.

Wers glaubt vom menschlichen Geschlecht, dass ihn Sein Tod versöhnet, den spricht Sein Auferstehn gerecht, das uns zum Siegel dienet.

Im Himmel und auf Erden tönt in Harmonie: Wir sind versöhnt! Amen, Hallelujah, :/:, :/:.

O wär nun jeder Puls ein Danck und jeder Othem ein Gesang: So denckt in ihrer Leibes-Höhl, die durch Sein Blut erlöste Seel.

Durch Seiner Aufstehung Kraft wird uns der Geist gegeben, der uns erneuert u. Lust verschaft im Sterben Ihm zu leben.

Heilig, selig ist die Freundschaft und Gemeinschaft die wir haben und darinnen uns erlsben.

Der Umgang mit dem Schmerzens-Mann ist alles was man wünschen kann: Wies vierzig Tag nach Ostern war, wünscht unser Herz sichs immerdar.

Nun die Gnade unsers Herrn Jesu Christi, und die Liebe Gottes und die Gemeinschaft des h. Geistes sey mit uns allen, Amen.[1]

At the Pedilavium[2]

1. When our dear Monarch from on High,
The Lord, who all created,
Knew, that from his small Family
He'd soon be separated;
He seem'd to his Humanity
To be so well inured,
That he for his bright Majesty
And Glory not much cared.

---

[1] With relation to this benediction see supra, pp. 386-87.

[2] The Litany Book (1759), pp. 126-29.

2. With inward Love's Pain now possess'd,
And struck with some Affliction
To be God o'er all, He made Haste
For th' Farewell-Benediction.
He saw Perdition's Son, who should
Betray his Lord thro' Blindness;
But since he present was, He would
Also to him shew Kindness.

3. Such Acts of Love could never be
By any one contrived,
But Him, who was immediately
By th' Holy Ghost conceived;
We can but stand, and silently
Behold with admiration
What He does, then obediently
Make childlike Imitation.

4. One thinks: Had I an Enemy,
(Whom my Friend might have changed
To be an Instrument, whereby
His Floor is swept and purged;)
I'd share with him each Bit of Bread;
I'd without Hesitation
Give him a Share of all I had,
Ev'n my own Soul's Salvation.

5. What did He do, that matchless Heart,
The Soul full of Desire,
The Body with Death-Pangs and Smart
Fervaded as with Fire?
He did fetch Water, and did gird
A towel round his Body,
And then to have their Feet desir'd,
Which He to wash was ready.

6. One of them, who would first know why
His Feet are to be washed
Does not immediately comply;
But he'll soon do't abashed.
What were God, if each Work of his
Was for man's Wit an Object?
The least Track of his Counsel is
For it too deep a Subject.

7. If I don't wash thee, Jesus said,
Thy Share in me's deficient;
O then wash also Hands and Head!
No, th' Foot-Bath is sufficient.
This Kind of Baptism our dear Lord
From Man to Man applied;
Their souls, but one, where by his Word
Already purified.

8. Look here, my Brethren, tho' you be
For Knowledge not inquiring,
But yet the Lamb's sweet Mystery
Justly to know desiring;
Ye Cherubim, cast now a Look,
Ye Princes in high Station;
Ye Seraphim, look and be struck
With deepest Admiration!

9. Now you, who know my Word (which once
Shall judge each Tribe and Nation)
You've seen, that on you these my Hands
Perform'd this Operation;
My last Will is, That I think meet
You should wash one another,
As I, your Lord, have wash'd your Feet,
So each shall wash his Brother.

10. Arise and with deep Reverence,
With Grace and Sinner-Beauty,
Do what your sov'reign Lord ordains,
And thus fulfil your Duty!
He gave Pow'r to forgive all Sin
Unto his chosen People;
Therefor the Feet are soon wash'd clean
By any true Disciple.

11. Ye holy Watchers, with us be,
Unseen, yet very near us,
Sing with our Choir harmoniously:
That Foot-Bath is mysterious!
Humble us from our very Heart,
Blow up thy Love's Flame might'ly,
Make us a Work, Thou Man of Smart!
Which in God is done rightly.

12. Lord Jesus, be Thou thyself near,[1]
Give us full Absolution
In Presence of the Angels here,
And take off each Pollution!
Thy priestly Hand, pierc'd by the Nail
Stretch'd out by Crucifixion,
That Hand so stiff, and so Deathly-pale
Give us it's Benediction.
Chor.: Make our Mind like thy Mind tender,
And our Body Corpse-like render!

---

[1] It should be noted that this is the same verse used in the absolution of the 1755 Communion liturgy incorporated *supra*, p. 272.

13. As sure as thy Flock's Life thou art,
  Sure as we're Dust and Ashes;
So sure it is, that thy Death-Smart
  Us all to pure Gold washes;
Sure as the World looks scornfully
  Upon thy Congregation,
So sure she's to thy Spirit and Thee
  An holy Habitation.

APPENDIX B

THEOLOGY

Samuel Lieberkühn, "The Teaching of Jesus Christ and His Apostles for the Instruction of Youth in the Evangelical Brethren-Unity."[1]

1. The teaching of Jesus contains everything which we are to believe and to do.
2. This teaching is contained in the books of the New Testament.
3. These books were written by Apostles and disciples of the Lord.
4. They were written upon the instigation and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.
5. The Books of Moses and the Prophets are called the Old Testament.
6. The Old Testament contains:
    a. The history of the creation of the world and the first man.
    b. The history of God's people the Children of Israel.
    c. The Word of God to this people.
    d. Prophecy of Jesus Christ and his kingdom.
7. The Scripture of the Old Testament is given by God and is written for our instruction.

I. Concerning God the Creator of all things.

1. There is a God who has made all things through Jesus Christ.
2. God is a Spirit.
    a. Eternal--without beginning and end.
    b. Omnipotent.
    c. Omnipresent.
    d. Omniscient.
    e. All wise--who knows how to govern all things for the best.
    f. Holy and just.
    g. Good and merciful.
    h. Truthful.
3. God sustains and governs all things.

II. Concerning the image of God.

1. God has made man in his likeness.
2. The likeness or the similarity with God exists in the knowledge of the truth and of upright righteousness and holiness.

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[1] A translation of the doctrinal theses in Die Lehre Jesu Christi und seiner Apostel zum Unterricht der Jugend in den evangelischen Brüdergemeine (Barby, 1774).

III. Concerning the universal corruption of sin.

1. Sin has come into the world through the disobedience of the first man.
2. All men are sinners. They are not only inclined toward evil and incapable of good but also really do much evil and neglect to do much that is good.
3. All men have earned God's wrath and punishment because they have all transgressed, and this punishment is death.

IV. Concerning Jesus Christ, our Saviour.

1. Jesus Christ has come into the world to make sinners blessed.
2. Jesus Christ is the Son of God and is himself true God.
3. Jesus Christ has taken flesh and blood upon himself and has become a true man.
4. Jesus Christ was conceived by the Holy Spirit (through the action of the Holy Spirit) and born of the Virgin Mary.
5. The child was circumcised on the eighth day and named Jesus.
6. The child grew and became strong in the spirit, full of wisdom, and God's grace was with him (Luke 2:40).
7. Jesus Christ has proclaimed to us the will of God concerning our blessedness.
8. Jesus Christ has suffered for our sins.
9. He has died for our sins.
10. Jesus Christ has been awakened from the dead through the glory of the Father (Rom. 6:4).
11. Jesus Christ has ascended to heaven and sits at the right hand of God (Rom. 8:34).
12. Jesus Christ is the promised Messiah and Redeemer, the Saviour of the world.

V. Concerning the Father and Son and Holy Spirit.

VI. Concerning the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

1. The Father has given his only begotten Son for us (John 3:16).
2. The Father accepts those who believe on Jesus Christ as his own children and is their dear Father.
3. The Father has an especial providence for his children.

VII. Concerning Jesus Christ, the Son of God.

1. Jesus Christ is very God. See IV,2.
2. Jesus Christ is our Mediator who reconciles us with God and has redeemed us through his blood.
3. Jesus Christ is our Intercessor (Priest) with the Father.
4. Jesus Christ is our Lord.
5. Jesus Christ is our example that we should become like him.

VIII. Concerning the Holy Spirit.

1. The Holy Spirit is in the most thorough fellowship with the Father and Son, and is God.
2. The task of the Holy Spirit is to bring men to faith in Jesus Christ through the gospel.
3. He dwells in the faithful, guiding and governing them.
4. He is our Comforter (advocate) who represents us with inexpressible sighs.
5. The Holy Spirit is "troubled" if we do not heed his admonitions.

IX. Concerning the will of God about our blessedness.

1. God intends that all should become blessed and come to the knowledge of the truth.
2. Jesus Christ has died for all men and has earned the blessedness of all.
3. It is, however, the will of God that men should believe in Jesus Christ and have eternal life through belief on him.

X. Concerning faith on the Lord Jesus.

1. Faith comes from the preaching of the Gospel (Rom. 10:17).
2. Through the preaching of the Gospel man is brought to a knowledge of his unhappy condition.
3. If a man feels a hearty regret and sorrow over this condition; turns in his need to Jesus Christ and believes on the gospel, that may be termed a conversion or an alteration of the disposition (Sinn) (see Luke 24:47).
4. Faith on Jesus is a certainty in the heart that Jesus is the Saviour of the world and that for the sake of his blood and death he has given to me forgiveness of sin, life, and blessedness.
5. Faith is a gift from God and comes neither from our own reason nor power.
6. Through faith we receive forgiveness of sins and have peace with God.
7. Through faith we are children of God and heirs of eternal life.
8. Faith is active through love (Gal. 5:6; see I John 2:4,6).

XI. Concerning Holy Baptism.

1. Jesus Christ himself instituted Baptism.
2. Baptism is a washing off and a purification from sins.
3. In Baptism the death of Jesus is reckoned to us as if we ourselves had died.
4. In Baptism are we also resurrected to a new life and way.
5. In Baptism are we brought into fellowship with the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

XII. Concerning the Holy Supper.

1. Jesus Christ himself has instituted the Holy Supper.
2. Jesus Christ has instituted the Supper as the memorial of his death.

3. The bread which we break (in the Holy Supper) is the mutual participation (Gemeinschaft) in the body of Christ, and the blessed chalice, which we bless, is the mutual participation in the blood of Christ (Cor. 10:16).
4. Through this feast we are most completely united with Jesus, and our love one towards another is increased.
5. We are there through assured anew of eternal life and of a joyous resurrection.
6. For a worthy use of the Holy Supper it is suitable that one examine himself.

XIII. Concerning Sanctification.

1. It is God's will that those who have such faith in Jesus Christ should be zealous concerning sanctification.
2. The faithful still have sins and remain sinful men.
3. Sanctification consists in our purifying ourselves from all sin, that is, not to allow sin to rule us and to grow and increase in all that is good.
4. We ought to be holy in soul and body. Thus we must concern ourselves with temperance and chastity.
5. We become holy, not from our own power but as a work of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.
6. We must therefore stay with Jesus Christ and be in a firm and intimate relationship with him.

XIV. Concerning the Church (Gemeine) of Jesus Christ.

1. Jesus Christ has a church, that is, a people, which believes on him, are called by his name, and follows his doctrine and example (see I Cor. 1:2).
2. The congregation of Jesus Christ is called the body of Christ, the house of God, and the kingdom of Christ.
3. The church of Jesus Christ here on earth is a kingdom of the cross.
4. To the church of Jesus Christ belong all men in all places and from all nations, who have the gospel of Jesus Christ and are obedient to it.
5. Each small flock, which lives in a village, is grounded on Jesus Christ and is bound in love, is also called a church of God and Christ.
6. Jesus Christ is the Arch-pastor and Bishop of the church.
7. He establishes also in the church, pastors, teachers, and other ministers, who nourish the souls with the gospel, administer the church, and should be its examples.
8. The congregation should love its workers and be grateful toward them.
9. The church should gather frequently and edify itself with the word of Christ:

   And because Sunday, above all, in the Christian church is designated to that purpose, to the remembrance of the resurrection of Jesus Christ; thus they should also spend the day in a manner suitable thereto.

10. The church should seek to extend the Gospel of Jesus among all nations.
11. The first church was at Jerusalem and consisted of Jews.
12. After the Gospel of Jesus had been proclaimed among other peoples, many churches were planted among the heathen and the faithful were called Christians (see Acts 15:14, 11:26).
13. Jesus Christ has always had a church and will have a church until the end of the world.

XV. Concerning the Angels.

1. The angels are spirits, which are created through Jesus Christ.
2. A whole army with its prince has sinned against his Creator, that is the devil and his angels.
3. The holy angels serve their creator and carry out his orders.
4. They especially serve in the case of God's children, particularly small children.
5. Satan has through sin received man into his power, and the unbeliever is his handiwork.
6. He seeks to seduce the faithful from Christ. He can have no power over them if they are on their guard.
7. The Devil and his angels shall yet be subjected to the judgment.

XVI. Concerning death and the home-going of the faithful, to the Lord.

1. It is the part of man, once to die (Heb. 9:27).
2. The body of man decays, the soul, however, lives on.
3. The souls of the faithful will be with Christ.
4. For the faithful to die is gain.

XVII. Concerning the appearance of Jesus Christ and the resurrection of the dead.

1. There is a time, when Jesus Christ will come and appear.
2. The time and hour is known by no one but will appear unexpectedly.
3. God will raise the dead through Jesus Christ.
4. All dead will arise.
5. The dead in Christ will arise first, and those who are Christ's and yet live will be transformed.

XVIII. Concerning the universal judgment of the world.

1. God will judge mankind through Jesus Christ.
2. All men must appear before the judgment seat of Christ.
3. Jesus Christ will judge with justice and reward each according to his works (Rom. 2:6).

XIX. Concerning eternal life and damnation.

1. All who believe on Jesus Christ will have eternal life.
2. They will be with the Lord Jesus Christ and see his glory, and participate in the same.
3. The bodies of the faithful will be transfigured.
4. Those who in unrighteousness oppose the truth and do not believe on Jesus Christ will go to the place of torment and eternal pain.

XX. Concerning the commandments of God.

All commandments are encompassed by these two:

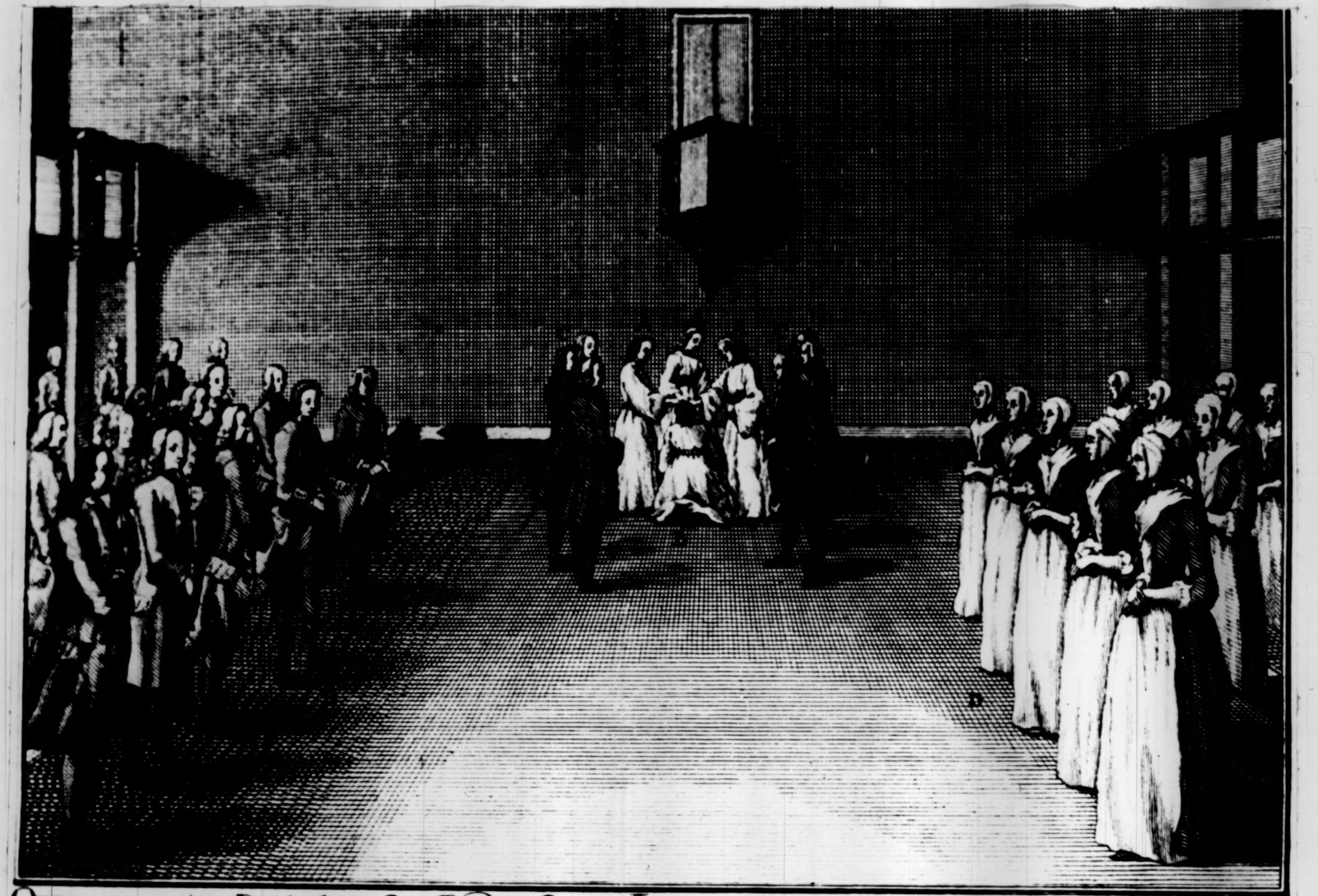
A. Concerning love toward God and our Lord Jesus Christ.
   1. We ought to love God because he first loved us.
   2. The love of God is not with those who love the world.
   3. The love of God arises out of faith, and is bound completely with faith.
   4. Along with the love of God comes an everlasting joy in the Lord.
   5. The love toward God demonstrates itself in this:
      a. That we have no other God beside him and do not misuse his name.
      b. That we are obedient to him and from reverence for him avoid all which is displeasing to him.
      c. That we are grateful toward him because we have enjoyed so much good at his hand.
      d. That we place our trust in him alone, and expect all good of him. Therefore we must guard ourselves against all cares about daily bread and against avarice.
      e. That we, in trust toward God, work zealously for his order.
      f. That we call upon and cling to him in prayer and have no doubt that our prayers are heard.
      g. That we gladly suffer for Jesus' name sake and confess him before men (see Phil. 1:29).

B. Concerning love of neighbor.
   1. We should love our neighbor as ourselves.
   2. Love of neighbor includes:
      a. Brotherly love, which children of God owe to each other.
      b. Universal love, which we owe to all men, even our enemies.
   3. Love of neighbor demonstrates itself in:
      a. That we pray for all men.
      b. That we guide our neighbor with a good life.
      c. That we seek to live at peace with everyone.
      d. That we gladly serve our neighbor, and help him, and do good.
      e. That we be gentle and humble, forgive gladly if someone offends us, and regard others more highly than ourselves.
      f. That we be merciful and give gladly to the needy.
      g. That we offend not our neighbor and do to him no offense.

APPENDIX C

PLATES ILLUSTRATIVE OF BRETHREN WORSHIP

The following eleven plates are copies of copper plate engravings, consecutively Figures 1 to 3, 8 to 14, and 16, from *Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht*. The photographs were made by Mr. Thomas Haupert by permission of the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.



J Rud Holzhalb ſculpſit

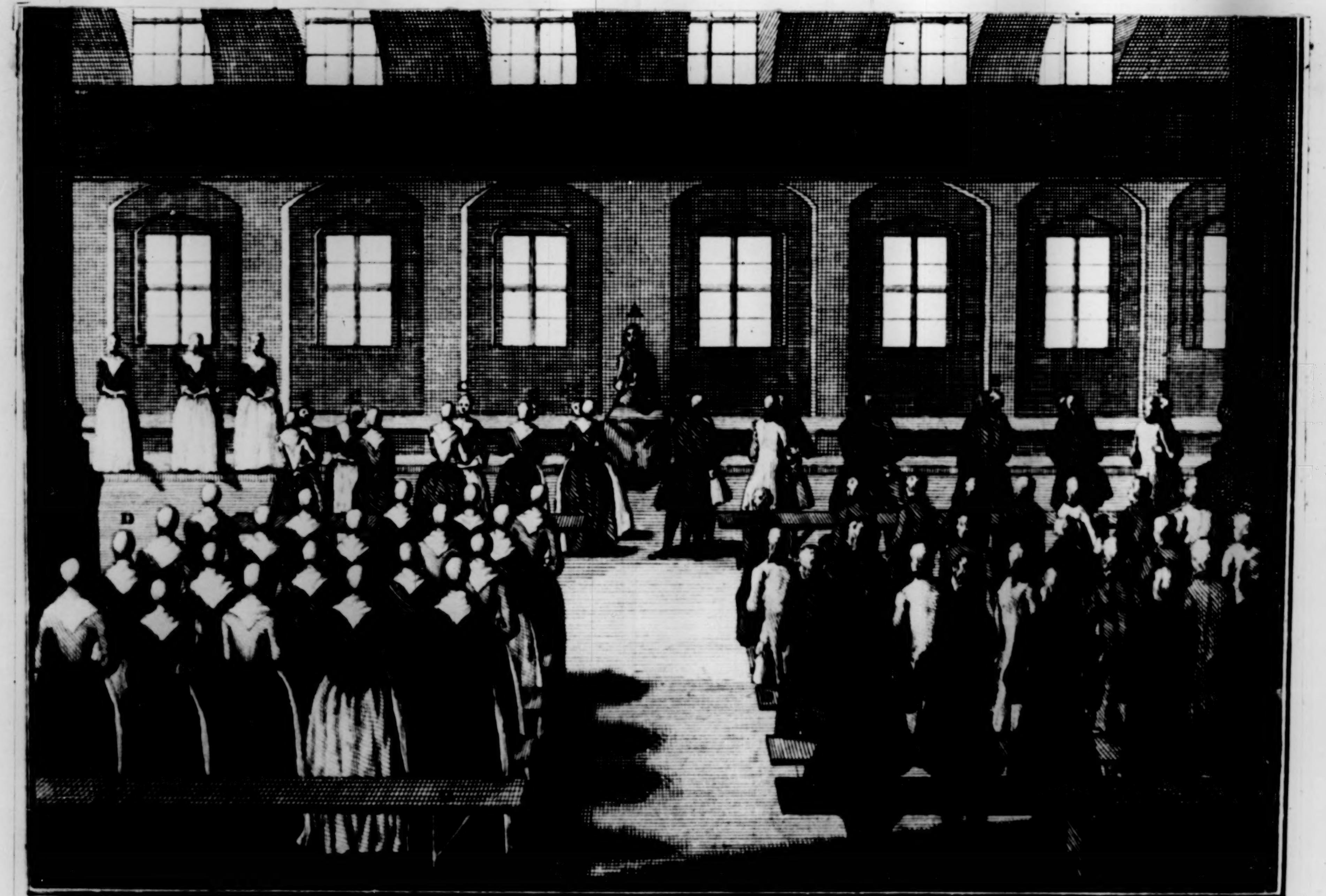
ORDINATION eines Biſchofs. In der Brüder-Kirche zu London.

AAA. Drey Biſchöfe die ihn weihen in albis mit rothen Gürteln umgeben. B. Der Ordinandus dem die Hände aufgelegt werden. C.C. Pastores und Diaconi D.D. Die Brüder und Schweſtern von der Gemeine.

ORDINATION d'un Eveque.

A.A.A. Trois Eveques conferant l'Ordre. B. L'Ordinant, qui reçoit l'Impoſition des Mains. C.C. Miniſtres et Diacres. D.D. Les Freres et les Soeurs de la Communé.

Fig. 2.--Ordination of a Bishop.



AUFNAME in die Brüder-Gemeine.
A Der PASTOR der die Liturgie verrichtet. B B Die PASTORES und Diaconi die die neuen Brüder mit dem heiligen Kuß aufnemen. C C Die Diaconißen, die die neüen Schweſtern auf eben die Weiſe aufnemen D.D Die Brüder und Schweſtern von der Gemeine.

RECEPTION dans la Communauté des Freres.
A. Le MINISTRE, qui celebre la Liturgie B B. Les MINISTRES et Diacres, qui reçoivent les nouveaux Freres par le ſaint baiſer C.C. Les Diaconeßes, qui reçoivent les nouvelles Soeurs, de la même Maniere D.D. Les Freres et Soeurs de la Commune

Fig. 3.--Reception into the Brethren Church.

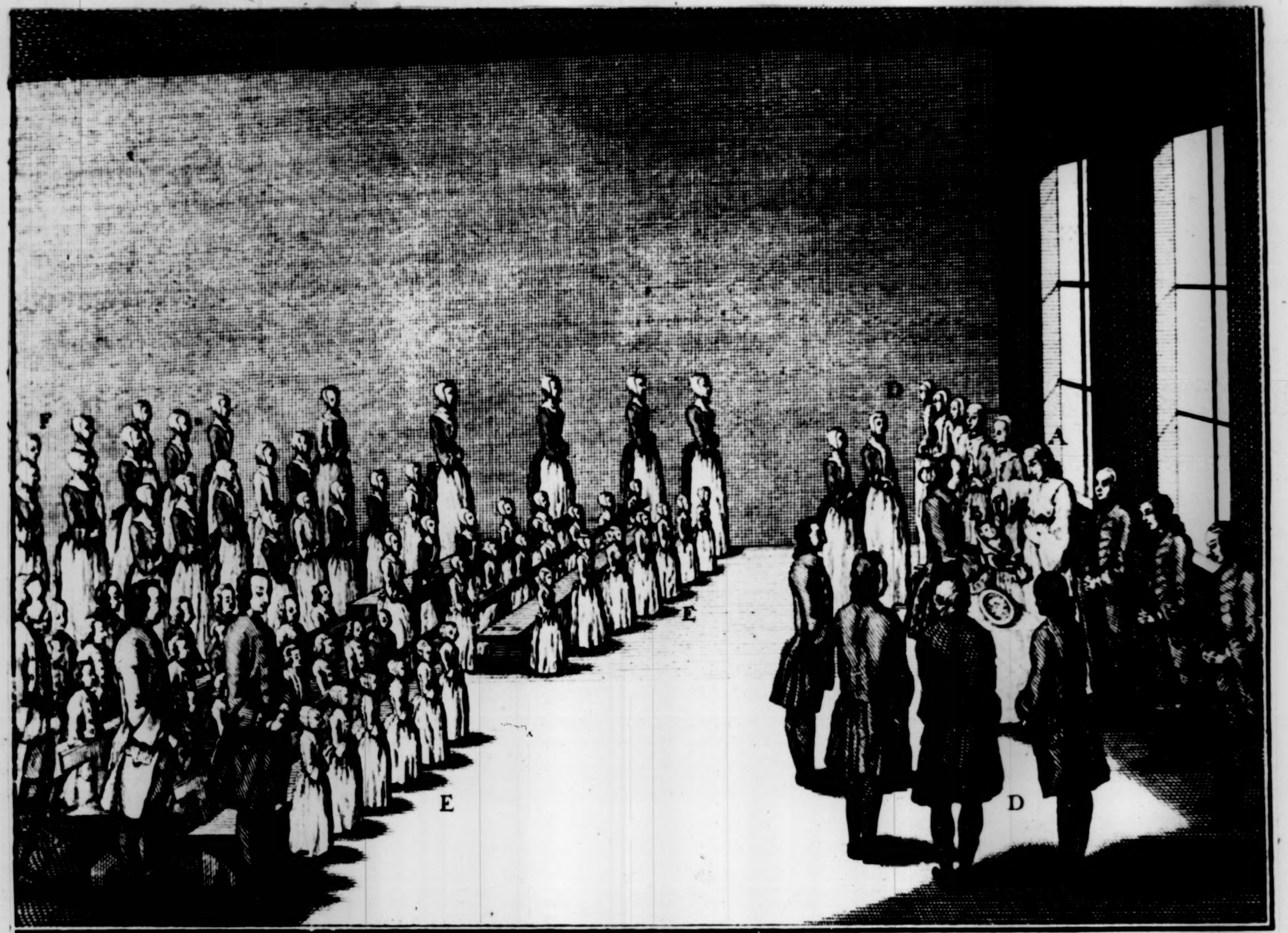
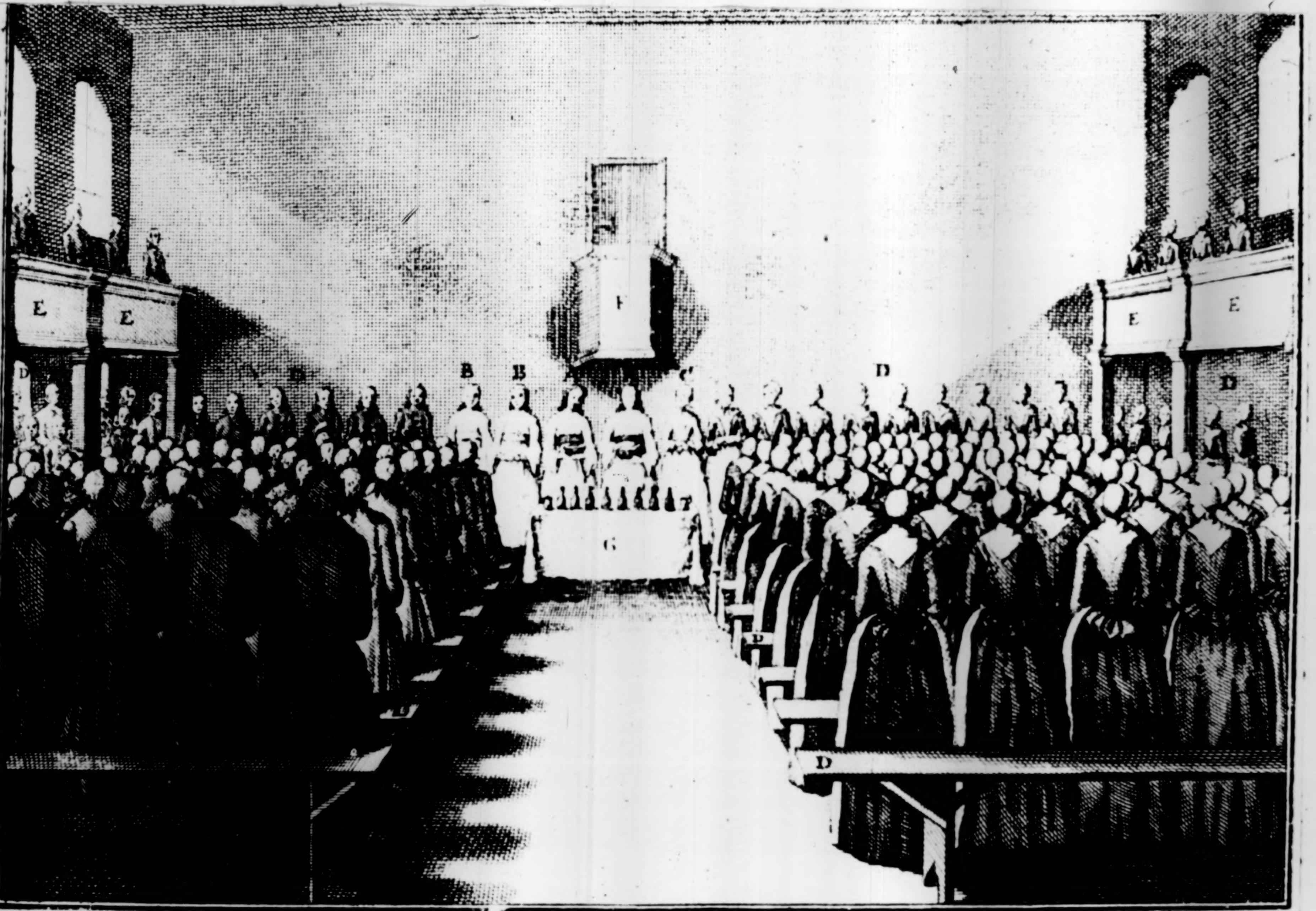

A
D
D
E
E
F
E
A. Der PASTOR, welcher taufet in albis.
B. Das Kind, das getauft wird.
Die Pate der das Kind zur Taufe hält.
TAUFE
eines
Kindes
D. Die Paten. E. E. Die Kinder.
F.F. Die Brüder und Schwestern
von der Gemeine.

Fig. 4

Fig. 4.--Baptism of a Child.

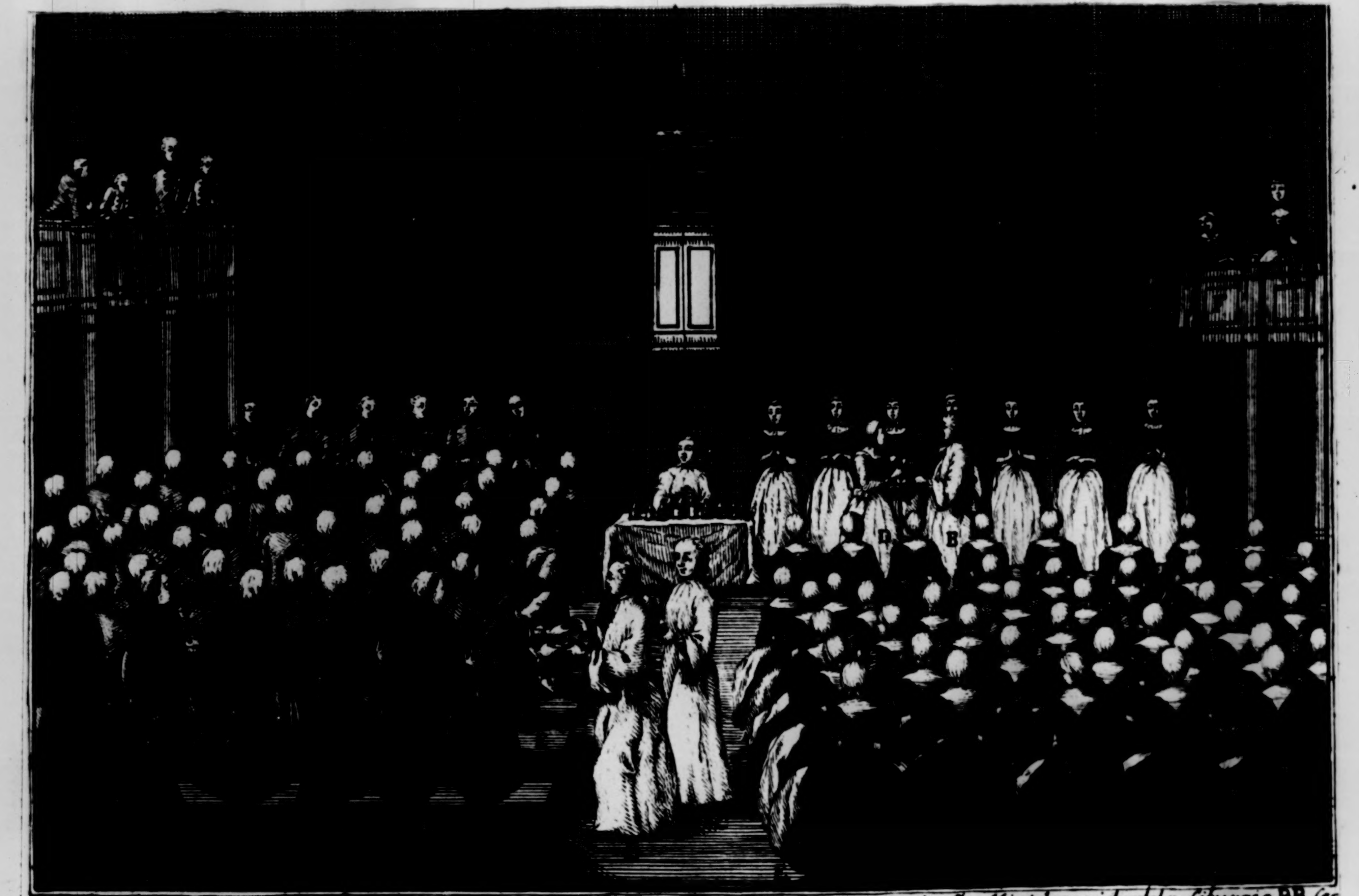


CONſECRATIO. Einſegnung des Brods vor der Communion in der Brüder Kirche zu London.
AA. Die Conſecratores in albis mit rothen Gürteln. BB. Die Diaconi in albis mit Weiſsen Gürteln. C. Eine Diaconiſse Weiß gekleidet. DD. Die Communicanten. EE. Die Candidaten zur Communion. F. Die Canzel. G. Der Communions Tisch.

CONſECRATION avant la Communion dans Legliſe des Freres à Londres.
AA. Les Conſecrateurs in albis, avec des Ceintures d'ecarlate. BB. Les Diacres in albis avec des Ceintures blanches. C. La Diaconeſse vetue en blanc. DD. Les Communians. EE. Les Candidats. F. La Chaire. G. La Table de la Communion.

Fig 5

Fig. 5.--Consecration of Bread before Communion.



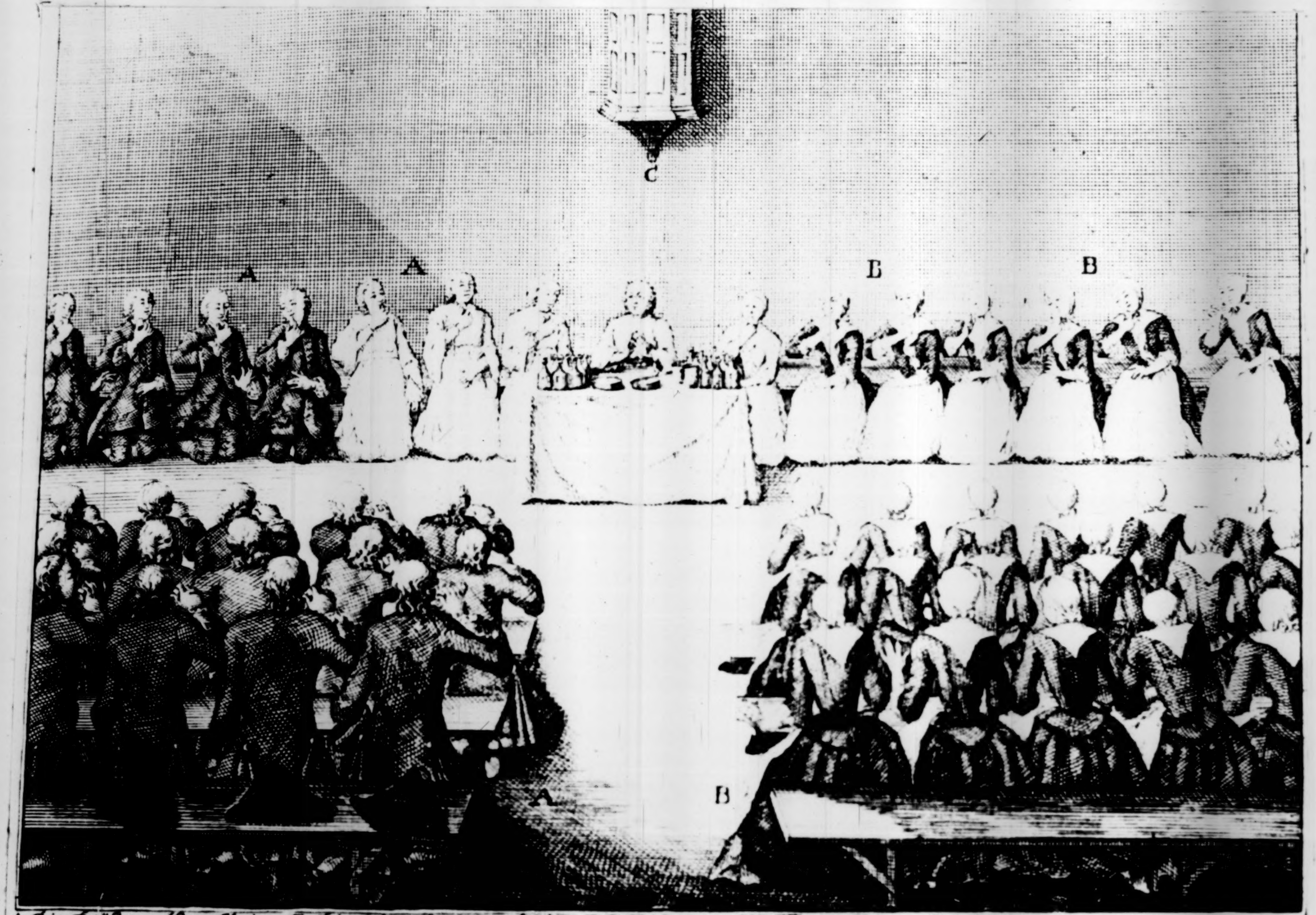
DISTRIBUTIO.

A. Der Prieſter der die Liturgie verrichtet. BB. Die Prieſter die austheilen. C. Ein Diaconus der das geſeegnete Brodt tragt. D. Eine Diaconiſsin die daſſelbige thut. EE. Die Communicanten. FF. Die Candidaten zur Communion. G. Cantzel.

A. Le Ministre qui chante la Liturgie. BB. Les Ministres qiu diſtribuent. C. un Diacre qui porte le pain ſacr. D. une Diaconiſſe qui fait la même chose. EE. Les Comunians FF. Les candidats pour la Communion. G. La chaire.

Fig 6.

Fig. 6.--Distribution.



A Die Brüder auf den Knien. B Die Schweſtern desgleichen PARTICIPATIO. AB Les Freres et Soeurs à genoux, qui participent tous
die in einem Moment das Brod genieſen. C Die Cantzel. dans le même inſtant. C La Chaire.

Fig 7

Fig. 7.--Participation.

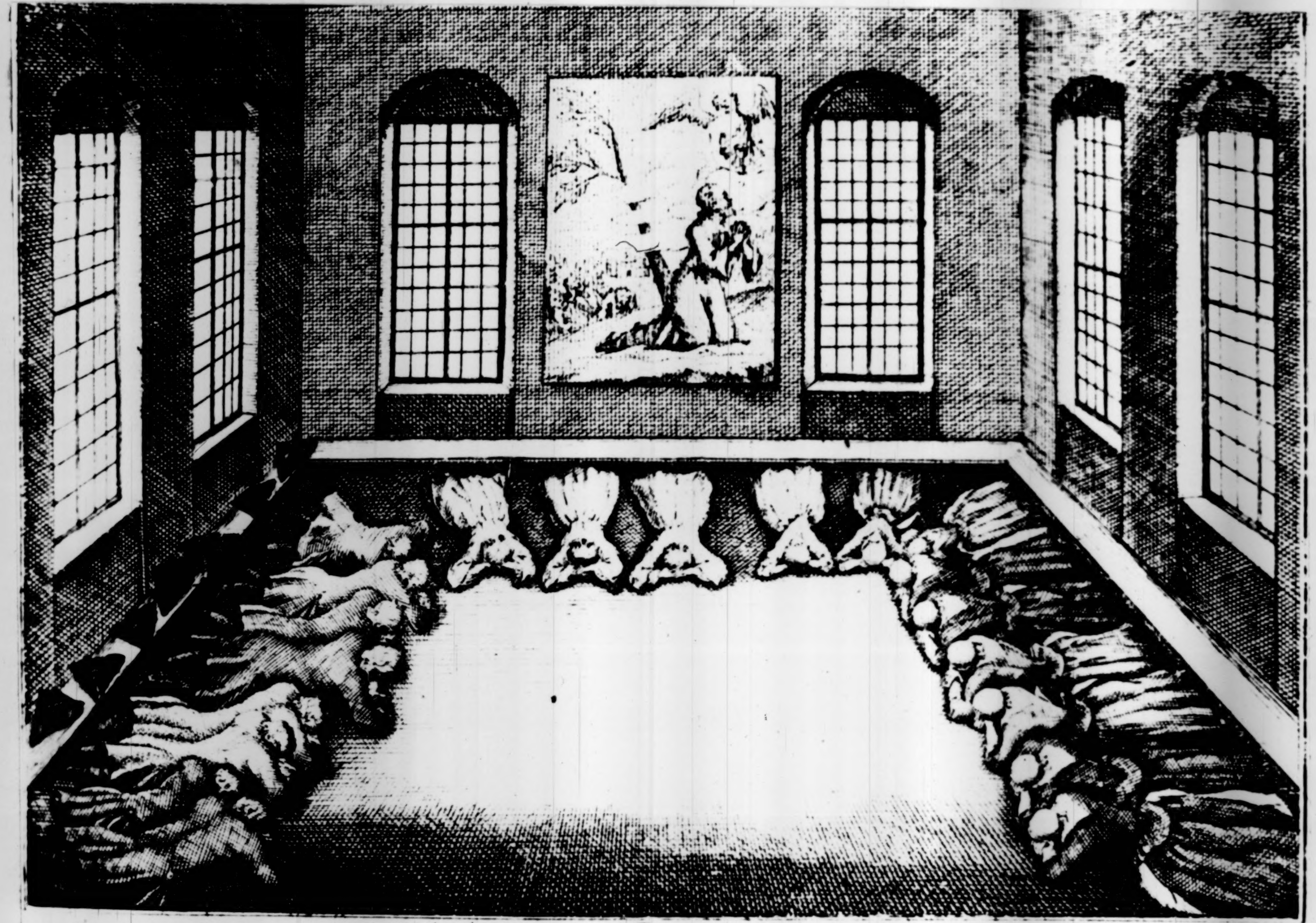
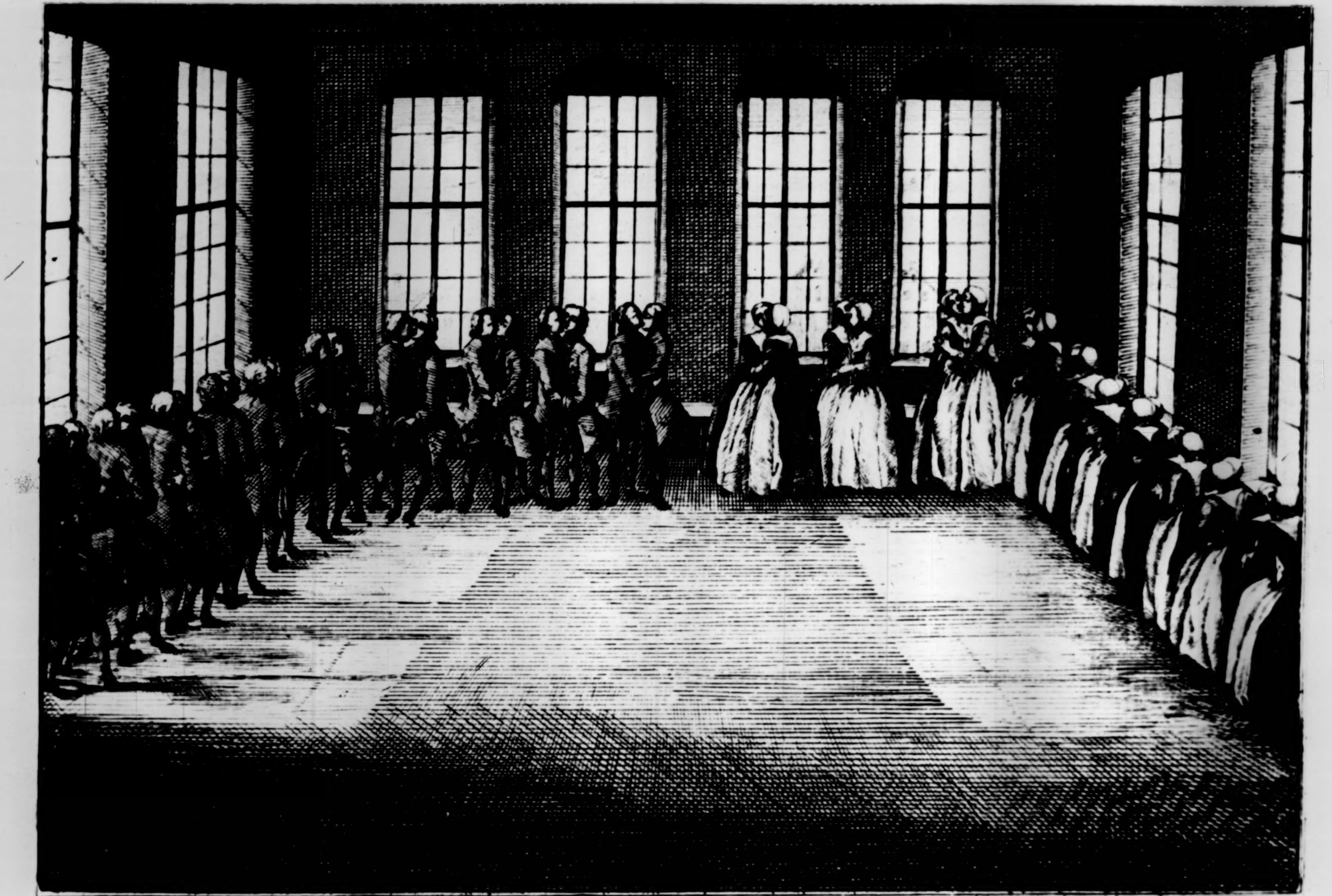

Das anbeten vor dem HERRN.
Prosternation devant le Seigneur.

Fig 8.

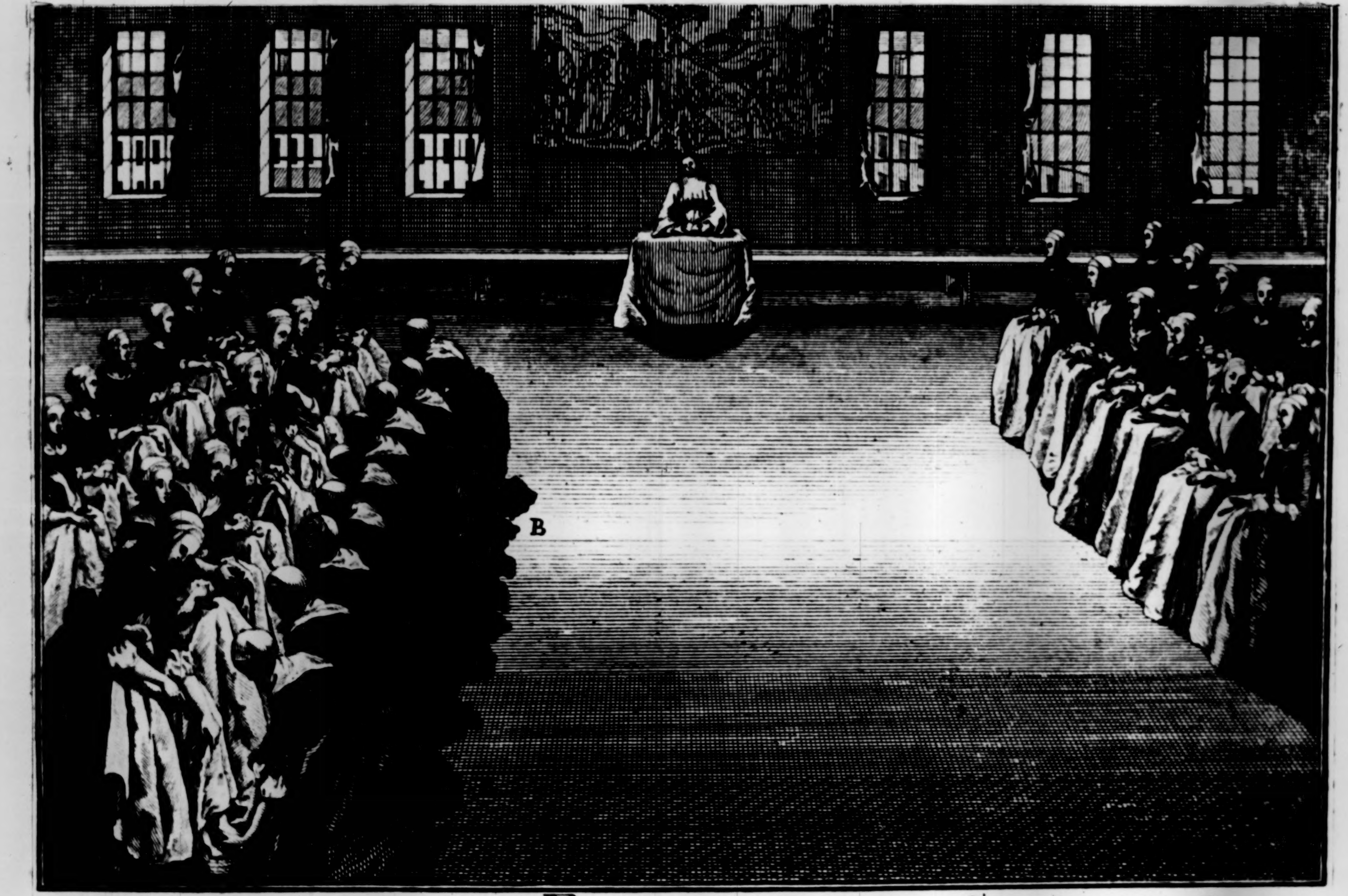
Fig. 8.--Prostration before the Lord.



Der heilige Kuß des Friedens. I Saint Baiſer de Paix.

Fig 9.

Fig. 9.--The Holy Kiss of Peace.



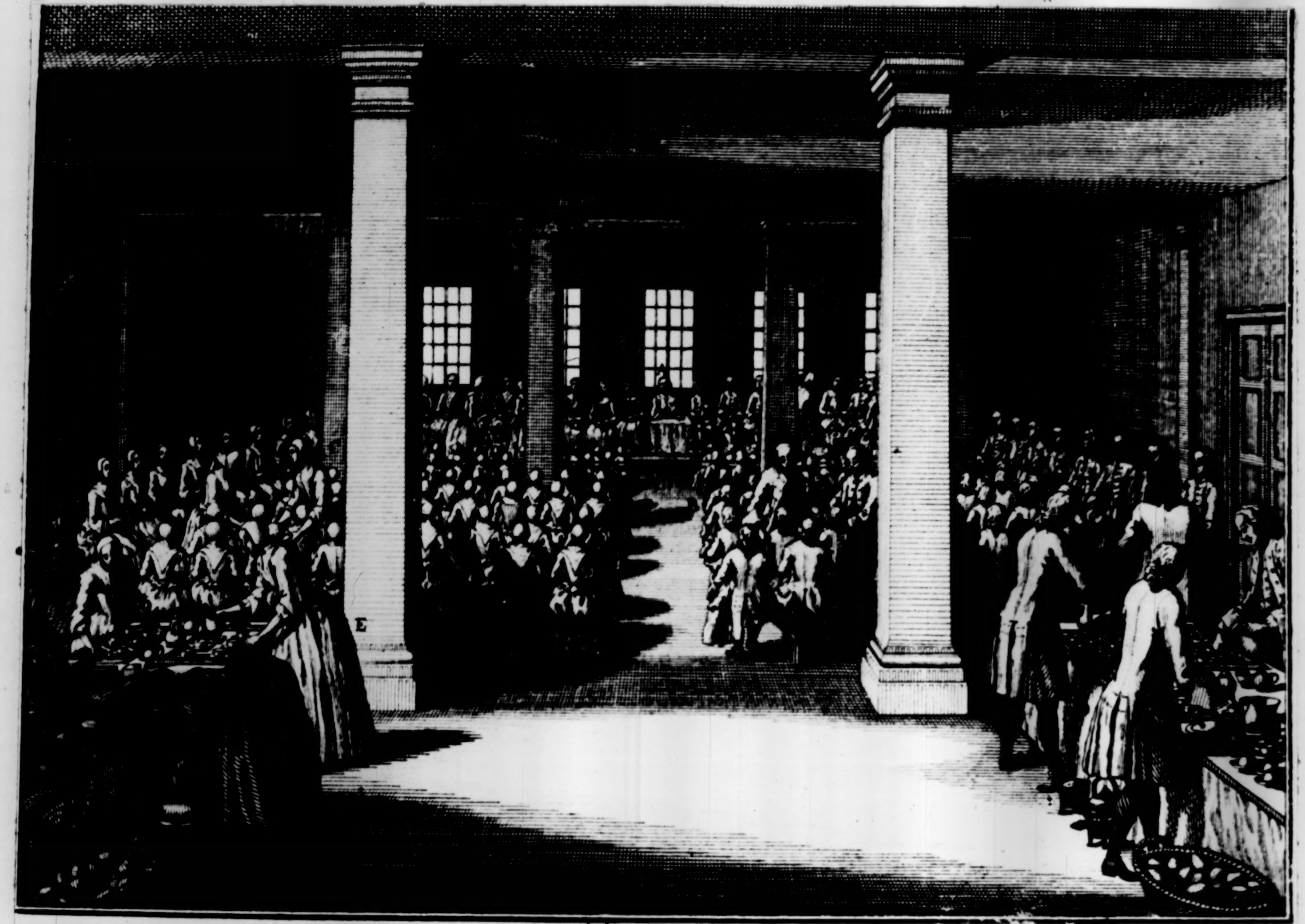
A Der PASTOR der die Liturgie verrichtet in albis.

PEDILAVIUM.
das Fuſſwaſchen

B B Einige Diaconiſſen die eben ſo viel Schweſtern die Füſſe waſchen

Fig. 10

Fig. 10.--Pedilavium: the Footwashing.



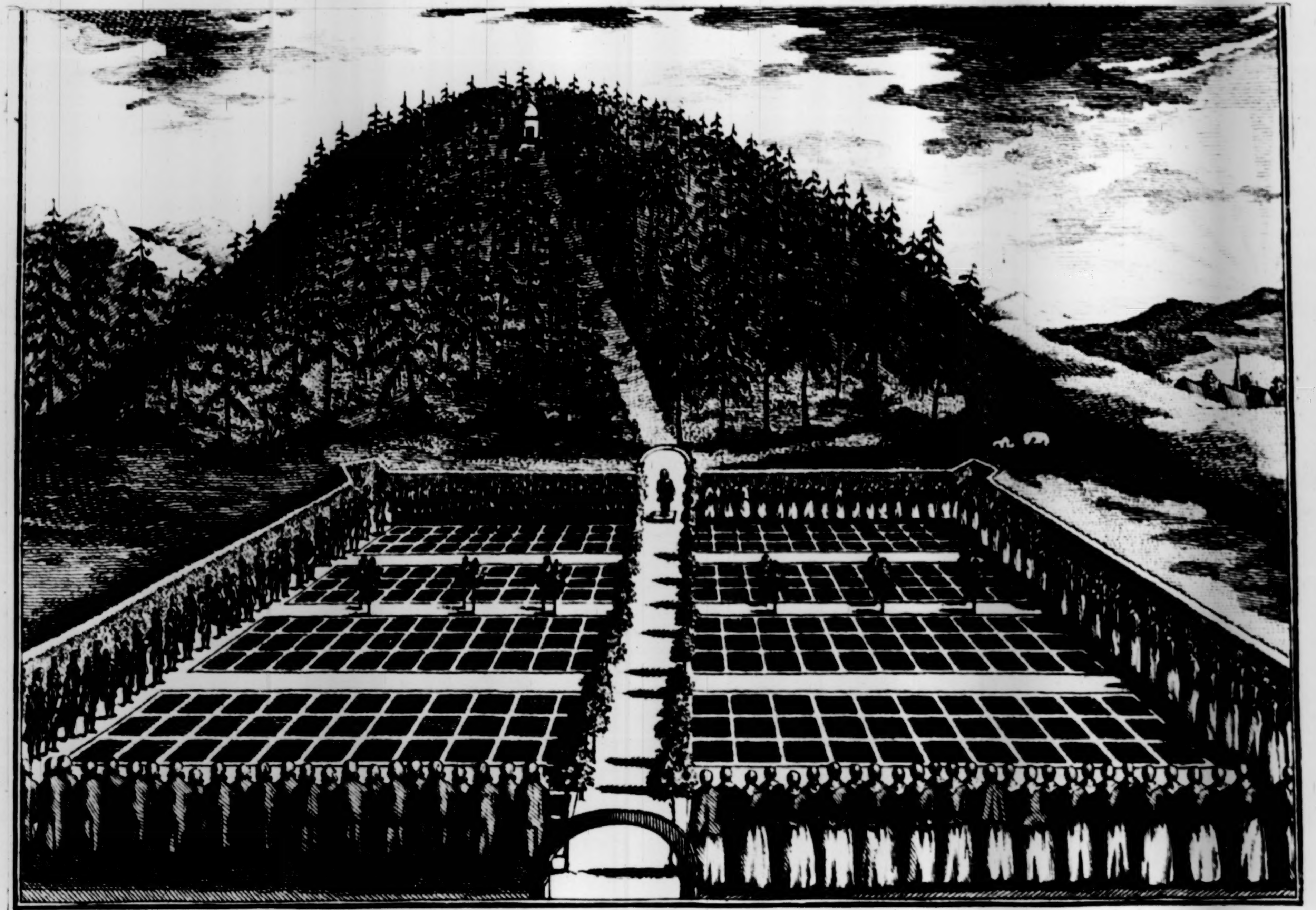
A. Der PASTOR, der die Liturgie verrichtet.
BB Die Knaben. CC. Die Mägdgen.

AGAPEN
der
Kinder

DD. Die Diener. EE. Die Dienerinnen, die austheilen.

Fig 11.

Fig. 11.--Children's Lovefeast.



OSTER-LITURGIE.
Gedächtniß der abgeſchiedenen Brüder und Schweſtern
am Oſter-Morgen auf dem Huthberge zu Herrnhuth.

Commemoration des Decedés
Le Matin de Pâques.

Fig 12.

Fig. 12.--Easter Liturgy.

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